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READINGS

ON THE

INFERNO OF DANTE

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Death Mask of Dante.

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READINGS

ON THE

INFERNO OF DANTE

BASED UPON

THE COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO DA IMOLA
AND OTHER AUTHORITIES

WITH TEXT AND LITERAL TRANSLATION

BY THE HONBLE

WILLIAM WARREN VERNON

M.A. OXON.; ACCADEMICO CORRISPONDENTE DELLA CRUSCA; CAVALIERE
DI S. MAURIZIO E LAZZARO IN ITALY; AND KNIGHT OF
THE ROYAL ORDER OF ST. OLAF IN NORWAY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

EDWARD MOORE, D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF ST. EDMUND HALL, OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

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INFERNO.

CANTO XVII.

THE THIRD ROUND OF THE SEVENTH CIRCLE (CONCLUDED) —THE USURERS, VIOLENT AGAINST ART—GERYON—REGINALDO DE' SCROVIGNI—DESCENT INTO THE EIGHTH CIRCLE.

BENVENUTO remarks that towards the end of the last Canto Dante showed how he had fished up Geryon (*quomodo piscatus fuerit monstrum Geryon*).

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante describes Geryon's multiform body.

In *Division* II, from ver. 34 to ver. 75, he relates how, before mounting upon the back of the monster, he is sent by Virgil to speak with certain Usurers of Florence and Padua who are sitting in torment on the verge of the Great Abyss.

In *Division* III, from ver. 76 to ver. 136, the descent of the poets on the back of Geryon down into the Eighth Circle is related.

Division I.—When the Poets commenced their descent into the Seventh Circle, they encountered the Minotaur, a creature that was half-man and half-bull, whom Dante has introduced as a type of Violence, Bestiality, and Brutal Lust. Now that they

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are about to go down into the Circles and Subdivisions of Fraud, Dante brings before us with much circumstance of detail the monster that is supposed to represent Fraud, and who in l. 97 is addressed by Virgil as Geryon. Dante does not appear to have closely followed the legends of the Geryon of Mythology. Scartazzini considers the Geryon of Dante to be purely a creature of the Poet's own imagination, save that he has taken the idea of Geryon's scorpion tail from the Bible (*Rev.* ix, 10). One of the many legends of Geryon is that he was a king of Spain who ruled over three islands, in which he kept a large number of heifers which were guarded by the giant Eurythion and the two-headed dog Orthos. Hercules first killed the giant, then the dog, and lastly Geryon, who pursued him as he was driving off his herds. Probably the legend of Hercules having killed these three opponents suggested to the poets the idea of representing Geryon with three bodies. Dante gives him one body made up of three shapes that befit the character that Geryon is meant to symbolise. The head is that of an honest man, because Fraud begins by flattering and beguiling; the two hairy paws, denoting rapine, are perhaps derived from the two-headed dog. All the rest of the body is that of a serpent with a forked and pointed tail wherewith to slay, indicating craft and violence. Dante may have meant this part of Geryon's body to have been derived from the giant, as according to Lubin some of the poets depict giants with feet formed like serpents. In the *De Genealogia Deorum* (i, cap. 21) Boccaccio says, evidently referring

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both to a mediæval tradition, and also to the present passage of the *Divina Commedia :* " Fraudis formam Dantes Allegeri Florentinus, eo in poëmate quod Florentino scripsit idiomate, non parvi quidem inter alia poëmata momenti, sic describit. Eam scilicet justi hominis habere faciem, corpus reliquum serpentinum, variis distinctum maculis atque coloribus, et ejus caudam terminari in scorpionis aculeum, eamque Cocyti innare undis, adeo ut illis excepta facie totum contegat horridum corpus, eamque Gerionem cognominat. . . . Et inde Gerion dicta est, quia regnans apud Baleares insulas Gerion miti vultu, blandisque verbis, et omni comitate consueverit hospites suscipere, et demum sub hac benignitate hospites occidere." This story is also related in the *Anonimo Fiorentino.*

The Canto opens with an exclamation of wonder and repugnance on the part of Virgil on first seeing the terrible creature which he has evoked from the depths below; the monster, however, in obedience to his signal, draws up to the brink of the precipice.

—" Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza,
Che passa i monti, e rompe i muri e l' armi;
Ecco colei che tutto il mondo appuzza."—
Sì cominciò lo mio Duca a parlarmi,
Ed accennolle che venisse a proda, 5
Vicino al fin de' passeggiati marmi:
E quella sozza imagine di froda *

---

* *quella sozza imagine di froda:* Compare the fine lines in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xiv, st. 87, in which the figure of Fraud is described:—

" Avea piacevol viso, abito onesto,
Un umil volger d' occhi, un andar grave,
Un parlar sì benigno e sì modesto,

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Sen venne, ed arrivò la testa e il busto;*
Ma in sulla riva non trasse la coda.

"Behold the wild-beast with the pointed tail, that passes the mountains, and breaks down walls and weapons; behold the creature that infects the whole world." Thus began my leader to speak to me, and beckoned to it (the monster) to come to the bank, near to the edge of the causeway (*lit.* marbles) that we had walked on: and that loathsome image of Fraud came forward, and landed its head and its bust; but drew not up its tail to the bank.

Some Commentators, among whom is Biagioli, understand by the above lines (erroneously I venture to think) that the figure came swimming up the cataract, and overtopping it, swam in the water of the Phlegethon to the margin, on which it then rested its paws while its tail remained under water. But that view is wholly at variance with ll. 25-27, in which it is expressly stated that Geryon's tail was writhing in the void (*nel vano tutta sua coda guizzava*) and that the point of the said tail was twirled on high. Benvenuto explains the position of Geryon

---

Che parea Gabriel che dicesse: *Ave.*
Era brutta e deforme in tutto il resto:
Ma nascondea queste fattezze prave
Con lungo abito e largo; e sotto quello
Attossicato avea sempre il coltello."

And *Orl. Fur.* xiv, st. 91:—

"Benchè soglia la Fraude esser bugiarda,
Pur è tanto il suo dir simile al vero,
Che l' Angelo le crede."

Froda is for *frode*, as in *Inf.* ii, 103, *loda* stands for *lode*:—

". . . Beatrice, loda di Dio vera."

* *arrivò la testa e il busto: Arrivare* (derived from *adripare*) is in its primary sense a verb active signifying, to conduct, to bring, a boat up to the bank. The verb is more generally used in the neuter sense, "to arrive."

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as follows: "And mark here, that Geryon, when drawn by Virgil with the cord, had not come to the land precisely at the mouth of the river, along which the Poets had come in a straight line, but had put in a little further off to the right, at the margin of the bank which fences in the Circle running right round it."

Having spoken of the general appearance of the monster, Dante now describes more precisely his complex shape.

La faccia sua era faccia d' uom giusto; 10
Tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle,*
E d' un serpente tutto l' altro fusto.
Due branche avea pilose infin l' ascelle:
Lo dosso e il petto ed ambo e due le coste
Dipinte avea di nodi e di rotelle.† 15

Its face was the face of an upright man—so benignant an appearance bore it outwardly—and all the rest of its trunk was that of a serpent. It had two paws shaggy as far as the armpits: its back and its breast and both its sides were painted with knotted coils and small bucklers.

The knotted coils denote the entanglement of words in which Fraud seeks to involve its victims,

---

* *pelle* is here used in one of its subsidiary significations of "semblance, appearance." See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *pelle*, § 3, where the present passage is cited as an illustration: "Trasl. [*i.e.* metaphorically] *Sembianza, apparenza.*" Compare also the following passage from the *Collazioni dei Santi Padri*, i, 20, 15, in the modern 8vo edition published at Lucca by Giusti, 1854: "Sotto pelle di virtude mena a' vizii."

† *coste dipinte . . . di rotelle:* Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xix, st. 77:—

"Entrò Marfisa s' un destrier leardo,
Tutto sparso di macchie e di rotelle."

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the small bucklers which warriors use to guard their heads, serve Fraud to conceal its guilty purposes. Benvenuto says that Dante, being now desirous of expressing the infinite varieties and shades of Fraud, shows that he cannot find any comparison suitable to the subject, for there is no cloth woven that exactly resembles the variegated colours of the skin of this monster; so he goes on to show that the most intricate and elaborate embroidery known to man would fall short of what he wishes to describe.

Con più color,* sommesse e soprapposte,

---

* *Con più color*, et seq.: Rossetti (*Comento Analitico*) says that *le sommesse* are the threads which form the ground-work of the cloth; *le soprapposte* are those which are overlaid as relief. Both Tartars and Turks were famous for their weaving in the time of Dante. Arachne was the famous weaver of Lydia. She was turned into a spider by Minerva, whom she had flouted. This passage has given rise to a good deal of discussion. Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 159) observes that there are two principal questions in it to decide, whether to read *mai drappo* (as I follow the Oxford text in doing), or *mai in drappo*, and how one is to understand *sommesse* and *soprapposte*. If one reads *in drappo*, both the construction and the explanation are easy: "Neither Tartars nor Turks ever made in cloth, ground-work or overlaid-work with so many colours." But if with all the more ancient editions, the *Codex Vaticanus*, Boccaccio, Benvenuto, Buti, and in our own times Witte, one reads *mai drappo*, the explanation becomes far more difficult. Scartazzini gives the construction as follows: "Tartari nè Turchi non fecero mai drappo con più colori (con più) sommesse e (con più) soprapposte." That is the construction I have adopted, and is that given by Foscolo and Becchi, though Blanc does not like the words *colori*, *sommesse* and *soprapposte* being taken as three substantives, for he thinks that by such construction the preciseness of the expression loses force. He prefers the reading in the Mantua edition: "*Con più color sommessi e soprapposte*," taking these two latter words as adjectives, in the masculine form agreeing with *colori*. The termination of the second epithet in *e* is supposed to be an irregular masculine form like *eresiarche* for *eresiarchi*. In an article published in the *Romania*,

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Non fêr mai drappo Tartari nè Turchi,
Nè fur tai tele per Aragne imposte.

---

xxix, 560-64, Dr. Paget Toynbee says: "The Tartar cloths . . . were so called, not because they were made in Tartary, but because they were brought from China and its borders through the Tartar dominions. The term in the Middle Ages appears to have been used generally of all rich stuffs of Oriental origin." Dr. Toynbee thinks that designs of various colours were woven into a very fine material on the loom, the *sommessa* being the ground-work, and the *soprapposta* the design. After quoting several very apposite illustrations from thirteenth century writers, English, French and Italian, Dr. Toynbee concludes: "It is abundantly evident from the foregoing examples, all of which but one belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, that Dante was referring to objects perfectly familiar to his contemporaries, when he compared the painted skin of *la sozza imagine di froda* to the brilliant colouring of the *drappi tartareschi.*"

It is at this point that Boccaccio's Commentary unfortunately comes to an end, breaking off abruptly in the middle of the following sentence: "*Con più color sommesse e soprapposte*, a variazione dell' ornamento, *Non fer mai drappi Tartari nè Turchi*, i quali di ciò sono ottimi maestri, siccome noi possiamo manifestamente vedere ne' drappi tartareschi, i quali veramente sono sì artificiosamente tessuti, che non è alcun dipintore che col pennello gli sapesse far simiglianti, non che più belli. Sono i Tartari. . . ."

There is, as Dr. Toynbee remarks, a pathetic interest in these lines, as they were the last words Boccaccio ever wrote. In the preface to his *Comento* we read that Messer Giovanni (Boccaccio) began these lectures when he was old and infirm, in deference to the wish of his fellow-citizens, but that an envious death extinguished him when he was only at the beginning of Canto xvii. Our readers, as we have before remarked, must not think of the Boccaccio who wrote the grave and learned *Comento* on Dante's *Inferno* as the light and sensuous novelist whom the world knows chiefly from his *Decameron*, written in his early life, but repented of during long years of contrition and penance. He died reverenced by all the best men of his time. Let Oxford men remember that one who in early life was rescued from the snares of the "Hell Fire Club," died as one of the most saintly men of the nineteenth century, the revered Bishop Heber.

May not these so-called "Tartar Cloths" be simply what we know as "Turkey Carpets"?

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Neither Tartars nor Turks ever wove cloth with more colours (with more) ground-work, and (with more) overlaid embroidery, nor were such stuffs ever laid (on the loom) by Arachne.

Having spoken of Geryon's body, Dante now, by a double comparison, describes his attitude on the verge of the Abyss.

Come tal volta stanno a riva i burchi,*
Che parte sono in acqua e parte in terra, 20
E come là tra li Tedeschi lurchi †
Lo bevero ‡ s' assetta a far sua guerra;

---

* *burchi:* "Questa è una specie di navigli che si tirano mezzi in terra, e l' altra metà sta in acqua, quando non si naviga." (Giov. Villani, xi, cap. 66). The same chronicle describes how the dying Paduan leader Piero Rosso was brought back to Padua in a flat-bottomed boat after being mortally wounded in the fosse of the castle of Monselice in 1337: "Messer Piero . . . per li suoi tratto del fosso fu portato per lo canale in burchio . . . a Padova." The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says *burchio* is the same as the Latin *scapha*, and the Greek σκάφη.

† *Tedeschi lurchi:* Scartazzini, after quoting a saying of Tacitus that the Germans were *dediti somno ciboque*, says that possibly Dante is here alluding to a stratagem practised by Farinata degli Uberti in 1259 to secure the active co-operation of Manfred against the Florentine Guelphs, who were threatening the Ghibellines in Siena. Manfred, though appealed to by them for help, had only sent one hundred German men-at-arms, but with his standard. The Ghibellines would have refused this puny assistance, but Farinata turned it to good account, by gorging the Germans with meat and so inflaming them with wine, that they went forth and in a foolhardy manner attacked the Guelphs, by whom they were all slain, and Manfred's banner taken and dragged in the dust to Florence. Farinata took care to inform Manfred of the insult offered by the Florentines to his royal standard, and the irate monarch instantly sent a large force, which materially contributed to the success of the Ghibelline arms at the battle of Montaperti.

‡ *bevero:* Pietro di Dante cites, what was the popular belief in his father's time, that the animal called the beaver (*bivaro*) fishes with his tail by submerging it in the water and agitating it, whereby it exudes an oleaginous matter which attracts the

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Così la fiera pessima si stava
Sull' orlo che, di pietra, il sabbion serra.*
Nel vano tutta sua coda guizzava, 25
Torcendo in su la venenosa forca,
Che a guisa di scorpion la punta armava.

As at times the skiffs lie along the bank, which are partly in the water and partly on shore, and as yonder among the gluttonous Germans the beaver adjusts himself to wage his war (*i.e.* to catch his prey with his tail in the water); so was this most evil wild beast resting upon the edge, which being of stone, fences in the sand. The whole of its tail was writhing in the void, twisting on high the venomous fork which in guise of a scorpion armed the point (of it).

---

fish, and it then turns quickly round and catches them. And this is in Upper Germany, among the greedy Teutons (*et hoc est in Alemannia superiori, inter Theutonicos lurcos, idest golosos*). But as the beaver is not a fish-eating animal, only feeding on roots and fruits, especially on the water-lily (*Nuphar luteum*), it is probable that Dante may have confused the attitude of the beaver with the habits and diet of the otter. Benvenuto observes that beavers abounded in his time on the banks of the Danube, although it was not necessary to go so far, as they were also to be found in Italy not far from Ferrara, in the territory of the Marquesses of Este.

Dr. Moore points out to me that in Murray's *Dictionary*, s.v. *Badger*, it is said that "Badger" is used wrongly among the old writers both for "Beaver," and "Otter." If so, Dante is not alone in the confusion.

* *che, di pietra, il sabbion serra: Pietra* refers to the *passeggiati marmi*, l. 6. Compare *Purg.* x, 30:—

"Che, dritta, di salita aveva manco,"

which Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 386-88) paraphrases thus: "Che, a cagione dell' esser diritta, aveva mancanza di salita." Also *Purg.* v, 135:—

"Che, inannellata pria,
Disposato m' avea," etc.

Also *Purg.* xxi, 89:—

"Che, Tolosano, a sè mi trasse Roma."

The present passage is also quoted as an apt illustration of the somewhat unusual construction.

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Benvenuto says that Geryon's tail was preparing itself to wound, as does a scorpion; for a scorpion "will come to meet thee with open claws, and with its tail behind it will sting thee."

Dante and Virgil have up to now been walking straight across the Circle on the causeway that skirts the Phlegethon, and they must have been on the right bank, because, as they are now to turn to the right, they could not have done so had they been on the left bank. They must have been standing upon a spot where the causeway abruptly terminates on the verge of the Great Abyss. The river is on their left, the Abyss in front of them. The causeways on either side of the river must have been slightly elevated above the margin that ran round the rim of the Abyss, because Dante says (l. 31) that they descended, and therefore, as they stand at the place where the causeway terminates, they must be able to see Geryon below them to their right.

Virgil conducts Dante to Geryon.

Lo Duca disse:—"Or convien che si torca
La nostra via un poco infino a quella
Bestia malvagia che colà si corca."— 30
Però scendemmo alla destra mammella,*

---

* *alla destra mammella:* Twice during their passage through Hell do the Poets make an exception by turning to the right. The first time was after they had entered into the City of Dis, and were approaching the fiery tombs of the Heretics, see *Inf.* ix, 132, 133:—

"E poi ch' alla man destra si fu volto,
Passammo tra i martiri e gli alti spaldi."

See also coloured plan of the *Inferno* and the Itinerary of Dante, vol. i, p. 1. The second occasion is that described in the present passage, when they are approaching Fraud. Scartazzini points out that both Heresy and Fraud make use of

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E dieci passi * femmo in sullo stremo,
Per ben cessar † la rena e la fiammella : ‡

---

false words as their principal weapon, and the turning to the right may be taken as a symbol of uprightness, loyalty, and sincerity, which are the best weapons wherewith to encounter Unbelief and Fraud.

* *dieci passi :* Perhaps the word *ten* is used here in its mystic sense as the perfect number, as in *Purg.* xxix, 80, 81 :—

"e, quanto al mio avviso,
Dieci passi distavan quei di fuori."

† *cessar :* There are many significations of this word besides that of "to cease, to desist." In the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, s.v. *cessare*, § xiv, the sense is given to it of "*Sfuggire, schifare, scansare, allontanare*, Lat. *evitare.*" In *Inf.* xix, 49-51, we find *cessare* with the sense of "to defer" :—

"Io stava come il frate che confessa
Lo perfido assassin, che poi ch' è fitto,
Richiama lui, per che la morte cessa."
[*because thereby he defers his death*].

Compare also *Par.* xxv, 133-135 where *cessar* is used to signify "to avoid" :—

"Sì come, per cessar fatica o rischio,
Li remi pria nell' acqua ripercossi
Tutti si posan al sonar d' un fischio."

The *Nidobeatina*, followed by Fraticelli, reads *per ben cansar la rena*, etc.

‡ *la fiammella :* Blanc (*Saggio*, on *Inf.* ii, 55) also speaks of this passage, and thinks *la fiammella* stands for *le fiammelle.* Compare *Vita Nuova*, § xxiii, in the Canzone, *Donna Pietosa*, ll. 49, 50 (or 176, 177) :—

"Poi mi parve vedere appoco appoco
Turbar lo Sole ed apparir *la stella*,"

which, Fraticelli says in a note, stands for *le stelle*, or for *il ciel stellato.* So also in the *Convito*, iii, in the Canzone *Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona*, ll. 76-79 :—

"Tu sai che 'l ciel sempr' è lucente e chiaro,
E quanto in sè non si turba giammai :
Ma li nostr' occhi per cagioni assai
Chiaman *la stella* talor tenebrosa,"

though this instance is of more doubtful meaning. Compare also *Inf.* ii, 55 :—

"Lucevan gli occhi suoi più che la Stella."

This Scartazzini interprets as meaning "le stelle in generale."

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My Leader said: "Now it is necessary that our way should bend somewhat, as far as that evil beast that is crouching yonder." Therefore we descended to the right (*lit.* on the right breast), and stepped ten paces along the extreme verge, so as completely to avoid the sand and the flakes of fire.

Benvenuto points out that the inner rim of the Circle of the Violent, which runs like a stone coping round the Great Abyss, seems to have been exempt from the action of the flames, in the same way as were the dikes on either side of the Phlegethon.

In *Division* II, we learn how Dante catches sight of the Usurers, who are the Violent against Art, and how Virgil encourages him to accost them.

E quando noi a lei venuti semo,
Poco più oltre veggio in sulla rena 35
Gente seder propinqua al loco scemo.*
Quivi il Maestro:—"Acciocchè tutta piena
Esperïenza d' esto giron porti,"—
Mi disse,—"va, e vedi la lor mena. †

---

* *propinqua al loco scemo:* Usury is represented as in proximity to Fraud, into the Circles of which Dante is about to descend, there being so much analogy between the two.

The primary meaning of the adjective *scemo* is that which is empty after being full, and is said of a vessel *che manca in qualche parte della pienezza di prima.* Buti says of *loco scemo* in the present passage "cioè all' orlo detto di sopra, dopo il quale era vuoto." Compare *Purg.* vii, 65:—

"Quand' io m' accorsi che il monte era scemo."
[*i.e. hollowed-out.*]

† *mena:* Some think this refers to the contortions of the Usurers described in ll. 47-51; but Gelli gives the right explanation: "cioè qual fusse la lor sorte e il loro stato; che così significa questa voce, usata in questa maniera." Borghini (in *Studi sulla Divina Commedia*, p. 260) says: "Altrove usa [Dante] questa voce e nel medesimo modo, e altri autori

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Li tuoi ragionamenti sian là corti : 40
Mentre che torni parlerò con questa,
Che ne conceda i suoi omeri forti."—

And when we were come to him (Geryon), I saw, a little farther on, people sitting on the sand close to the empty space. Here my Master said to me: "In order that thou mayest carry away a full experience of this Round, go now, and see their condition. Let thy discourse out there be brief: until thou returnest I will speak with this creature that it may vouchsafe us its strong shoulders."

Benvenuto remarks that in good sooth Geryon had strong shoulders, as the whole world is founded upon fraud, and we know from what was said in the opening lines of this Canto, of his mighty power being able to overcome and break down all obstacles.

Dante now moves away from Virgil, and approaches the Usurers, whose torment appears to be nearly unendurable.

Così ancor * su per la strema testa

---

ancora: e quello che si dicano i francheschi [*whatever claim to the word the French may lay*], la voce è molto nostra [*i.e.* Tuscan]; e non vuol dir *gesti*, ma diremo noi lo stato e qualità loro." Compare *Inf.* xxiv, 82, 83 :—

"E vidivi entro terribile stipa
Di serpenti, e di sì diversa mena."
[*such variety of species.*]

* *ancor :* The meaning of *ancor* seems doubtful here. Some think it refers to Dante being now left to go alone for the second time, as before at the gates of Dis ; but the generally received interpretation is that Dante, having already visited the Violent against God and the Violent against Nature, now goes to see *yet another* class, namely, the Violent against Art. Scartazzini remarks that at the gates of Dis it was Virgil who quitted Dante, and went so far forward that Dante could not hear his conversation with the Demons. Now it is Dante who quits Virgil, and goes so far away that he does not overhear what passes between Virgil and Geryon.

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Di quel settimo cerchio tutto solo
Andai, ove sedea la gente mesta. 45
Per gli occhi fuori scoppiava lor duolo:
Di qua, di là soccorrien * con le mani,
Quando a' vapori, e quando al caldo suolo. †
Non altrimenti fan di state i cani, ‡
Or col ceffo or coi piè, quando son morsi 50
O da pulci o da mosche o da tafani. §

Thus yet another time upon the extreme boundary (*lit.* head) of that Seventh Circle all alone I went to where the sorrowful people were sitting. Their grief was gushing forth from their eyes: now on one side, now on the other, they defended themselves with their hands, sometimes from the flames,

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* *soccorrien:* The *Gran Dizionario* quotes the present passage as a not common use of *soccorrere* with the sense of "to shelter, to defend, oneself (*far riparo*)." Compare Petrarch, Part II, *Canz.* viii, st. 1:—

"Vergine, s' a mercede
Miseria estrema dell' umane cose
Giammai ti volse, al mio prego t' inchina;
Soccorri alla mia guerra,
Bench' i' sia terra, e tu del ciel regina."

† This well expresses the convulsive movements of the sufferers unceasingly warding off the flames, or raising themselves from the ground to escape the contact of their bodies with the fiery sand.

‡ *cani:* Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* x, st. 105:—

"Simil battaglia fa la mosca audace
Contro il mastin nel polveroso Agosto,
O nel mese dinanzi, o nel seguace,
L' uno di spiche e l' altro pien di mosto:
Negli occhi il punge e nel grifo mordace;
Volagli intorno, e gli sta sempre accosto.
E quel suonar fa spesso il dente asciutto;
Ma un tratto che gli arrivi, appaga il tutto."

§ *tafani:* Gadflies, the popular name of certain flies which goad or sting domestic animals, as a breeze, breeze-fly, or horse-fly. They are longer than the common fly, very active and blood-thirsty, their bite is deep and painful, although not poisonous.

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and sometimes from the heated ground. Not otherwise do the dogs in summer, now with snout, now with paws, when they are bitten by fleas, or flies, or gadflies.

Dante has now reached the spot where the Usurers are sitting in torment. He cannot recognise any of their faces, but his attention is caught by their armorial bearings, stamped upon certain scrips or purses round their necks. Gelli says the meaning of this is that usurers have no parts or qualities by which they are known or esteemed among men, except the treasure they possess, or their lineage, if they are of a noble family, and that is why their eyes are gloating so eagerly upon the purses. He thinks, however, that Dante introduced the circumstance of the colours of the arms as a kind of hint to his countrymen to pay greater regard to accuracy in heraldry, which in his time was most carelessly executed in Italy, whereas in Germany and France, and all other countries where chivalry was prized, far greater attention was paid to it.

Poi che nel viso a certi gli occhi porsi,*
Ne' quali il doloroso foco casca,
Non ne conobbi alcun; † ma io m' accorsi

**gli occhi porsi*: Compare Petrarch, Part I, *Sonnet* cxii (in some editions 130), 3, 4:—

"Nel fondo del mio cor gli occhi tuoi porgi
A te palese, a tutt' altri coverto."

And *ibid.*, *Trionfo della Fama*, cap. i, 22, 23:—

"Da man destra, ove gli occhi prima pôrsi,
La bella Donna avea Cesare e Scipio."

† *Non ne conobbi alcun*: Compare *Inf.* vii, 49-54, where Dante is unable to recognise any among the Misers and Prodigals:—

"Ed io: 'Maestro, tra questi cotali
Dovre' io ben riconoscere alcuni
Che furo immondi di cotesti mali.'

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Che dal collo a ciascun pendea una tasca, 55
Che avea certo colore e certo segno,
E quindi par che il loro occhio si pasca.*
E com' io riguardando tra lor vegno,
In una borsa gialla vidi azzurro,†
Che d' un leone avea faccia e contegno. 60
Poi procedendo di mio sguardo il curro,
Vidine un' altra come sangue rossa
Mostrare un' oca bianca ‡ più che burro.

After that I had directed my eyes on the face of certain of those upon whom the grievous fire falls, I did not recognise any one of them; but I noticed that from the neck of each was suspended a pouch which bore a certain colour and a certain cognizance, and on this it seems that their eyes are feasting. And as I come among them looking, on a scrip *Or* I saw *Azure* that bore the face and sem-

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Ed egli a me: 'Vano pensiero aduni:
La sconoscente vita che i fe' sozzi,
Ad ogni conoscenza or li fa bruni.'"

Compare *Purg.* xix, 72-126, where the Avaricious are punished in such a way as to make them unrecognisable. The same might be said of the Simonists in *Inf.* xix.

* *E quindi . . . il loro occhio si pasca:* Compare *Luke* xii, 34: "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." And *Eccles.* iv, 8: "Neither is his eye satisfied with riches." Pietro di Dante quotes Horace, 1 *Epist.* i, 53-56:—

"O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
Virtus post nummos. Haec Janus summus ab imo
Prodocet, haec recinunt juvenes dictata senesque
Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto."

† *gialla . . . azzurro:* Lana says: "This device of a lion *Azure* on a field *Or* is the escutcheon of the Gianfigliazzi of Florence, who *are* very great usurers." They must therefore have been contemporaries of Lana; a fact borne out by Giov. Villani, who (book xii, cap. 3) shows that they were still alive in Lana's time. Lord Vernon (*Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 487) gives a full account of the lineage of the Gianfigliazzi.

‡ *sangue rossa . . . oca bianca:* Lana says: "A goose *Argent* on a field *Gules* is the escutcheon of the Ubbriacchi of Florence, who likewise *have been* great usurers."

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blance of a lion. Then as the course of my look proceeded further, I saw another of them red as blood display a goose whiter than butter.

Dante is now addressed by one of the shades, who tells him that he was a native of Padua, and who, from the heraldic device on his pouch, is generally considered to be the shade of Reginaldo or Rinaldo de' Scrovigni. Seeing that Dante will return to the world, he particularly calls his attention to the fact that there are two usurers still living, namely, Vitaliano at Padua, and Buiamonte at Florence, who are predestined to the same torment, and who far surpass himself and his companions in guilt.

He probably wishes to minimise in Dante's eyes the shame of being the only Paduan there, by telling him that there is another yet to come.

Ed un, che d' una scrofa azzurra e grossa
Segnato avea lo suo sacchetto bianco, 65
Mi disse :—" Che fai tu in questa fossa ? *
Or te ne va : e perchè se' vivo anco,
Sappi che il mio vicin † Vitalïano
Sederà qui dal mio sinistro fianco.

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* *questa fossa :* Dante means by this the whole Abyss of Hell, though some have contended that the shade meant "What business have you, who were not a Usurer, in this Round ?"

† *vicin :* Both Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*), and Tommaséo (*Gran Dizionario*) interpret *vicin* in this passage as "fellow-citizen," from *vicus*. The *Gran Dizionario* quotes the following passages in which *vicini* has this meaning: The present passage; *Purg.* xi, 140; *Par.* xvi, 134, 135; and *Par.* xvii, 97. Petrarch also uses the word in the same sense in Part IV, *Son.* ix (in some editions Part I, *Son.* 71):—

"Piangan le rime ancor, piangano i versi,
Perchè 'l nostro amoroso messer Cino
Novellamente s' è da noi partito.
Pianga Pistoja, e i cittadin perversi,
Che perdut' hanno sì dolce vicino."

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Con questi Fiorentin son Padovano; 70
Spesse fiate m' intronan gli orecchi,
Gridando: 'Vegna il cavalier soprano,*
Che recherà la tasca con tre becchi.'" †
Qui distorse la bocca,‡ e di fuor trasse
La lingua, come il bue che il naso lecchi. 75

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* *soprano* for *sovrano*. Compare *Inf.* xxii, 86, 87:—

". . . e negli altri offizi anche
Barattier fu non picciol, ma soprano."

Compare *Il Novellino* (ed. Barbèra, Florence, 1889), p. 80: "ed aveane uno [falcone] molto sovrano, cioè, pregevole sopra tutti."

† *becchi*: The person alluded to as the prince of usurers, and whose scrip bore the device of three *becchi*, seems to have been Giovanni Buiamonte of Florence, who was living there in 1300. Unsurpassed as a usurer, he eventually died in complete poverty. Much controversy has arisen about the word *becchi*, as it can either signify "goats" or "beaks." The former interpretation is favoured by Pietro di Dante and Benvenuto, whereas Lana, Buti, and others take it to mean three "eagles' beaks," which latter is probably the more correct interpretation. The *Anonimo Fiorentino* says that Buiamonte's arms were, on a yellow field three black *becchi*, one above the other, *passant*, like the leopards that are in the arms of the King of England. Lord Vernon (*Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 433) gives a reproduction of this shield taken from the Archives of Florence. The *becchi* upon it are eagles' beaks, two above and one underneath. He says the family of the Buiamonti had the lordship of Torre Becchi, a strong place in the territory of Florence. The family still retain the name De' Becchi. Buiamonte di Messer Rota, a distinguished Guelph, with his three sons took part in the disastrous battle of Montaperti. Giovanni Buiamonte is supposed to have been another son of the above. He was Gonfaloniere of Justice in 1293, and his palaces were destroyed in the great fire in 1304, which was kindled by the treachery of Neri degli Abati.

‡ *distorse la bocca*, et seq.: Dante has here evidently imitated *Isaiah* lvii, 4: "Super quem dilatastis os, et ejecistis linguam?" Dr. Moore (*Studies*, i, p. 77) says it is rather a reminiscence than a quotation. Scartazzini suggests the probable imitation of these words of *Isaiah* in support of *bocca* as against the variant *faccia*. Blanc remarks that the antiquity in Italy of making faces by way of insult is shown in the following lines of

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And one, who had his scrip *Argent* emblazoned with a sow in brood *Azure*, said to me: "What doest thou here in this Abyss (*i.e.* in Hell). Now get thee gone: and since thou art still alive, know that my fellow-citizen Vitaliano shall sit here on my left side. Among these Florentines am I, a Paduan; oft-times do they deafen mine ears, shouting: 'Let the sovereign knight (*i.e.* the prince of usurers) come, who will bring the pouch with the three beaks.'" Here he pursed up his mouth, and thrust out his tongue, like an ox that licks its nose.

Lana says that the sow *Azure* is girded *Gules* on a field *Argent*, and adds that the arms are those of the Scrovigni of Padua, "who," he says, "*are* likewise very great usurers." Reginaldo (or Rinaldo) de' Scrovigni was possessed of immense wealth, with an insatiable hunger for more. At the moment of his death (before 1300) he cried out: "Give me the keys of my strong box, so that no one shall be able to take my money."

Vitaliano del Dente was supposed by the older Commentators to be the person referred to by Scrovigno; but Emilio Malpurgo (*Dante e Padova*, p. 213) argues that Dante is here alluding to Vitaliano di Jacopo Vitaliani, who actually lived as a near neigh-

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Persius (*Sat.* i, 88-90), which are clearly identical with the scene before us:—

"O Jane! a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit,
Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis altas,
Nec linguae, quantum sitiat canis Appula, tantum!"

See also Livy vii, 10, where the gigantic Gaul puts out his tongue at Manlius Torquatus: "Armatum adornatumque adversus Gallum stolide laetum et (quoniam id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est) linguam etiam ab irrisu exercentem, producunt."

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bour of the Scrovigni in Padua, which is used as an argument by those who prefer to translate *vicin* "neighbour," and not, as I follow Blanc and Tommaséo (*Gran Dizionario*), by "fellow-citizen." We may note the tone of exultation with which Scrovigno predicts that Vitaliano is to sit on his *left* hand, thereby indicating the latter's greater guilt.

Division III.—Dante has now seen all the punishments of Violence in its various kinds, and prepares to quit the Circle, passing down into that part of Hell where Fraud is chastised. He turns his back upon the Usurers, and rejoins Virgil whom he finds waiting him, and already seated upon Geryon's back.

Ed io, temendo nol* più star cruciasse
Lui che di poco star m' avea monito,
Torna' mi indietro dall' anime lasse.
Trovai lo Duca mio ch' era salito
Già in sulla groppa del fiero animale, 80
E disse a me:—"Or sii forte ed ardito.
Omai† si scende per sì fatte scale:

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* *temendo nol:* This stands for *temendo no il*, like *Inf.* iii, 80:—

"Temendo no 'l mio dir gli fusse grave."

See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *No'* § 11, where the present passage is quoted. The use of *non* is said to be elliptical for *Che non*, and the authors add: "Questa elissi ricorre spesso nell' antiche scritture co' verbi *Temere* e *Dubitare*, e risponde al *Ne* dei Latini."

† *Omai:* It will be seen that from this point the Poets do not find any more natural descents into the depths below. They are carried down into the Eighth Circle (*Malebolge*) on the back of Geryon; and when they quit it, the Giant Antaeus lifts them down on to the frozen surface of Cocytus in the Ninth Circle; they make their final exit from Hell by clambering down the shaggy hide of Lucifer; then, after passing the centre of the Universe in the middle of his body, they turn

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Monta dinanzi, ch' io voglio esser mezzo, *
Sì che la coda non possa far male."—

And I, fearing lest longer tarrying might displease him who had admonished me to tarry but little, turned me back from those afflicted souls. I found my Leader, who was already mounted on the croup of the fierce animal, and he said to me: "Now be thou strong and courageous. Henceforth we must descend by stairs of this kind: Mount thou in front, for I wish to be between, so that the tail can do (thee) no harm."

Benvenuto remarks that this last sentence is as though Virgil would say: "I wish you to sit in the saddle of Geryon's back, that you may be in greater security, for you do not yet know how to ride such a steed; and I, who am better acquainted with the nature of this false beast, will sit upon his haunch, for he is like unto the mule, who may be thirty years before he gives a kick, and then will kick you to death." Tommaséo says that knowledge and up-

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themselves upside down, and climb *up again* by the hair on his legs, upturned in the other hemisphere, until they reach the subterranean passage leading up to the foot of the mountain of Purgatory.

Compare also *Purg.* ii, 30:—

"Omai vedrai di sì fatti offiziali."

* *mezzo:* This means *nel mezzo* (*fra due*), the two being. Dante on the one side (near Geryon's head), and the venomous tail of Geryon the other. In *Purg.* xxvii, 22-24, when Virgil is urging Dante to enter boldly into the flames, he says:—

"Ricordati, ricordati . . . e, se io
Sopr' esso Gerïon ti guidai salvo
Che farò ora presso più a Dio?"

By which Virgil meant, that if he had guided Dante safely through Hell, the place that is furthest removed from God, how much the more will he not conduct him in safety, now that he is so much nearer to Heaven, and to that God Who had despatched Virgil to Dante's assistance.

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rightness interpose between Man and Fraud. Scartazzini prefers to think of Virgil here as the symbol of Imperial authority, which protects men, and places them in complete security from the fraudulent snares of others.

Dante is terror-struck at Virgil's words, and trembles like one sick of the ague.

Qual è colui, ch' ha sì presso il riprezzo * 85
Della quartana, ch' ha già l' unghie smorte,
E trema tutto pur guardando il rezzo, †

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* *riprezzo :* The more modern form of this word is *ribrezzo*, with the meaning of "horror, disgust"; but it is here used in its primary sense of "the act of shivering, the shivering-fit in a fever"; and in *Inf.* xxxii, 70-72, Dante makes it express his terror :—

"Poscia vid' io mille visi, cagnazzi
Fatti per freddo : onde mi vien riprezzo,
E verrà sempre, de' gelati guazzi."

Compare also Petrarch, Part ii, *Son.* 56 (in some editions 284):—

"Qual ha già i nervi e i polsi e i pensier egri
Cui domestica febbre assalir deve."

† *rezzo :* Cf. *aura ora* in Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary*, under which head is Sp., Pg., Prov., Rhaeto-Romance *aura ;* O. Fr. *ore*, a breeze, from *aura ;* hence the Prov. *aurat*, O. Fr. *ore ;* Prov. *auratge ;* O. Fr. *orage*, a breeze (*lo dons auratge, lo fer auratge*); Fr. *orage* a storm, Sp. *orage ;* Sp. *orear*, Catalonian *oretjar*, to refresh, *oreo*, oretj, It. *oreggio ;* Prov. *aurei*, a gentle gale. From *oreggio* is to be distinguished Ital. *orezzo rezzo*, a cool shady place, from a form *auritium*. Borghini (*Studi*, p. 235) points out that *rezzo* in Tuscany means a place shaded from the sun, and that it is a marvellous property of Nature that persons subject to quartan fever, when they merely look at a shady spot and recollect that they used to go thither to get cool, have their imaginations so worked upon that they begin to tremble ; and these are the beautiful and artfully contrived passages of this Poem, which the commentators ought to illustrate, whereas instead they constantly confuse them and render them more obscure (Borghini died in 1580).

Compare *adorezza* in *Purg.* i, 123.

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Tal divenn' io alle parole pôrte : *
Ma vergogna mi fêr le sue minacce,†
Che innanzi a buon signor fa servo forte. 90

As is he who has the shivering fit of the quartan so near, that his nails are already livid, and he trembles all over at the mere sight of the shade, such became I at the words uttered (by Virgil); but his reproofs aroused in me that shame, which in presence of a valiant lord makes a servant bold.

Though unable to utter a word, Dante takes his place in front of Virgil, who gives the signal for their descent.

Io m' assettai in su quelle spallacce:
—"Sì"—(volli dir, ma la voce non venne
Com' io credetti)—"fa che tu m' abbracce."—‡
Ma esso che altra volta mi sovvenne
Ad altro forse,§ tosto ch' io montai, 95

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* *parole pôrte :* Compare *Inf.* ii, 134, 135 :—
"E tu cortese, che ubbidisti tosto
Alle vere parole che ti porse!"
And *Inf.* v, 108 :—
"Queste parole da lor ci fur pôrte."
And *Inf.* viii, 112 :—
"Udir non pote' quel ch' a lor si porse."

† *minacce :* Scartazzini thinks the word must be interpreted in the sense of *reproofs*, not *threats*, and that the Latin *minae* is used to describe the cry of the ploughman to urge along his oxen. Benvenuto remarks of *vergogna* in this line, that shame is a most potent and efficacious weapon for converting a timid man into a bold one, and defeat into victory. He relates an episode which Julius Celsus tells of Julius Cæsar in Gaul, who seeing a soldier running away in battle, caught him by the nose-piece of his helmet (*nasale*), and led him back into the fight. saying: "The enemy are in that direction!"

‡ *Sì (volli dir . . .) fa che tu m' abbracce :* There is some discrepancy as to whether *Sì* is to be taken with *volli dir*, or with *fa che tu m' abbracce.* Blanc (*Saggio*) prefers the former, also Scartazzini. I follow Witte and others in taking it as *Sì fa che*, etc., "so contrive, so manage."

§ *Ad altro forse :* Both Witte and Blanc prefer this reading

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Con le braccia m' avvinse e mi sostenne:
E disse:—"Gerion, moviti omai:
Le rote larghe,* e lo scender sia poco:
Pensa la nuova soma che tu hai."—

I settled myself down on those repulsive shoulders: "Do thou," I would have said, but my voice did not come as I thought, "so manage that thou clasp me in thine arms." But he, who at other times had rescued me in other dangers, as soon as I had mounted, threw his arms round me and held me up, and said: "Move off now, Geryon: let thy circles be wide, and thy descent gradual: bethink thee of the unusual burden that thou hast."

We may infer that Geryon was accustomed only to carry spirits that were wholly unaffected by any unevenness of motion. With a living man upon his back more caution was necessary. Benvenuto thinks the other occasion of danger alluded to was when

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to *ad altro forte*, or *ad alto forte*. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 316) says: "The copious list of variants here is very curious, and I think easily accounted for by the somewhat unusual substantival use of *forse* in the original reading (as I take it undoubtedly to have been) *altro forse*." Compare *Inf.* viii, 109, 110:—

"Così sen va, e quivi m' abbandona
Lo dolce padre, ed io rimango in forse."

And *Purg.* xxix, 18:—

"Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse."

And *Par.* xii, 40, 41:—

"Quando lo imperador che sempre regna,
Provvide alla milizia ch' era in forse."

And Petrarch, *Trionfo della Morte*, cap. i, terz. 20:—

"Tal si fe quella fera: e poi che 'n forse
Fu stata un poco," etc.

* *Le rote larghe:* In *Conv.* iv, 6, ll. 187-190, Dante addresses himself to Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, and Frederick, King of Aragon, as follows: "Meglio sarebbe a voi, come rondine volare basso, che come nibbio altissime rote fare sopra cose vilissime."

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Dante and Virgil sat together on the back of the Centaur. Others think it must have been when Dante was left at the gate of the City of Dis, and Virgil after a short absence, returned to his side. It might also be when Virgil delivered him from the three beasts on the mountain.

Geryon obeys Virgil's order, turns round, and sets off.

Come la navicella * esce del loco 100
In dietro, in dietro, sì quindi si tolse;
E poi ch' al tutto si sentì a giuoco,
Là dov' era il petto, la coda rivolse,
E quella tesa, come anguilla, mosse,
E con le branche l' aria a sè raccolse. † 105

As from its berth a small vessel issues, backing, backing, so from that spot moved (Geryon) away; and when he felt himself in full play, he curled his tail to where his breast had been, and moved it (the tail) stretched out like an eel, and with his paws he gathered the air to himself.

This is meant to describe the movements of one swimming in the water, adapted to Geryon swimming in the air. Benvenuto's idea, however, is that Geryon really was in the water of the cataract, and he takes the words *poi che tutto si sentì a giuoco* to

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* *navicella:* Rossetti observes that the vessel is supposed to be backing out of a narrow channel. He points out that the imagery was prepared since the beginning of the Canto, where Geryon is summoned to come ashore (*venire a proda*); and we are told that he does not draw his tail on to the bank (*sulla riva*); that his position is like that of the flat-bottomed boats (*burchi*); and Rossetti compares his being here spoken of as a *navicella* to the exclamation from Heaven in *Purg.* xxxii, 129:—

"O navicella mia, com' mal sei carca!"

† *con le branche l' aria a sè raccolse:* Geryon had no wings, but paddled in the air with his paws.

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mean *postquam sensit se totum in aqua, ubi poterat natare, ludere, et guizzare* * [quiver] *ad modum piscis.*

If Dante's fears were great at having to mount upon Geryon's back, they were increased tenfold when he found himself in the void of the Abyss, moving rapidly in total darkness. He compares his terror to that of Phaëton and Icarus, who respectively met their deaths by falling down from a great height in the air.

Maggior paura non credo che fosse,
Quando Fetòn † abbandonò li freni,
Per che il ciel, come pare ancor, si cosse : ‡

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* *guizzare* (and in another MS. of Benvenuto *guicciare*). Donkin (*Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, s.v. *guizzare sguizzare*) derives the word from the German *witsen witschen.*

† *Fetòn :* The story of Phaëton may be read in Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 47-324. The lines to which Dante is especially referring are 178-181 :—

"Ut vero summo despexit ab aethere terras
Infelix Phaethon, penitus penitusque jacentes;
Palluit, et subito genua intremuere timore;
Suntque oculis tenebrae per tantum lumen obortae."

‡ *il ciel . . . si cosse :* This means, "as may still be seen in the Milky Way," which Dante calls elsewhere *la Galassia.* Compare *Conv.* ii, 15, ll. 45-55 : "È da sapere che di quella Galassia li filosofi hanno avuto diverse opinioni. Chè li Pittagorici dissero che 'l sole alcuna fiata errò nella sua via, e, passando per altre parti non convenienti al suo fervore, arse il luogo, per lo quale passò; e rimasevi quell' apparenza dell' arsura. E credo che si mossero dalla favola di Fetonte, la quale narra Ovidio nel principio del secondo di *Metamorfoseos.*" And *ibid.* ll. 59-63 : "Quello che Aristotile si dicesse di ciò, non si può bene sapere, perchè la sua sentenza non si trova cotale nell' una traslazione, come nell' altra." But it is generally understood in modern times that Dante had in his mind Aristotle's *Meteora*, i, 8 (345a) : "Τῶν καλουμένων Πυθαγορείων φασί τινες ὁδὸν εἶναι ταύτην, οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐκπεσόντων τινὸς ἄστρων, κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος φθοράν."
Compare also *Par.* xiv, 97-99 :—

"Come distinta da minori e maggi
Lumi biancheggia tra i poli del mondo
Galassia sì, che fa dubbiar ben saggi," etc.

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Nè quando Icaro* misero le reni
Sentì spennar per la scaldata cera, 110
Gridando il padre a lui:—"Mala via tieni,"—†
Che fu la mia, quando vidi ch' i' era
Nell' aer d' ogni parte, e vidi spenta
Ogni veduta fuor che della fiera.

Greater fear I do not imagine there was, when Phaëton abandoned the reins (of the chariot of the Sun), whereby the heaven, as is still apparent (in the Milky Way) was set on fire: nor when the ill-fated Icarus felt his loins becoming unfeathered by the heating of the wax (of his artificial wings), when his father cried to him: "An ill course thou holdest," than was my (fear), when I saw that I was in the air on every side, and saw every sight extinguished save that of the beast.

Dante might well fear lest the fraudulent Geryon should treacherously cast him down. He had no cause to trust him.

**Icaro:* Benvenuto thinks the real truth about Daedalus and his son Icarus to have been that they were making their escape in two vessels, each with pitched sails; for he says a vessel is in truth a wooden bird that has sails instead of wings, and oars in place of feet. He thinks Icarus probably put too far out to sea and was capsized. The story is related at length by Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 223-232:—

"Cum puer audaci coepit gaudere volatu,
Deseruitque ducem, coelique cupidine tractus
Altius egit iter. Rapidi vicinia Solis
Mollit odoratas, pennarum vincula, ceras.
Tabuerant cerae: nudos quatit ille lacertos,
Remigioque carens non ullas percipit auras.
Oraque coerulea, patrium clamantia nomen,
Excipiuntur aqua, quae nomen traxit ab illo.
At pater infelix, nec jam pater, Icare, dixit,
Icare, dixit, ubi es? qua te regione requiram?"

† *Mala via tieni:* See *ibid.* 203-207:—

"Instruit et natum: Medioque ut limite curras,
Icare, ait, moneo; ne, si demissior ibis,
Unda gravet pennas; si celsior, ignis adurat.
Inter utrumque vola."

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Geryon's downward movements are exactly in accordance with Virgil's injunctions. We shall see (in l. 117) that they were moving not only forwards, by which they had the wind in their faces, but also downwards, by the wind coming up from below; and we may infer that as they now come nearer to *Malebolge* in their descent, their wide gyrations would take them above the whole of its ten valleys, for they hear sounds of lamentation *on all sides.*

Ella sen va nuotando lenta lenta; 115
Rota e discende, ma non me n' accorgo,
Se non ch' al viso e disotto mi venta.
Io sentia già dalla man destra * il gorgo
Far sotto noi un orribile stroscio;
Per che con gli occhi in giù la testa sporgo. 120
Allor fu' io più timido allo scoscio: †
Perocch' io vidi fochi, ‡ e sentii pianti;
Ond' io tremando tutto mi raccoscio. §

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* *dalla man destra:* In Geryon's wide gyrations he would have passed in front of the great cascade of the Phlegethon, so that it is now on the Poets' right hand, whereas, when they turned away from it, it had been on their left hand. It will be remembered that after walking along the margin of its right bank, they had turned to their right and quitted it; consequently it was then on their left hand.

† *scoscio:* This word is better known in the adjective derived from it, *scosceso*, "precipitous."

‡ *io vidi fochi:* If a balloon were to descend at night into the Black Country of Staffordshire, the foundries, furnaces and ironworks of Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, Dudley, or Brierley Hill might give the aëronauts some similar ideas.

§ *mi raccoscio:* Dante shrunk back cowering with fright. On this passage, Buti says: "*raccoscio*, cioè tutto mi ristringo e risserro le coscie alla fiera." Compare *s' accoscia* in *Inf.* xviii, 132. Venturi thinks *raccosciare* is to grip with the thighs, but Di Siena says that is absurd, for this huge monster was not like a park hack, on which Dante could mount and sit astride, but that the word rather implies a gathering up of the limbs together.

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E vidi poi, chè nol vedea davanti,
Lo scendere e il girar, per li gran mali 125
Che s' appressavan da diversi canti.

It (the beast) goes off swimming slowly, slowly; wheels and descends, but I perceive it not, save that on my face and from below I feel a wind. Already I heard on my right hand the whirlpool beneath us making a horrible roar; whereat I stretch out my head with my eyes downwards. Then became I more terrified at the precipice: for I discerned fires, and heard lamentations; trembling whereat I shrink quite up into myself. And then I discerned, for I had not discerned them before, our descending and circling, by reason of the grievous horrors that were getting nearer on every side.

By the sounds becoming more audible, Dante would understand that he was getting lower and lower down in the Great Abyss, and the changes and variety of the sounds would make him comprehend that he was passing over places different from each other, and that his descent was in wide circles.

Dante now brings the Canto to a conclusion by likening Geryon's rotatory descent into the bottom of the Abyss to that of a falcon, wearied after an unsuccessful flight.

Come il falcon ch' è stato assai sull' ali,
Che senza veder logoro * o uccello,

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* *logoro:* The lure consisted of two wings of a bird attached together. This was swung round his head by the falconer to entice the hawk back. See *logoro* in Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary:* "*Logoro* It. (for *logro?*), Prov. *loire* (whence *lorimier*, a saddler, Eng. *lorimer*), O. Fr. *loitre*, Fr. *leurre* (masc.), Eng. *lure*, prop. a bit of leather used by falconers to lure back hawks; from Mid. High Germ. *luoder* (Germ. *leder*, *leather*) lure, It. *g* for *d* as in *ragunare* for *radunare*. As a verb, Prov. *loirar*, Fr. *leurrer*, Engl. *lure*, *allure;* It. *logorare*, to feast, revel = M. H. G. *luodern*."

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Fa dire al falconiere :—"Oimè tu cali :"—*
Discende lasso onde si move snello, 130
Per cento rote, e da lungi si pone
Dal suo maestro, disdegnoso e fello :
Così ne pose al fondo Gerïone
A piè a piè † della stagliata ‡ rocca,
E discarcate le nostre persone, 135
Si dileguò,§ come da corda cocca. ||

Even as the falcon which has been long upon the wing—that without seeing lure or bird, causes the falconer to cry: "Ah me! thou stoopest:"—descends weary with many a wheel (to the place) whence it is used to rise nimbly, and alights far from its master disdainful and sullen: so at the bottom did Geryon deposit us, at the very foot of

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* *Oimè tu cali :* Buti points out that this is equivalent to the falconer saying that he is vexed if the falcon stoops, and not without cause, for it shows the bird is either weak, or weary, or ill-tempered, all of them things which tend to spoil it; and besides, the falconer takes nothing that day.

† *A piè a piè :* This is very like *Inf.* xiv, 12 :—

"Quivi fermammo i passi a randa a randa."

Scartazzini interprets this in a curious way, and constructs the sentence thus: "Geryon set us down on our feet (*a piè*) at the foot (*a piè*) of the rugged cliff." But Dr. Scartazzini was not a Tuscan, and *a piè a piè* is a Tuscan idiom. See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *piede*, § 16: "*A piede a piede* per *vicino vicino*, *Vicinissimo*." The present passage is quoted in illustration.

‡ *stagliata :* The *s* is expressive of the thing being badly done; *tagliata*, cut, hewn; *stagliata*, badly cut, coarsely hewn.

§ *Si dileguò :* Geryon's rapid departure, after setting down the Poets, reminds one *by contrast* of that of the Angel Pilot after landing the boat-load of spirits on the sea-shore of the Island of Purgatory. See *Purg.* ii, 49-51 :—

"Poi fece il segno lor di santa croce ;
Ond' ei si gittâr tutti in sulla piaggia,
Ed ei sen gì, come venne, veloce."

|| *cocca* is properly the notch of the arrow, and stands here for the arrow itself, as *corda* stands for the bow (*Pars pro toto*). See *Inf.* xii, 77, and the footnote on it.

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the rugged cliff, and, disburdened of our persons,
sped away like an arrow from a bow.

This is one of the many illustrations drawn by Dante from falconry. Blanc (*Saggio*) reminds us that when the hawk is thrown off at the quarry, it darts up into the air with great swiftness, and having reached a sufficient elevation, it flies round in circles until it sights its prey (*uccello*), or is recalled by the falconer with the lure (*logoro*). But if it sights no quarry, and is not recalled by the falconer, becoming tired, it descends to earth of its own accord in wide wheels (*discende lasso per cento rote*), and it lights and seats itself far away from its master, disdainful and sullen. Many of the modern Commentators interpret this passage differently, but Blanc, who follows the old writers, reminds his readers that they lived in days when they were constantly seeing hawking, and were thoroughly acquainted with the terms in use in their time.

END OF CANTO XVII.

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CANTO XVIII.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CALLED *MALEBOLGE*) — THE FRAUDULENT PUNISHED IN TEN DIFFERENT *BOLGE* OR VALLEYS. FIRST *BOLGIA*: PANDERS AND SEDUCERS —VENEDICO CACCIANIMICO—JASON. SECOND *BOLGIA*: FLATTERERS AND PARASITES— ALESSIO INTERMINEI— THAIS.

WE left Dante and Virgil at the end of the last Canto, having just dismounted from the back of Geryon on reaching the bottom of the Great Abyss down which he had borne them. They are now in the Eighth Circle, known as *Malebolge* (*lit.* evil pouches), from its being divided into valleys or chasms in which are distributed the shades condemned for ten different species of Fraud. The following table gives the classification of the sinners, and shows in what Cantos they are respectively described.

Bolgia		Canto
I.	Panders and Seducers	xviii.
II.	Flatterers	xviii.
III.	Simonists	xix.
IV.	Diviners	xx.
V.	Traffickers in Public Offices and Corrupt Officials	xxi, xxii.
VI.	Hypocrites	xxiii.
VII.	Robbers	xxiv, xxv.
VIII.	Fraudulent Counsellors	xxvi, xxvii.
IX.	Disseminators of Strife	xxviii, xxix.
X.	Falsifiers and Coiners	xxix, xxx.

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These sinners in *Malebolge*, however, are only punished for Fraud where there has been no breach of trust. For those whose guilt is deeper, for the traitors who by Fraud have violated trust reposed in them, a more terrible fate is reserved. They are imbedded in the ice of the frozen lake of Cocytus in the Ninth Circle below.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, Dante first gives a general description of *Malebolge*, and then relates what he saw in the first of its valleys (*Bolgia* I), where the Panders and Seducers have to suffer.

In *Division* II, from ver. 40 to ver. 66, he recounts his conversation with the shade of Venedico Caccianimico, a notorious Pander, and a native of Bologna.

In *Division* III, from ver. 67 to ver. 99, Virgil points out to Dante the shade of Jason punished for Seduction.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 100 to ver. 136, we read of the passage of Dante and Virgil into the Second Valley, wherein they see Flatterers and Parasites.

Division I.—Dante begins the Canto by a precise description of *Malebolge*. On this Benvenuto remarks: "Now see in what manner he first describes the place by a new name, for it has only been recently spoken of by the author, never by any one else, and it is a convenient name. For *bolgia*,* in popular

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**bolgia:* In modern Florentine language *bolgia* or *bolgetta* is distinctly a pouch, pocket, wallet answering to the French *bissac*. Both in the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, and by Littré, the two words are made to express the same thing; namely, a kind of pouch opening longways. In the *Vocabolario della*

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Florentine language, is the same as a concave capacious valley: now this Circle contains in itself many valleys, each of which is capable of containing a vast number of people; therefore Dante gave it this name (*Malebolge*), and it is a composite noun in the singular number. And well is it so called, for whereas all the valleys in Hell are evil (*malae*), these in *Malebolge* may more especially be so styled."

Loco è in inferno detto Malebolge,
Tutto di pietra e di color ferrigno,
Come la cerchia * che d' intorno il volge.
Nel dritto mezzo del campo maligno
Vaneggia un pozzo assai largo e profondo,† 5
Di cui *suo loco* ‡ dicerò l' ordigno.
Quel cinghio che rimane adunque è tondo,
Tra il pozzo e il piè dell' alta ripa dura,
Ed ha distinto in dieci valli il fondo.

Crusca there is a quotation given from the Italian translation of the Golden Ass of Apuleïus: "Lucia, piglia la valigia e le bolge di questo ospite." *Bolge* there must mean saddle-bags. A Florentine once brought me a long pouch which I had asked him to make for a special purpose. "Ecco la borghetta!" said he, as he came into the room. On my telling him later on, that I had looked unsuccessfully for *borghetta* in two dictionaries, and could not find the meaning, he answered: "Sa! è una parola che si usa tra noi." But a few days afterwards he informed me that he ought to have said *bolgetta*, the same, he added, as *bolgia*, the word used by Dante.

* *cerchia:* Compare *cerchie eterne* (l. 72) and see note distinguishing *cerchia*, "enclosure, *enceinte*," from *cerchio* "a circle." *Cerchia* here is the *stagliata rocca* (xvii, 134).

† *profondo:* Benvenuto explains this as not referring to the depth of the pit below the Eighth Circle, but because it is situated at the extreme bottom of Hell. I have therefore translated *profondo* "deep down (in Hell)."

‡ *suo loco:* These words are in Latin, probably borrowed from the scholastic Latin.

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> There is a place in Hell called *Malebolge*, all of stone and of the colour of iron, as is also the zone (of cliffs) that girds it around. Right in the middle of the evil region yawns a pit, exceeding broad and deep down (in Hell), the structure of which I will relate at its proper place. That enclosed space therefore which remains, between the Pit and the towering cliffs, is circular, and has its bottom divided off into ten valleys.*

To give the exact measurement of the space thus described is impossible. Several famous geometricians, such as Manetti, Galileo, Giambullari and Vellutello, have given their different ideas. I cannot pretend to adopt any one of them throughout, but on the whole I prefer to take the calculations of Alessandro Vellutello (see "Dimensions of Hell" in the Preliminary Chapter, and Plan of *Inferno*). Manetti's system † has been generally considered good as far as the first seven Circles are concerned, but as his calculations of the Eighth and Ninth Circles are very confused, it has been supposed that these latter were written by others after his death, and wrongly attributed to him. In the beautiful work by Giovanni

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* I have adopted the following distinctive names to avoid confusion in describing the Eighth Circle.

The *Burrato* (Canto xvi, 114), down which the Poets are carried by Geryon from the Seventh to the Eighth Circle, I have translated "the Abyss," and generally speak of as "the Great Abyss."

The *Pozzo* (xviii, 5) is translated "the Pit."

The word *Bolge* is translated, in accordance with Benvenuto's interpretation, "Valleys."

† The whole plan of Hell, as calculated by Manetti, and the two lectures in support of it that are attributed to Galileo, will be found in *Studi sulla Divina Commedia di Galileo Galilei, Vincenzo Borghini ed altri*, by Ottavio Gigli, Florence, 1855.

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Agnelli (*Topo-Cronografia del Viaggio Dantesco*, Hoëpli, Milan, 1891), the author states that Giambullari* constructs his imaginary fabric precisely similar to that of Manetti until the descent to *Malebolge*, and from there to the centre he ingeniously corrects Manetti's system. The latter calculated the depth of the Great Abyss at 730 miles, and the depth of the *Pozzo* at eighty. Now it is evident that Antæus could not lift the Poets down such a distance as eighty miles! (see *Inf.* xxxi, 115-145). Giambullari gets rid of the difficulty in the following manner. He calculates the whole distance from the summit of the Great Abyss to the Central Point of the Earth as 812½ miles. He considers the depth of the Great Abyss to be wholly immaterial, as there would be no limit to Geryon's powers of descent. He therefore takes the eighty miles, assigned by Manetti as the depth of the *Pozzo*, and adds them to the 730 calculated by Manetti as the depth of the Great Abyss, thereby increasing it to 810 miles, while the remaining two and a half miles he reserves for the depths of *Malebolge* added to that of the *Pozzo*.

Putting together the two passages, in one of which (*Inf.* xxix, 8, 9) Virgil tells Dante that the Ninth *Bolgia* has a circumference of twenty-two miles, and in the other (*Inf.* xxx, 86, 87) Maestro Adamo states

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* Pier Francesco Giambullari, Accademico Fiorentino, *De 'l Sito, Forma, e Misure dello Inferno di Dante*, Firenze, 1544. In the Preliminary Chapter will be found an illustration adapted from Agnelli's work giving the dimensions of *Malebolge* as calculated by Vellutello. By the courtesy of Signor Agnelli and his publisher Commendator Hoëpli of Milan, I have had permission to reproduce this plan.

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the Tenth *Bolgia* has a circumference of eleven miles, Signor Agnelli (*Topo-Cronografia*, p. 17), adopting the theory of Vellutello, calculates the circumference and diameter of the entire Eighth Circle. If the Tenth *Bolgia* has a circumference of eleven miles, and the Ninth of twenty-two, that of the Eighth *Bolgia* would be thirty-three, of the Seventh forty-four, of the Sixth fifty-five, of the Fifth sixty-six, of the Fourth seventy-seven, of the Third eighty-eight, of the Second ninety-nine, and of the First 110 miles. The radius of *Malebolge* is seventeen and a half miles and the diameter thirty-five miles. For the other measurements of the *Inferno*, I must refer my readers to the Plan already mentioned.

I have discussed these imaginary details of the imaginary journey, because many of the illustrations published in the *Divina Commedia*, though beautiful perhaps from an æsthetical point of view, are exceedingly misleading to any one beginning to read the poem, and ignorant of the vast dimensions of the space supposed to be traversed. I may especially instance one illustration of the second Canto of the *Purgatorio*, otherwise very gracefully executed, where Dante and Virgil are represented standing beside what looks like a piece of ornamental rock-work in a suburban back garden, and which is intended to give the idea of the base of the Mountain of *Purgatory*, that vast upheaval of the bowels of the Earth, which soars up to an elevation beyond the permutations of weather, where wind, rain, snow, tempest, hail, thunder, lightning and rainbow are alike unknown.

Benvenuto observes that Dante, having described

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the Eighth Circle as a whole, gives an idea of its shape by a very common simile, confused however in the sense, and extremely difficult in the text. Dante asks the reader to imagine before him a round fortress on a great plain, surrounded by a succession of fosses. Hard by the castle gates, from the lowest rampart, there springs the arch of a bridge which spans the first fosse to the second rampart; the second arch springs from the second rampart, and spans the second fosse as far as the third rampart; and so on with all of them up to the tenth; in such wise that there are ten arches contiguously succeeding each other, and yet together they form as it were one consecutive bridge. In like manner this circular pit or fortalice is begirt with ten concave valleys after the manner of fosses, and these spanned by ten narrow bridges, by which the whole of *Malebolge* may be traversed.

Quale, dove per guardia delle mura 10
Più e più fossi cingon li castelli,
La parte dov' ei son rende figura : *
Tale imagine quivi facean quelli :
E come a tai fortezze dai lor sogli
Alla ripa di fuor son ponticelli,† 15

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* *rende figura :* This is undoubtedly the true reading, though a considerable number of MSS. adopt the reading *rende* or *rendon sicura* or *sigura*. Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 317-319) says these and other more or less blundering variants are obviously due to the misunderstanding of a longish construction. . . . The images of walls, ditches and forts would have so occupied the mind of the average copyist, that the change of *rende figura* to *rende sigura* or *sicura* would seem imperative.

† *ponticelli :* I have translated this "narrow bridges." If one adopts Vellutello's view that the valleys were half a mile, or a mile, broad, one could not well say that they were tra-

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Così da imo della roccia scogli
Movien, che recidean gli argini e fossi
Infino al pozzo, che i tronca e raccôgli.*

Such a figure as—where for the defence of the walls many and many a fosse begirds the castles—the ground which they occupy presents: such appearance did these make here: and as in such fortresses there are narrow bridges from the thresholds (of their gates) to the outer rampart, so (here) from the base of the cliff started bridge-ways of rock, which struck across the ramparts and fosses as far as the Pit, which cuts them short and collects them.

The Pit in the centre is like the nave of a wheel in relation to the spokes, which latter represent the system of bridgeways.

A question that has much engaged the attention of Commentators is whether there was one series of

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versed by *little* bridges. Besides this, that the bridges were not all similar in the height of their arches is evident from *Inf.* xxiv, 61-63:—

"Su per lo scoglio prendemmo la via,
Ch' era ronchioso, stretto e malagevole,
Ed erto più assai che quel di pria."

Wherever, as in the above lines, *scoglio* refers to the bridges, as also *sasso*, I shall translate "bridgeway." Benvenuto, in commenting on the passage quoted, seems to justify these definitions. He says: "*prendemmo la via su per lo scoglio*, idest pontem, *ch' era ronchioso*, idest saxosum, *stretto e malagevole*, idest, difficile, *et assai più erto che quel di pria*, idest, quam pons praecedens; et hoc dicit quia pons, per cujus ruinam transiverant, erat jacens in fundo, ideo iste qui erat integer, erat altior, cujus contrarium esset, nisi ille primus cecidisset."

* *raccôgli:* This is a contracted form for *raccoglieli.* Nannucci (*Verbi*, p. 789) quotes this passage, and says of *raccogli:* "cioè *gli raccò*, gli raccoglie," and adds: "*Co, raccò*, etc. dicono tuttora i nostri contadini." In my own experience at Florence, I have often seen a master throw something to a serving-boy, exclaiming *Tò* (for *togli*) "Catch."

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bridges forming a single causeway over the *Bolge*, or whether there were several series of bridges in succession like the spokes of a wheel. There is a strong argument in favour of the latter supposition. In Canto xxiii, Dante and Virgil had traversed five fosses by the same line of bridges; but the sixth bridge they found was broken down. The Demons assured them that if they continued to walk along the rampart that divided the Fifth from the Sixth *Bolgia*, they would find a bridge not so ruined. Although the Poets kept on along the rampart, they did not trust to the veracity of the demons, but let themselves glide down into the *Bolgia* of the Hypocrites. Walking with these latter they came to another bridge also broken down, and had to clamber up by its ruins to the rampart that overtops the Seventh *Bolgia*. The demons, therefore, had told them the truth as to there being another bridge, but had lied in saying that it was a sound one. Blanc remarks that we have no intimation from Dante as to how many series of bridges there were, but from the number of the fosses we may infer that there were ten. He adds that the disposition of *Malebolge* is so vividly figured, through Dante likening it to a fortress with fosses and bridges, that he thinks any further explanation superfluous.

Dante having given a very good general idea of the Eighth Circle as a whole, begins to describe the first of its valleys, in which the Poets find themselves on alighting from the back of Geryon. They turn to their left, and as they walk round the circular valley, they have its towering cliffs overhanging

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them on their left, and the tormented sinners on their right. In Benvenuto's opinion, they at once began to ascend one of the bridges, but I think ll. 68-70 show quite clearly that it was only after they had walked some distance, during which their interview with Venedico Caccianimico took place, that they reached the first bridgeway, turned to their right to ascend it, and by it quitted the first valley.

Benvenuto remarks upon the admirable symmetry with which Dante assorts the different punishments in Hell. In Upper Hell, when he described the penalties of Incontinence, he began with Sensuality and Impurity, which though "less sinful are more disgraceful"; so now in his description of the penalties of the Fraudulent, he begins with that Fraud which is practised for Sensual purposes, and which in like manner is "less sinful but more disgraceful."

The sinners punished in this valley are in two distinct classes, those who seduced women for others for the sake of gold, and who are vile Panders; and others, who seduced women on their own account under promise of marriage, and then abandoned them. These two classes have to run in opposite directions, pursued and scourged by Demon executioners.

In questo loco, dalla schiena scossi *

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* *scossi :* Besides the meaning "to shake," *scuotere* can mean "to deposit"; also "to remove from oneself," or "remove oneself from." There are several Commentators who think that Geryon deposited the Poets in a fury at having had to convey those not destined for punishment.

Compare Petrarch, Part I, *Sonnet* 162 :—

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Di Gerïon, trovammoci: e il Poeta 20
Tenne a sinistra, ed io retro mi mossi.
Alla man destra vidi nuova pièta; *
Nuovi tormenti e nuovi frustatori, †
Di che la prima bolgia era repleta.

At this spot we found ourselves on being shaken off the back of Geryon: and the Poet (Virgil) held to the left, and I moved on behind. On the right hand I beheld new misery; new torments and new scourgers, wherewith the first valley was filled.

To describe how this valley is divided lengthways into two concentric zones, Dante recalls the manner in which the Bridge of Sant' Angelo at Rome was similarly divided for the regulation of the enormous traffic that there was during the Jubilee in 1300.

Nel fondo erano ignudi ‡ i peccatori: 25

"Chè quand' i' sia di questa carne scosso,
Sappia 'l mondo che dolce è la mia morte."

And Petrarch, Part II, *Sonnet* 54:—

"Or hai spogliata nostra vita e scossa
D' ogni ornamento e del sovran suo onore."

**pièta:* This word must not be confounded with *pietà*, pity, compassion. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says it is a poetical word, meaning "anguish, pain, torment," equivalent to the Greek λύπη. Compare Petrarch, Part II, *Canz.* vi (numbered in some editions 47), st. 1:—

"Tutto di pièta e di paura smorto
Dico: Onde vien tu ora, o felice alma?"

†*frustatori:* All the punishments in *Malebolge* are administered by Demons. Scartazzini does not consider either Cerberus or the Harpies to have been such, but that Dante now for the first time sees demons in the capacity of regular tormentors.

‡ *ignudi:* Blanc thinks we are to take nudity as the general condition of the doomed spirits in Hell, and that they are only represented as clothed, when their clothing is a distinctive part of their punishment; such as the Suicides enclosed in trees, the Hypocrites robed in leaden mantles, and the Fraudulent Counsellors draped in flames. The nudity of the spirits

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Dal mezzo in qua ci venian verso il volto,
Di là con noi, ma con passi maggiori:
Come i Roman, per l' esercito* molto,
L' anno del Giubbileo, su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo colto: 30
Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso il castello, e vanno a santo Pietro;

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is only mentioned when the narrative requires them to be depicted as deprived of any protection to their skin under their appalling torments. Such was the condition of the Negligent in *Inf.* iii, 65; of the Wrathful in vii, 111; of the Squanderers in xiii, 116; of the Violent against God, Nature and Art, in xiv, 19; and we may perhaps infer that all spirits soever entered Hell in a state of nudity before reaching their appointed place of punishment, for in *Inf.* iii, 85-87, Charon addresses the spirits as being destined for different kinds of torments, after which in ll. 100-102 we read:—

"Ma quell' anime ch' eran lasse e nude,
Cangiâr colore e dibattero i denti
Ratto che inteser le parole crude."

* *l' esercito molto:* Esercito here simply stands for multitude. Compare Virg. *Georg.* i, 381, 382:—

". . . e pastu decedens agmine magno
Corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis."

G. Villani (viii, cap 36) states that he himself witnessed the perfect organisation with which the immense masses of pilgrims who attended the Jubilee at Rome were fed during their stay in the city: "Gran parte de' cristiani, che allora viveano, feciono il detto pellegrinaggio così femmine come uomini, di lontani e diversi paesi, e di lungi e d' appresso. E fu la più mirabile cosa che mai si vedesse, che al continuo in tutto l' anno durante, avea in Roma oltre al popolo romano, duecentomila pellegrini, sanza quegli ch' erano per gli cammini andando e tornando, e tutti erano forniti e contenti di vittuaglia giustamente, così cavalli come le persone, e con molta pazienza, e sanza romori o zuffe; ed io il posso testimoniare, che vi fui presente e vidi." Both the *Ottimo* and the *Anonimo Fiorentino* relate the mode adopted for the safe transit of the bridge, and one account which tells us that in the year 1300, when Dante was Florentine ambassador at Rome, Boniface VIII, "fece dividere il ponte per lo lungo, sicchè la gente dall' un lato andasse verso Castel Sant' Angelo a san Pietro, dall' altro, verso il monte Giordano a san Paolo senza intopparsi; e v' erano guardie, che additavano il passo."

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Dall' altra sponda vanno verso il monte.*
Di qua, di là, su per lo sasso tetro
Vidi Demon cornuti con gran ferze, 35
Che li battean crudelmente di retro.
Ahi come facean lor levar le berze †
Alle prime percosse! già nessuno
Le seconde aspettava nè le terze.

At the bottom of it (the valley) the sinners were naked: (in the zone) on this side of the middle they were coming towards our face, (while in the zone) on the further side (they were going) with us, but with swifter steps. Even as the Romans, by reason of the vast multitude in the year of the Jubilee, have taken measures for passing the people over the bridge, so that on one side all have their faces towards the Castle (of Sant' Angelo), and go to St. Peter's, while on the other side they go towards the Hill (the Mons Janiculus). All along the gloomy valley of rock, on this side and on that, I saw horned Demons with great whips, who were beating them cruelly behind. Ah, how they made them lift up their heels at the first blows! Truly not one waited for the second or the third.

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* *il monte:* It is not of any great consequence to decide what mountain Dante is speaking of here. Some think it is Monte Giordano, but Blanc remarks that *Philalethes* (King John of Saxony), who was a most careful observer of places and sites, heartily approved and endorsed the opinion of Lombardi, who in his later edition contended that Dante must have meant the Mons Janiculus. Dr. Paget Toynbee in his *Dante Dictionary* (s.v. *Gianicolo*) also holds this opinion.

† *berze:* Benvenuto interprets: "*berze*, idest *calcaneos*." The *Vocabolario della Crusca* describes it as the part of the leg between the knee and the foot; and quotes likewise Benvenuto's interpretation. Daniello understands it: "how they made the weals rise upon the flesh at the first stripes!" Lord Vernon (*Inferno*, vol. i, p. 226, note), after quoting the *La Crusca* interpretation, adds that there is another explanation given to *berza* sometimes as meaning a *howl*, and according to which, *come facean lor levar le berze* would be: "how they made them yell!"

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Blanc hazards a conjecture that as this is the only place in the *Inferno* where the Demons are seen with horns, and as the sinners punished here are those who betrayed women, the fact of their being tormented by executioners with horns may possibly bear an allusion to injured husbands. Blanc thinks that Dante, who never wrote a word without its having a definite purpose, would not have so described the Demons, unless he had a particular reason for doing so.

Division II.—Dante now recognises one of the scourged shades in the throng nearest him. These are all Panders, but as they are running in the opposite direction to that pursued by the Poets, Virgil accedes to Dante's request that he may be allowed to return a little way and get speech with the shade whom he has noticed.

Mentr' io andava, gli occhi miei in uno 40
Furo scontrati; ed io sì tosto dissi:
—"Di già veder costui non son digiuno."—*

**digiuno:* Dante not unfrequently uses the term *digiuno*, lit. "fasting," in figurative senses. Any one who has never tasted any particular food, *ne è digiuno, i.e.*, is not yet acquainted with it. So also, any one may be said to be *digiuno di una cosa*, from not having done it, or not knowing it. And in the contrary sense, *non esser digiuno di una cosa* means that one *has* done it, *does* know it. In the same way, in *Par.* xv, 49-52, Dante's ancestor Cacciaguida tells Dante that he has long expected him, having foreseen his coming, by which Dante has satisfied a long-felt craving desire (*digiuno*):—

". . . . . Grato e lontan digiuno,
Tratto leggendo nel magno volume
U' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno
Soluto hai, figlio."

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Perciò a figurarlo * i piedi affissi:
E il dolce Duca meco si ristette,
Ed assentì ch' alquanto indietro gissi: 45

While I was going along, my eyes were encountered by one, and I said at once: "Of having seen this one I am not without experience." Therefore I stayed my feet to recognise him: and my gentle Leader paused with me, and assented to my going somewhat back.

The shade, on being caught up by Dante, who had run back after him, does all in his power to conceal his identity, but without success, for Dante, by an allusion to a certain ill-famed spot at Bologna, convinces him that he knows him well.

Compare *Par.* xvi, 134, 135, where *digiuni* is used in the sense of "not having had experience of":—

"Ed ancor saria Borgo più quïeto,
Se di nuovi vicin fosser digiuni."

[If the inhabitants of the *Borgo* of Florence had been spared the experience of new neighbours, their life would be a more peaceful one.]

Compare also Petrarch, *Trionfo d' Amore*, cap. i, terz. 12:—

"Allor mi strinsi a rimirar s' alcuno
Riconoscessi nella folta schiera
Del re sempre di lagrime digiuno."

Compare also *Inf.* xxviii, 85-87:—

"Quel traditor che vede pur con l' uno,
E tien la terra, che tal è qui meco,
Vorrebbe di vedere esser digiuno," etc.

* *figurarlo:* Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) says that the word in this particular passage seems to be taken in the sense of *raffigurare*, which in *Par.* iii, 58-63, we see has the meaning of "to recognise after close inspection":—

". . . . . Ne' mirabili aspetti
Vostri risplende non so che divino,
Che vi trasmuta dai primi concetti.
Però non fui a rimembrar festino,
Ma or m' aiuta ciò' che tu mi dici,
Sì che raffigurar m' è più latino."

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E quel frustato celar si credette *
Bassando il viso, ma poco gli valse:
Ch' io dissi:—"Tu che l' occhio a terra gette,
Se le fazion che porti non son false,
Venedico se' tu Caccianimico: † 50
Ma che ti mena a sì pungenti Salse?"—

And that scourged one thought to conceal himself by bending down his face, but little did it avail him: for I said: "O thou that castest thine eye down to the ground, if the features that thou wearest are not false, thou art Venedico Caccianimico; but what brings thee to such stinging *Salse* (*i.e.* to such bitter castigation)?"

Dante, by this last sentence, conveys a peculiarly biting sarcasm, in speaking of this valley as *le Salse*, a name with which Venedico, a Bolognese, would be perfectly familiar as that of the place of execution at Bologna. It is as though one should ask another: "What has brought thee to such a Calvary?" meaning such a place of degradation and suffering. Tommaséo adds that *Gehenna*, the valley of Infamy near Jerusalem, gave its name to the place of Infernal Torment. Littré (*Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*) from *Gehenna* derives the O. Fr. *gehene*, Fr. *gêne*, primarily "torture," hence "trouble, inconvenience."

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* *celar si credette:* This shade is the first Dante has encountered who seeks to conceal himself.

† Venedico Caccianimico was of the powerful Guelph family of the Caccianimici of Bologna; but he himself appears to have been but little known except for the unenviable notoriety incurred by the crime for which he is here punished. Venedico was bribed by the Marchese d' Este (probably Opizzo II), to admit him to the chamber of Venedico's own sister, Ghisolabella, the fairest maiden in Bologna, and the Marchese, having had his will of her, broke his promises and deserted her. For this detestable sacrifice of his sister, Venedico is now suffering among the scourged.

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Le Salse was the name given to an uncultivated spot outside Porta San Mammolo at Bologna, where criminals were punished in various ways; where pimps and such-like were flogged; where, perhaps, robbers were buried alive head-downwards (*capofitti*), and the bodies of excommunicated persons were left unburied. In those days the name was a proverb of infamy, and Tommaséo says that even now the country people call the spot *Le Sarse.* Benvenuto relates that when boys at Bologna wanted to abuse each other, one would say to his fellow: "Your father was cast into *Le Salse!*" Dante, who had studied at Bologna, knew the place well, and here reminds Venedico of the punishments of his native place; and yet he administers his sarcasm not without tenderness and sympathy, and in a manner that touches Venedico's heart, as we see by his remarking that the speech of Dante is clear to him (*chiara favella*).

Benvenuto is outspoken against the word *Salse* being translated "Sauces," as many English * trans-

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* It is only in more recent times that the word "sauces" has been perversely insisted on. In the translation of the *Inferno* by Charles Rogers (1782), a most faithful version, the line is rendered:—

"But what brought you to this suffering state?"

Lamennais similarly: "Mais qu'est-ce qui te vaut de si cuisantes peines?" *Philalethes* the same: "Doch was führt' zu so beizend herber Qual dich?" The Danish translation of Molbech also:—

"Men hvad kan til saa beesk en Kval dig tvinge?"

Professor Norton rightly translates "such stinging *Salse?*" And Mr. Butler the same. Mr. Carpenter Garnier: "such terrible pains." Sir Frederick Pollock, "such pungent pains." Cayley, "but how to such a smarting bridewell wast thou led?" These renderings are intelligible. Not

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lators (but only very few of the Italian Commentators) render it. He says: *Non ergo capias hic Salsas pro sapore, sicut communiter omnes exponunt, quia metaphora esset aliena a proposito, ut per se patet.* Scartazzini does not see any reason for not following the old Commentators, the more so, that their opinion accords very well with that of Mazzoni Toselli,* a Bolognese, whose arguments are confirmed by a mass of documentary evidence, and who emphatically rejects the double meaning of the word *salse* as meaning also "sauces."

Benvenuto observes that Venedico, who now replies, is only able to give a very lame account of his conduct.

Ed egli a me:—"Mal volontier lo dico;
Ma sforzami la tua chiara favella,†
Che mi fa sovvenir del mondo antico.
Io fui colui, che la Ghisolabella ‡ 55

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so "sauces," or "biting pickle," especially in the face of the prohibition of such a version by Benvenuto, who lived for many years at Bologna, as the first public lecturer on the *Divina Commedia*, and knew that Dante spoke of the *Salse* as the place of execution; just as the English used to speak of Tyburn; the French of *Place de la Grève;* and the Jews of Calvary.

* Mazzoni Toselli (*Voci e passi di Dante*, Bologna, 1871, p. 22), says that the signification of *salse* is not very dissimilar from that of the Latin *salebra*, "a rough uncultivated spot," with this difference, that by *salse* were meant the rough boulders and flints abounding on perfectly sterile ground.

† *chiara favella:* Venedico probably meant to say to Dante: "I should like to have concealed my identity, but your plain language so convinces me that you know it, and also all about Bologna, that you force me to tell you everything."

‡ *Ghisolabella:* We are told by Mazzoni Toselli (*Voci e passi di Dante*, p. 119, note) that this lady signed herself Ghisolabella in her Will, when she was a middle-aged woman and no longer

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Condussi a far la voglia del Marchese,
Come che suoni la sconcia novella.
E non pur io qui piango Bolognese:
Anzi n' è questo loco tanto pieno,
Che tante lingue non son ora apprese 60
A dicer *sipa* tra Savena e Reno: *
E se di ciò vuoi fede o testimonio,
Recati a mente il nostro avaro seno."—

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beautiful: "Alcuni dicono che costei fu così nominata per essere stata bella: io però ne dubito perchè undici anni dopo il suo matrimonio ella dettò il suo testamento nominandosi *Ghisolabella quondam Alberti de Cazzanemicis* mentre forse non era più bella."

* *A dicer* sipa *tra Savena e Reno:* That *sipa* is the Bolognese provincialism for *sia*, and not for the affirmative particle *sì*, we have the weighty authority of Lana, a Bolognese, and Benvenuto da Imola, and they both say: "The people of Bologna use *sipa* in place of *sia*." Tassoni (*Secchia Rapita*, xii, 50) puts the following speech into the mouth of the Bolognese *Sprangon da la Palata*, where there is no doubt that *sipa* means *sia*:—

"Fra tanti poltronzon' j n' è neguno
Ch' apa ardimento de venir qua fora
A far custion con mi, fina che l' uno
Sipa vittorios, e l' altro mora?"

Benvenuto remarks: "Notice that the author is here describing the people of the Bolognese State both in respect to their idiom and to their rivers. For Bologna hath on its western side, towards Lombardy, a river called the *Renus*, but you shall not by this understand the very great river Rhine of Allemaine, which formerly divided Germany from Gaul; and this Reno of Bologna hath excellent water not only for drinking but also for driving mills, both those which drive corn and those which manufacture silk stuffs, and many other things for the sustenance and adornment of human life. It hath also another river called the Savena on its Eastern side, towards Romagna; it hath a fertile and pleasant mountain which is as it were a shield against the South Wind; and Dante alludes indirectly to this mountain when he mentions *Le Salse*, which spot is a precipice in this very mountain. And now you have heard all about the noble situation of this most pleasant city, the fertility and excellence of which I do not describe in all its details for fear of straying too far from my subject, for its very name *Bononia*, meaning 'good in all respects,' testifies to its surpassing

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And he to me: "Unwillingly I tell it, but thy plain language, which makes me remember the former world, constrains me. I was he who brought Ghisolabella to do the will of the Marchese (d' Este), in whatever form the disgraceful tale be reported.* And I am not the only Bolognese who weeps here: nay, so full is this place of them, that between the Savena and the Reno (*i.e.* in the whole territory of Bologna) there are not at the present day so many tongues taught to say *sipa* (*i.e.* to speak the Bolognese dialect): and if of this thou desirest assurance or testimony, recall to thy memory our covetous hearts."

Benvenuto says that Dante here takes Avarice in a broad sense; for generally speaking, the Bolognese are not avaricious in the sense of retaining, but only in that of grasping rapacity; but the really vicious among them make their vice take the form of base gains, both in their sports, in their thefts, in their panderings, and acquiring means for gratifying their gluttonous or carnal appetites by selling their daughters, their sisters, and even their wives to infamy. Venedico tells Dante that he needs no

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excellence." Benvenuto, who, himself a long resident at Bologna, dwells with evident affection upon this passage, which speaks of the city and its inhabitants, at the same time that he feels obliged to censure their vices, and in particular the crime of pandering. He adds: "Now this city is at the present day in great measure purified of that vice; and yet the author is more quick to mention the case of a city which is a famous abode of learning than another city. There are assuredly many cities, and great ones, in Italy where this vice is more prevalent, to speak nothing of Paris in France."

* Another interpretation is: "No matter in what mutilated and incorrect form the story may have been related in the world." *Sconcio* sometimes has the sense of "false, mutilated, corrupt"; and this would imply that the Este family were too powerful for the whole truth to have been told.

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proof of this (*fede e testimonio*), because Dante studied in Bologna for some time, and doubtless had had such wares offered him for sale by some of the Bolognese, as would be done to many of the students. Dante, therefore, must know all this by experience. Benvenuto thus concludes his remarks about Bologna: "And from all these things you may gather that Dante only wishes to brand the Bolognese with the infamy of minor sins, and the more trivial faults; for, to speak the truth, the Bolognese are quite innocent of serpent-like frauds or cruel deeds of violence with which Dante has branded many nations. And really the Bolognese are charming people, courteous, even-tempered (*dulcis sanguinis*) and of a placid nature; more than all other Italians do they give a friendly reception to foreigners, and cherish and honour them; and I for my part shall make use of Dante's own argument, of not wanting any proof about them but my own experience, because I lived at Bologna for ten years."

The conversation is here brought to a sudden conclusion, thereby sparing Dante from the necessity of speaking in terms of reprobation of Venedico's crime.

Così parlando il percosse un demonio
Della sua scurïada,* e disse:—"Via, 65
Ruffian, qui non son femmine da conio."—†

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* *scurïada:* See that word in Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary*: "*Scurida* It., French *écourgée* (for *escouriée*), Norm. *courgée*, Engl. *scourge*, Span. *zurriago;* from *exooriata* sc. *scutica*, a thong made of leather."

† *femmine da conio:* Some understand this "women for hire," but I cannot look upon that as the best interpretation. Ma-

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As he was thus speaking, a Demon smote him with his scourge, and said: "Be off, Pander, here there are no women for coining (*i.e.* to make money out of)."

Division III.—Dante now returns to Virgil, and they ascend the bridgeway so as to get sight of the sinners in the farther zone. These are they who have on their own account beguiled, and afterwards deserted, women who had confided in them.

Io mi raggiunsi con la scorta mia:
Poscia con pochi passi divenimmo,
Là dove un scoglio della ripa uscia.
Assai leggieramente quel salimmo, 70
E vôlti a destra * su per la sua scheggia,
Da quelle cerchie eterne ci partimmo.

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donna Ghisolabella de' Caccianimici was much too great a personage to sell herself for money. It is far more probable that her miscreant brother, seeking a relief from his own pecuniary embarrassments, influenced his sister to grant a meeting to the Marchese on the pretext of his love being lawful and honourable, and then, having received a large payment for himself, left her to her sad fate; so that Ghisolabella was a *femmina da conio* only in the sense, that her brother coined money, that is, made profit out of her. See Rigutini, *Del vero senso della maniera dantesca* "Femmine da conio," Firenze, 1876, where this interpretation is defended.

* *vôlti a destra;* We saw in ll. 20, 21, that on being deposited by Geryon at the bottom of the Great Abyss, Virgil *tenne a sinistra,* and Dante followed him. Therefore they were walking along the bank, with the towering cliffs (*la cerchia che d' intorno il volge,* l. 3) on their left, and the valley (*bolgia*) in which were the sinners on their right. They have looked down upon the Panders, who are in the zone nearest to them, but now they want to ascend the bridge on their right to look down upon the sinners (Seducers) in the further zone; and that is the meaning of *vôlti a destra.* A friend suggests to me a possibly intentional contrast between *a destra* in this passage and *a sinistra* in l. 21. Even those who deceived women to gratify their own passions as Seducers are less vile than those who did so as Panders for base gain, and under no impulse of passion.

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> I rejoined my Escort: after which with a few paces we came to where a bridgeway jutted out from the bank. This we ascended very easily, and having turned to the right up over its jagged surface, we departed from those everlasting lines of circumvallation (*i.e.* the towering cliffs that encircle *Malebolge*).

In interpreting *cerchie eterne*, the translation "eternal circles" which finds favour with some translators must be at once rejected as incorrect and misleading. As Blanc (*Voc. Dant.* s.v. *cerchia*) most justly points out, there is a marked distinction between the use by Dante of *cerchio*, "a circle" of Hell, and *cerchia*, which Blanc thinks is used by Dante to express a circular enclosure, material and real, such as in this passage, as also in *Inf.* xxiii,* where he unmistakably refers to the outer girdle of cliffs that walls in *Malebolge*. In *Inf.* xxxi, 40, the *Pozzo* is described as girded by a chain of fortalices, each containing a giant, and reminding Dante of the circle of towers (*cerchia tonda*), that surrounds the Castle of Montereggione.

Some by *cerchie* understand the twofold stream of sinners running in opposite directions, and the sense then would be: "We departed from those who are for ever circling round and round." Some read *cerchie esterne*, and Scartazzini regrets that he cannot find the authority of a single MS. to support this

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* *cerchia*: Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 134, 135:—

> "S' appressa un sasso, che dalla gran cerchia
> Si move, e varca tutti i vallon feri."

And *Par.* xv, 97:—

> "Fiorenza dentro dalla cerchia antica," etc.

In this last passage *cerchia antica* means the old *enceinte* of the City of Florence.

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reading as it would make the sense quite easy. Benvenuto reads *eterne* and interprets it *esterne*. Rossetti evidently takes the same view as Blanc, interpreting *cerchie eterne* as "la gran *parete circolare*," the huge encircling wall of cliffs.

The Poets, instead of any longer walking round, start from the foot of the cliffs, ascend the bridgeway, and commence their journey along one of the spokes of the wheel right across the ten concentric rings of *Malebolge*. They have as yet seen only the sinners in the first of the two zones into which the first valley is partitioned; but when they have got about half way over the first bridge, they stop to look down upon the second stream of sinners, who are moving in the same direction as that in which the Poets had been going, before they *turned to their right* and ascended the bridgeway.

Quando noi fummo là dov' ei vaneggia
Di sotto, per dar passo agli sferzati,
Lo Duca disse:—"Attienti, e fa che feggia* 75
Lo viso in te di questi altri mal nati,
A' quali ancor non vedesti la faccia,
Perocchè son con noi insieme andati."—
Dal vecchio ponte † guardavam la traccia
Che venia verso noi dall' altra banda, 80
E che la ferza similmente scaccia.

**fa che feggia*, etc.: This means that Virgil wished Dante to get into such a position that the second stream of sinners should be coming directly towards him, so that he might see their faces. This Dante did by standing on the crown of the arch with his body turned towards the parapet. See *Inf.* xv, 39. Also Nannucci, *Verbi*, p. 336, note 4.

† *vecchio ponte*: In Dante's time it was believed that Hell actually existed before the creation of the world.

Compare *Inf.* iii, 7:—

"Dinanzi a me non fur cose create," etc.,

so that this bridge may most truly be termed a primeval one.

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When we were there where it (the bridge) is open underneath to give passage to the scourged ones, my Leader said: "Pause, and contrive to let the sight strike upon thee of these others born in an evil hour whose faces thou hast not yet seen, for they have been going (in the same direction) with us." From the primeval bridge we were looking upon the long file (of shades) that were coming towards us on the other side (of the valley), and whom the lash in like manner was driving on.

It must be understood that Dante and Virgil had not only turned to their right when they ascended the bridgeway, but they have now turned *again* to their right to look over the right-hand side of the bridge, so as to face the stream of sinners, who are moving in the same direction that they themselves had been following, after Geryon had left them at the foot of the cliffs.

Only one shade in this section is thought worthy of notice. It is Jason; and like Capaneus among the Blasphemers on the Burning Sand, the sturdy Greek endures his sufferings with the dignity of a king.

Il buon Maestro, senza mia domanda,
Mi disse:*—"Guarda quel grande che viene,

**senza mia domanda, mi disse:* We may remark that it is always Virgil who points out to Dante the shades of the ancients, for Dante naturally would not otherwise be supposed to know them. In the case of Capaneus, who was lying down, Dante had full leisure to observe him, and therefore Virgil awaited Dante's inquiry (*Inf.* xiv, 46-48):—

"Chi è quel grande, che non par che curi
L' incendio, e giace dispettoso e torto
Sì che la pioggia non par che il maturi?"

But Jason was running swiftly, and had Virgil not pointed him out at once, Dante would not have distinguished him in the crowd,

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E per dolor * non par lagrima spanda :
Quanto aspetto reale ancor ritiene ! 85
Quelli è Jason, che per core e per senno
Li Colchi del monton privati fene.†
Egli passò per l' isola di Lenno,
Poi che le ardite femmine spietate ‡
Tutti li maschi loro a morte dienno. § 90
Ivi con segni || e con parole ornate

---

* *E per dolor*, et seq. : Amplified, this line would be : "Per quanto grande sia il dolore che egli sente, non versa però una lagrima, tanto magnanimo è il cuor suo." Some think it may be taken in the same sense as in *Inf.* xxxiii, 49, where Count Ugolino says that his grief stopped his tears :—

"Io non piangeva ; sì dentro impietrai," etc.

But this is inapplicable to the present case. Jason is spoken of as great and high-souled, and his undaunted spirit scorns to weep.

† *fene, andone. partine*, for *fe, andò, partì*, are words still in use among the Tuscan peasantry, who also say *sine, trene, mene*, for *sì, tre, me*, etc. These terms are derived from *fee* for *fe* (i.e. *fece*), *andòe, partie, sie*, etc., and the *n* got interposed for the sake of giving repose to the voice.

‡ *le ardite femmine spietate :* Venus, incensed against the women of the Island of Lemnos for having abandoned her worship, by way of punishment caused their skin to emit a nauseous smell which drove their husbands from them. The women enraged in their turn slew every male in the Island. The sole exception to this was Hypsipyle, who being unable to come to the resolution to slay her father Thoas, King of Lemnos, saved and concealed him, pretending all the while that she had killed him.

§ *dienno :* The 3rd person singular of the Perfect Tense of *dare* has the forms *dette, diede, dè*, which latter got changed into *diè ;* the plural of this became *dieno*, and by the reduplication of the *n*, *dienno*.

Compare *Inf.* xxx, 94 :—

"Qui li trovai, e poi volta non dierno."

|| *segni :* Others read *senno*, which might be translated "wiles," or "artful devices." On this point Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 223) remarks : "In *Inf.* xviii, 91, where it is usual to read

'Ivi con *segni* e con parole ornate,'

there is, I think, much to be said for the reading *senno* (which

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Isifile ingannò, la giovinetta,
Che prima avea tutte l' altre ingannate.
Lasciolla quivi gravida e soletta;
Tal colpa * a tal martiro lui condanna; 95
Ed anco di Medea si fa vendetta.
Con lui sen va chi da tal parte inganna:
E questo basti della prima valle
Sapere, e di color che in sè assanna."—†

My good Master, without my asking, said to me: "Look at that mighty one who is coming, and seems not to shed a tear for all his pain: what a royal aspect he still retains! He is Jason, who by prowess and by craft bereft the Colchians of the Ram (*i.e.* of the Golden Fleece). He passed by the Isle of Lemnos, after that the bold and merciless women had devoted all their males to death. There with love-tokens and honeyed words he deceived the young Hypsipyle, who herself had previously deceived all the other women. There he deserted her pregnant and forlorn: such guilt

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has very respectable MS. support), on the strength of the probable recollection of Ovid, *Her.* vi, 40:—

'Detegit *ingenio* vulnera facta tuo' . . .

(See also *Text. Crit.* pp. 321, 322). I reluctantly refrained from actually introducing *senno* in the text of the Oxford Dante, yielding to the opinion of some to whose judgment I felt bound to attach great weight."

* *Tal colpa*, et seq.: Jason is here paying the double penalty of having beguiled, first Hypsipyle, and then Medea, whom in turn he forsook for the sake of Creusa. Jason is also alluded to as the commander of the Argonautic expedition in *Par.* ii, 16-18:—

"Quei gloriosi che passaro a Colco,
Non s' ammiraron, come voi farete,
Quando Jason vider fatto bifolco";

an allusion to Jason having ploughed the land at Colchis before sowing the dragon's teeth.

† *assanna:* Lit. "takes in its fangs" from *sanna* or *zanna*. Compare *Inf.* xxx, 28, 29: "in sul nodo del collo l' assannò," *i.e.* "fixed its fangs in the nape of his neck."

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condemns him to such torment; and also for Medea is vengeance taken. With him goes along whosoever deceives in like sort (*i.e.* under false promise of marriage): and this will suffice to know about the first valley, and of they whom it holds in its fangs."

Division IV.—The Poets, after leaving the Panders and Seducers, continue along the bridgeway, and reach the edge of the second rampart, which divides the First Valley from the Second. Here they see the Flatterers, immersed in human ordure.

Già eravam là 've lo stretto calle 100
Con l' argine secondo s' incrocicchia,
E fa di quello ad un altro arco spalle.
Quindi * sentimmo gente che si nicchia †
Nell' altra bolgia, e che col muso isbuffa, ‡
E sè medesma colle palme picchia. 105
Le ripe eran grommate d' una muffa
Per l' alito di giù che vi si appasta,
Che con gli occhi e col naso facea zuffa.§

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* *Quindi* means the point of intersection of the paths.

† *si nicchia:* Gelli says that the verb *nicchiarsi* is the word in common use at Florence to denote the plaintive cries of a woman beginning to be in labour. "Ella comincia a nicchiare" is a well-known term. Scartazzini thinks that Dante purposely applies to the Flatterers the term in general use to express women in labour (*nicchiarsi*), in order to describe vile and effeminate men.

‡ *col muso isbuffa* is according to Gelli the exact description of the puffing sort of ejaculation people make when they wish to withdraw their face suddenly from some object with a fetid smell. Scartazzini says that here again is a term designedly used to denote Dante's contempt: *muso* is a word for a dog's mouth, and the Flatterer fawns and licks just like a dog.

§ *zuffa:* Compare *Purg.* x, 61-63:—

"Similemente al fummo degl' incensi
Che v' era immaginato, gli occhi e il naso
Ed al sì ed al no discordi fensi."

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> We were now come to that spot where the narrow pathway intersects the second embankment, and of it forms abutments for another arch. From there we heard people uttering plaintive cries in the next valley, and puffing with their snouts, and beating themselves with their palms. The banks were encrusted with a mouldiness due to the exhalations from below which adheres to them, and which did battle with the eyes and the nose (*i.e.* was offensive to them).

Gelli draws attention to the expressiveness of Dante's purposely selected coarse words in speaking of a coarse subject. He says Homer is the only poet who has done the like. The Latin poets would have veiled the description in inflated language.

Benvenuto remarks that this is the only instance in the whole journey through Hell, where Dante mentions the punishment of two distinct sins in the same Canto. Both Pandering and Flattery, however, are two species of Fraud which have a good deal of affinity for one another.

Every Pander is a Flatterer, though indeed every Flatterer need not necessarily be a Pander. Dante has well adapted the punishment of the Flatterers to their vile nature. Many of the most learned men have styled Flattery as oil. But Dante, who was a most rigid lover of honesty, felt such an intense disgust for Flattery, that he changes oil into excrement, and represents the Flatterers immersed in a valley full of boiling excrement. No one who digs up dung, or cleans out cesspools, says Benvenuto, is so repulsive and disgusting as a Flatterer; wherefore this valley is mostly full of harlots and jesters, who

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are the people that give the greatest attention to the flattery upon which they live.

The Poets find it impossible for their eyes to penetrate the darkness of this valley until they can look straight down upon it from the middle of the bridge; because from any other point the visual ray would only have struck upon one of the sides of the chasm below them.

Lo fondo è cupo * sì, che non ci basta
Loco a veder † senza montare al dosso 110
Dell' arco, ove lo scoglio più soprasta.
Quivi venimmo, e quindi giù nel fosso
Vidi gente attuffata in uno sterco,‡
Che dagli uman privati parea mosso :

The bottom is so deep and dark, that no position suffices us for seeing it without ascending to the crown of the arch, where the bridge of rock overhangs most. Hither we came, and from thence I saw down in the fosse below people immersed in a filth that seemed to come from human privies.

Benvenuto sarcastically remarks that Dante prefers to speak of the Flatterers as being immersed in human ordure, because flattery is a crime peculiar to Man, and no other animal is defiled by it.

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* *cupo :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) translates this "Profond et obscur." In *Par.* iii, 121-123, the form of Piccarda de' Donati is represented fading into thin air, like a heavy object sinking out of sight in a deep dark pool :—

"Così parlommi, e poi cominciò : *Ave*
Maria, cantando ; e cantando vanío,
Come per acqua cupa cosa grave."

† *non ci basta loco a veder :* Others read *non ci basta l' occhio a veder.*

‡ *sterco :* Compare *Job* xx, 7 (*Vulgate*) ; "Quasi sterquillinium in fine perdetur." And *Lament. Jerem.* iv, 5 (*Vulg.*): "Qui nutriebantur in croceis, amplexati sunt stercora."

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Two shades are singled out for notice from the mass of corruption in the filthy valley below. The one is a flatterer, the other a harlot; and here again Dante himself picks out the one who had been his contemporary, while Virgil points out to him a notorious character in ancient history.

Benvenuto says that the first of the two mentioned is Alessio Interminelli, a knight, a nobleman of courteous manners, and a native of Lucca. From him on the mother's side, descended that tyrant Castruccio, who, though very sagacious, was dreaded throughout Tuscany as being the great hammer of Florence, of Pisa, of Lucca, and of Pistoja. Dante makes no mention of Castruccio, because he only became illustrious after Dante's death. This Alessio, from evil habit, took such delight in flattery that he could not utter a word, even to the lowest menials, without seasoning it with the oil of flattery.

E mentre ch' io là giù con l' occhio cerco, 115
Vidi un col capo sì di merda lordo,
Che non parea s' era laico o cherco.*
Quei mi sgridò: †—" Perchè se' tu sì ingordo
Di riguardar più me, che gli altri brutti ? "—
Ed io a lui :—" Perchè, se ben ricordo, 120
Già t' ho veduto coi capelli asciutti,
E sei Alessio Interminei da Lucca :
Però t' adocchio più che gli altri tutti."—
Ed egli allor, battendosi la zucca :
—" Quaggiù m' hanno sommerso le lusinghe, 125
Ond' io non ebbi mai la lingua stucca."

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* *non parea s' era laico o cherco :* Alessio Interminelli's head was so covered with filth, that the Poets could not see whether it was tonsured or not.

† *sgridò :* Note the difference between *gridare*, to shout, to cry out, and *sgridare*, to do so angrily, in a scolding way.

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And whilst I was searching down there with mine eyes, I saw one with his head so besmirched with ordure, that it did not seem clear whether he were layman or cleric. He shouted angrily to me: "Why art thou so eager to look more at me than at the other befouled ones?" And I to him: "Because, if I well remember, I have seen thee before now with thy hair dry, and thou art Alessio Interminei of Lucca: that is why I scan thee more than all the others." And he then, beating his pate (*lit.* pumpkin): "Down here have submerged me the flatteries with which my tongue was never glutted."

Virgil now points out the shade of the Athenian harlot Thais, who, Benvenuto adds, was a great flatterer into the bargain, and by way of describing her more accurately, Virgil makes allusion to a passage in the *Eunuchus* of Terence,* where Thraso,

* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 261) writes: "There can, I think, be no doubt whatever that Dante derived this reference to Thais, not directly from Terence (*Eun.* iii, 1), but from Cicero's citation of the passage in *De Amicitia*, c. xxvi, § 98. For (1) there is no evidence of Dante's acquaintance with the works of Terence, whereas he was certainly very familiar with the *De Amicitia*. (2) The fact that Dante treats Thais as a real person, shows that he was not aware that she was merely a fictitious character in a play. Hence he derived the quotation, not from the play itself, but from a citation of it in which there was nothing to show that Thais was not historical. (3) We should not, perhaps, lay too much stress on the slight error involved in Dante's attributing to Thais words which in the original were uttered by Gnatho. It may however be noted that in Cicero's citation the name of the speaker is not mentioned, while that of Thais occurs in the passage itself, and she might not unnaturally be understood to be the speaker. (4) The strongest point is that Cicero expressly gives this quotation as an example of the language of *flattery* (just as Dante does here), and further that he explains the point of it to be the employment of the needlessly strong word *ingentes*, thus:—

'Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?
Satis erat respondere *magnas; ingentes* inquit.'"

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a young soldier, asks Gnatho, the go-between, whether Thais had expressed herself grateful for the gift of a female slave whom he had sent to her by the hand of Gnatho. The latter replies that Thais had sent him the most profuse thanks. Dante, however, possibly by an unconscious inaccuracy, represents the conversation as having taken place between Thraso and Thais directly, without the intervention of an intermediary.

Appresso ciò il Duca :—" Fa che pinghe,"—
Mi disse :—" il viso un poco più avante,
Sì che la faccia ben con gli occhi attinghe
Di quella sozza * e scapigliata fante,† 130
Che là si graffia con l' unghie merdose,
Ed or s' accoscia, ed ora è in piede stante.

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* *Di quella sozza*, et seq. : Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 22) remarks that among other ways in which Dante shows his knowledge of Scripture, is by the introduction of details in the punishment of sinners, which have evidently been suggested by some incident or some denunciation found in the Bible. After comparing *Inf.* xiv, 29, with *Gen.* xix, 24 ; to which also *Purg.* xxv, 124, and xxvi, 28, respond wonderfully ; he shows that *Inf.* xxvi, 42, was in all probability in recollection of *James* iii, 6, and adds : " Another case, perhaps, may be the filthy punishment of the courtezan Thais and others [which may be compared to], *Ecclus.* ix, 10 : ' Omnis mulier quae est fornicaria, quasi stercus in via conculcabitur.' This, however, in Dante is the special punishment for flattery, though the epithet *puttana* may have suggested it."

† *fante :* I have followed most of the authorities in taking this word to be used in the sense of a vile, worthless woman. Scartazzini says that Monti (*Prop.* ii, 1, p. 65) interprets *fante* as *bagascia*, " baggage." The *Voc. della Crusca* says that when *fante* is in the feminine gender it has no other meaning than that of a servant, Lat. *ancilla*, *famula*. Lamennais takes it in that sense, observing : " Il l' appelle servante parce qu' elle était au service de tous." But Gelli says : " Ultimamente ci è da considerare che questa voce *fante*, con la quale il Poeta chiama questa Taide, non vuol dir serva, come ella significa

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Taide è la puttana, che rispose *
Al drudo suo, quando disse: 'Ho io grazie
Grandi appo te?' 'Anzi meravigliose.' 135
E quinci sien le nostre viste sazie."—

After this my Leader: "Contrive to stretch thy face a little further forwards, so that with thine eye-sight thou canst reach that filthy dishevelled drab who is clawing herself with her befouled nails, now cowering down, and now standing on her feet. She is the harlot Thais, who to her paramour, when he said: 'Have I great thanks from thee?' replied: 'Nay, stupendous!' And with this let our observations be surfeited."

Virgil would say to Dante that the mere sight of Alessio Interminei (or Interminelli) will give him a sufficient notion of the fate of Flatterers and Parasites, and after seeing Thais he will have had more than enough of the disgusting place. They can therefore pass on along the bridgeway to the Third Valley.

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comunemente nella lingua nostra (perchè Taide non fu mai fantesca), ma vuol dire *parlante;* nel quale significato la usò similmente il Poeta nel *Purg.* xxv, 61:—

'Ma come d' animal divenga fante.'"

Gelli adds that by this appellation Dante wishes to allude to the nature of women, who talk more than men.

* *Taide . . . che rispose,* etc.: The following is the passage from Terence (*Eunuchus*, Act iii, sc. 1), most probably borrowed by Dante from Cicero, *De Amic.* xxvi, 98: "THR. Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi? GN. Ingenteis. THR. Ain' tu? laeta 'st? GN. Non tam ipso quidem. Dono, quam abs te datum esse: id vero serio triumphat."

END OF CANTO XVIII.

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CANTO XIX.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE THIRD *BOLGIA*: THE SIMONISTS—POPE NICHOLAS III—ALLUSIONS TO BONIFACE VIII AND TO CLEMENT V.

THE Poets, at the conclusion of the last Canto, were in the act of turning away in disgust from the loathsome slough in which were immersed the Flatterers and Parasites, and we are to understand that they have walked on along the bridgeway, until they can see right down into the Third *Bolgia* or Valley.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 30, the punishment of the Simonists is described.

In *Division* II, from ver. 31 to ver. 66, Dante relates his conversation with Nicholas III, a Simoniacal Pope of the great Orsini family.

In *Division* III, from ver. 64 to ver. 87, Nicholas speaks of the other Simoniacal Popes.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 88 to ver. 133, Dante inveighs against the rapacity of the chief pastors of the Church.

Division I.—We may suppose that while the Poets have been traversing the space between the Second and the Third *Bolge*, Virgil has told Dante that he is

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about to witness the punishment of the Simonists in general, and more particularly of those among them who had been Popes. No crime would more thoroughly rouse Dante's indignation than corruption among the chiefs of the Church. His ideal was upright secular government under the Emperor, softened and sanctified by perfect purity in the spiritual guidance of the Church under the Pope, its appointed Ruler. Nowhere did he find the realisation of his ideal. The Emperors were indifferent, and the hierarchy was corrupt to the very core. He breaks out into a storm of indignation against the latter, calling them the followers of Simon Magus, who (*Acts* viii, 9 *et seq.*) offered money to St. Peter to endue him with the faculty of conferring the gift of the Holy Ghost with its miracle-working powers.

O Simon mago,* o miseri seguaci,

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* *O Simon mago:* Chaucer (*Persones Tale*) thus alludes to Simony: "Certes simonie is cleped of Simon Magus, that wold have bought for temporel catel the yefte that God had yeven by the holy gost to Seint Peter, and to the Apostles: and therefore understond ye, that both he that selleth and he that byeth thinges spirituel ben called Simoniackes, be it by catel, be it by procuring, or by fleshly praier of his frendes fleshly frendes, or spirituel frendes, fleshly in two maners, as by kindred or other frendes: sothly, if they pray for him that is not worthy and able, it is simonie, if he take the benefice, and if he be worthy and able, ther is non."

Simony is also mentioned by Brunetto Latini in the *Tesoretto*, xxi, 259:—

"Altri per simonia
Si getta in mala via,
E Dio e' Santi offende,
E vende le prebende,
E sante sagramente
E mette 'nfra la gente

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Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate
Deono essere spose, e voi rapaci *
Per oro e per argento adulterate;
Or convien che per voi suoni la tromba † 5
Perocchè nella terza bolgia state.

Assempri di mal fare.
Ma questo lascio stare,
Chè tocca a ta' persone,
Che non è mia ragione
Di dirne lungamente."

**e voi rapaci:* Witte and others omit the "*e*" before voi. On this see Dr. Moore, *Textual Criticism*, p. 324: "The well-supported reading *e voi* is, I have little doubt, the true one here. The use of '*e*' is somewhat idiomatic, and its omission gives an obviously *facilior lectio*. If this idiomatic use be overlooked, no doubt the word in its ordinary copulative sense causes a break in the construction. . . . Judicious is the remark of Bianchi: 'La Nidobeatina toglie quell' *e*, ma mentre provvede al migliore andamento grammaticale, toglie assai . . . alla forza dell' invettiva.' I would defend and illustrate this idiomatic use as follows: (1) There are several passages in the *Commedia*, *e.g. Inf.* xxv, 35 and 50, in both of which passages it is equivalent to a sort of interjection like 'Lo!' Again in xxx, 115 we have the very strongly supported reading *e tu*. . . . Again *Purg.* viii, 94 is a closely parallel case where only a few MSS. omit *e* before Sordello. Also *Purg.* xi, 17, where in the *Pater Noster* the spirits of the Proud say in prayer 'e tu perdona Benigno,' where '*e*' stands for '*Deh*.' (2) We have the parallel use of *atque* in Latin, as in the well-known passage of Virgil, 1 *Georg.* 203:—

'Si brachia forte remisit,
Atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.'

(3) I have also found a very similar passage in the *Chanson de Roland*, l. 40:—

'S' en voelt ostages, *e* vus l' en enveiez;'

which Gautier translates:—

'S' il exige des otages, *eh bien!* envoyez-en.'"

†*suoni la tromba:* This is thought to be an allusion to the proclamation by a crier of the crimes of those condemned to public punishment. Compare Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, I, London, 1817. Vol. i, pp. 113 and 114:—

"It fell so that in thilke dawe
There was ordeigned by the lawe

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> O Simon Magus, O ye (his) miscreant followers, who the things of God, which ought to be the brides of righteousness (*i.e.* ought only to be given gratuitously to the good), behold ye, rapacious as ye are, prostitute for gold and silver; now must the trumpet sound for you, because ye abide in the third valley.

Dante means, that their evil doings must be proclaimed in his poem. The holy dignities of the Church are figured as wedded brides, prostituted and defiled by being bought and sold.

In the description which now follows we must understand that Dante and Virgil have been repeating the process detailed in Canto xviii, 109-112, where they ascended to the highest point of the arch to look perpendicularly down upon the Flatterers. Passing along the bridgeway, they have now ascended to the summit of another arch, namely, that which dominates *la seguente tomba*, *i.e.* the valley which, like a huge cemetery, is occupied by the Simonists, each in his own separate place of torment.* This arch runs from the third to the fourth rampart, as we shall read in l. 40.

> A trompe with a sterne breth,
> Which was cleped the trompe of deth.
> And in the court, where the king was,
> A certain man this trompe of brass
> Hath in keping and thereof serveth,
> That when a lord his deth deserveth,
> He shall this dredfull trompe blowe
> To-fore his gate and make it knowe,
> How that the jugement is yive
> Of deth, which shall nought be forgive."

* Only one sinner was visible to the eye at the orifice of the hole, but each hole contained many more shades below, who had originally, each in his turn, occupied the topmost place.

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Before giving a detailed account of the punishment of these sinners, Dante almost renders thanks to God for His severity, or at any rate addresses an apostrophe to that Divine Wisdom which has meted out such well-deserved chastisement. No word of sympathy falls from his lips, no tear dims his eye. All through the Canto he addresses the prostrate Pope at his feet as one of the worst of evil-doers, and as such to be reviled and abhorred by every true son of the Church.

Già eravamo alla seguente tomba
Montati dello scoglio in quella parte,
Che appunto sopra mezzo il fosso piomba.
O somma Sapïenza,* quanta è l' arte 10

---

* *O somma Sapïenza :* Dante seeing the Popes and Pastors of the Church punished for Simony, no doubt turned his thoughts to the words of St. Paul (*Col.* iii, 2) : "Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth." This is what it was their duty to teach, but they practised just the reverse. Biagioli remarks that the conformity which Dante notices here between the punishment and the sin is, that Simony being an effect of Avarice, and as Avarice causes men to turn their backs to Heaven and their faces to earthly things, it is just that sinners should, in order to redouble their torment, be placed in such a position as would recall and demonstrate the circumstances of their sin. Biagioli feels sure that such was Dante's intention by what he writes in *Purg.* xix, 115-120 :—

"Quel ch' avarizia fa, qui si dichiara
In purgazion dell' anime converse,
E nulla pena il monte ha più amara.
Sì come l' occhio nostro non s' aderse
In alto, fisso alle cose terrene,
Così giustizia qui a terra il merse."

Scartazzini thinks that Dante's exclamations, *quanto giusto tua virtù comparte !* (l. 12) ; *adulterate* (l. 4) ; and *quando colei, che siede sopra l' acque, Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista* (ll. 107, 108), should be compared with *Rev.* xix, 2 : "For true and righteous are his judgments ; for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand."

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Che mostri in cielo, in terra e nel mal mondo,
E quanto giusto tua virtù comparte!

We were now at the tomb (*i.e.* the *Bolgia*) next in succession, having ascended to that part of the bridge which hangs plumb over the middle of the fosse. O Supreme Wisdom, how vast is the art which thou dost display, in Heaven, on Earth, and in the Evil World, and what great justice does thine Omnipotence mete out!

Dante now describes the general appearance of the valley, and it is noteworthy that whereas in the other *Bolge* the sinners are only seen *on* the ground, as it were, in this *Bolgia* the number of simoniacal priests and dignitaries of the Church is so vast, that the bottom is not sufficient to contain them all, and they are represented occupying rock-cut tombs all up the sides of the valley. They are placed head downwards in small holes, out of which their legs project, while their feet are being continually burned by a lambent flame. The holes are compared to the little cylindrical wells for the priests to stand in, made inside the solid framework of the Fonts in the Tuscan Baptisteries such as existed in the time of Dante.

Io vidi per le coste e per lo fondo
Piena la pietra livida di fori
D' un largo tutti, e ciascuno era tondo. 15
Non mi parean meno ampi nè maggiori
Che quei che son nel mio bel San Giovanni *

---

* *mio bel San Giovanni:* Scartazzini thinks the *mio* expresses the great affection of the poor exile for his native country. Compare *Par.* xxv, 1-6, where Dante speaks with tender longing of his desire to revisit his beloved Florence:—

"Se mai continga che il poema sacro,
Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
Sì che m' ha fatto per più anni macro,

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Fatti per loco de' battezzatori;
L' un delli quali, ancor non è molt' anni,
Rupp' io per un che dentro vi annegava: 20
E questo sia suggel * ch' ogni uomo sganni.

Upon the sides and upon the bottom (of the valley) I saw the dark grey rock full of holes all of one size, and each was circular. They seemed to me neither less ample nor greater than those that in my beautiful San Giovanni are made for the (standing) place of the baptisers; one of which, it is not many years since, I broke for (the rescue of) one who was suffocating in it, and let this be the seal to undeceive every man (*i.e.* my guarantee against any one thinking that I broke the font from sacrilegious irreverence).

The Baptismal Font of Florence, with the holes for the baptising priests to stand in, no longer exists, having been destroyed in 1576, when the Baptistery was being prepared for the solemn baptism of Prince Filippo, the infant son of Francesco (I) de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. It was demolished by the advice of a certain architect named Bernardo delle Girandole. Vellutello, who

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Vinca la crudeltà che fuor mi serra
Del bello ovil, dov' io dormii agnello
Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra," etc.

Benvenuto says that old tradition credits San Giovanni, now the Baptistery of Florence, with having been in ancient days the Temple of Mars; "and indeed," he adds, "it does not at all seem to have the form of a Christian church, for it is round and angular, having eight angular sides; and I know not if it be true, but I have heard that there is a similar temple in the city of Parma in Lombardy."

**suggel ch' ogni uomo sganni:* By *suggel* he means a sealed document, an authoritative testimony that will be the obvious means of undeceiving any one who had given credence to the malevolent and foolish calumny circulated by Dante's enemies that he had purposely committed an act of sacrilege.

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published his Commentary in 1544, speaks of it as still existing in his time, and we may take it for granted that it was well known to the Florentines of those days, as well as to the more ancient Commentators. There are however two similar fonts still in existence, one at Pisa and the other at Pistoja. That at Pisa is thought to have a close resemblance to the one formerly in use at Florence. A plan of it will be found in the notes of Scartazzini's Commentary; and in the Album Volume (vol. iii) of Lord Vernon's *Inferno* may be seen engravings exactly representing the interior of the Baptistery of Pisa (reproduced in this volume),* and that of Pistoja. The form of the font appears to have been octagon, only that in four of its great sides were the four circular wells in which the baptising priests stood for the purpose of being protected both from the pressure of the crowd and the splashing of the water. Vellutello says of these holes, that "they are at Florence in the Church of San Giovanni, and are all round the baptismal font, one at every corner, constructed as a place for the baptising priests to stand in, although at the present day they are no longer used except on certain festivals, when a priest steps into one of them to perform certain ceremonies; but for Baptism they make use of a different font for

* During the autumn of 1860 I was informed by the custodian of the Baptistery of Pisa that a few years previously, by permission of the authorities, my father, Lord Vernon, had caused a scaffolding, forty feet in height, to be erected in the Baptistery there, so that in the drawing he was having made for his album volume, the spectator might look down into the font, and see the places of the baptisers.

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convenience sake, even in that very Church." It would seem then that in 1544 the original purpose of these holes had been abandoned, but that this change did not take place either in Dante's time, nor for a long time afterwards, we may learn from the old Commentators. Blanc (*Saggio*), quoting from them, says that in those days children were only baptised on Easter Eve and the Eve of Whit Sunday, except in cases of illness (*periculum in mora*). Consequently the great crowds round the font caused some danger lest the baptising priest might be jostled, and the child shaken out of his hands into the water. Hence these holes, into which the priests descended.

The episode alluded to by Dante, in ll. 19-21, of his having broken one of these wells to save a person's life is sometimes variously interpreted on account of the words *che dentro v' annegava*, which translated literally would be "who was being drowned in it," but Blanc (*ibid.* p. 188) points out that it is a thing of very frequent occurrence for words having a special signification to be used in a wider and more general sense, and so in this instance *annegare*, which usually means "to drown," is used with the sense of "to perish somehow," and all the older Commentators so understood it. Benvenuto relates the story very circumstantially, namely, that some boys were playing round the font, as is their custom, and one of them jumped impetuously into one of these wells, and got his limbs so twisted in it, that no one could draw him out. A great crowd collected round the spot, when Dante, who was at that time one of

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the *Priori* of the City, came up, and seeing the boy's danger, called for an axe, and with it himself broke the marble side of the well and rescued the boy. Scartazzini does not think this tallies with l. 19, where Dante says "it is not many years since," as we know that Dante was *Priore* in 1300, in which year the Vision is supposed to be taking place,* but he thinks a truer account is that given in the *Comento di Anonimo* (ed. Lord Vernon, Florence, 1848, p. 148), in the following words: "And the author says that on the day of (Holy) Saturday, when the sacred firework † is lighted, he saw Antonio di Baldinaccio

* On this Dr. Moore writes to me: "There is an important question of principle involved in the argument in favour of the year 1301, which is sought to be derived from this passage. . . . It is evidently implied that an event referred to in any way as having already happened, must necessarily have been anterior to the assumed date of the Vision. But we must emphatically protest against the notion that the assumption of a fixed date, and the careful separation of past and future events in reference to it, should preclude Dante from making use, *in the way of illustration, simile or comparison*, of events that occurred later. This is quite different from allowing himself, or any of the characters whom he introduces, to refer *as speakers* to such occurrences. Though Dante as a speaker never does this, Dante as a narrative poet is not thus hampered. It would have been sheer pedantry in him to accept such a restriction; and he did not accept it. . . . As to this incident in *Inf.* xix, 19 . . . Grion says, on the authority of Jacopo di Dante, that this occurred in April, 1301, and argues hence against the date 1300. But Dante himself adds 'it was a few years ago (*ancor non è molt' anni*),' which shows that he does so as Dante the narrative poet. The passage, therefore, cannot bear on any case on the assumed date as between 1300 and 1301, as it is not more suitable to the one than to the other."

† The sacred firework is better known at Florence by its popular name of *Lo scoppio del Carro*, lit. "The explosion of the Car." The custom is that on Easter Eve during High Mass, a firework dove is despatched along a wire from the High Altar of the Cathedral to the Piazza outside, to set light

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de' Cavicciuoli of Florence, who had twisted himself into a hole in such wise that it became necessary to pull this hole to pieces; and Dante was the person who did so destroy it." Scartazzini observes that considering this account of the little boy who was saved, as well as the precise day the circumstance occurred, it does not strike him as being mere invention. Buti is not certain whether *annegava* may not really signify "was drowning," supposing that the water may have leaked through from the large central baptismal cistern into the small well at the side, in which the boy had got fixed.

There can be little doubt in Dante's description, which now follows, of the Simonists in their torment, he has wished, not only to expose them to ridicule, but also to compare their punishment to the degrading method of putting robbers and assassins to death by burying them head downwards, which was a common practice in those days. He treats them as plunderers of holy things, and as such, robbers of the worst kind, and we see further on (l. 49) that this idea was present in his mind, by his comparing himself to the friar standing just above the wretch dying in the hole.

Fuor della bocca a ciascun soperchiava

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to an elaborate pyrotechnic display on a car which is drawn up between the great doors of the Cathedral and those of the Baptistery. The dove is supposed to represent the Holy Ghost. The ceremony is watched with the keenest anxiety by the peasant-farmers of the environs, who flock into Florence to witness it. The successful explosion of the firework is believed to portend successful crops and abundant harvest for that year.

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D' un peccator li piedi, e delle gambe*
Infino al grosso, e l' altro dentro stava.
Le piante erano a tutti accese intrambe ; 25
Per che sì forte guizzavan le giunte,
Che spezzate averian ritorte † e strambe. ‡
Qual suole il fiammeggiar delle cose unte
Moversi pur su per l' estrema buccia ;
Tal era lì da' calcagni alle punte.§ 30

Forth from the mouth of each (hole) there protruded the feet of a sinner, and of the legs as far as the calf, and the rest remained inside. All of them had both the soles on fire; wherefrom the joints were writhing so convulsively, that they would have snapped both withes and straw ropes.

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* *li piedi, e delle gambe :* For the variant here which reads *dei piedi e delle gambe*, not much is to be said.

† *ritorte :* Flexible green willow or osier twigs or branches used as bands to fasten faggots. "*Ritorta*, Vermena verde la quale attorcigliata serve per legame di fastella (*faggots*) e di cose simili." (*Vocabolario della Crusca*). Compare *Judges* xvi, 7, 8 : "And Samson said unto her, If they bind me with seven green withs that were never dried, then shall I be weak, and be as another man. Then the lords of the Philistines brought up to her seven green withs which had not been dried, and she bound him with them." Compare Tasso, *Aminta*, Act iii, sc. 1 :—

"E la pianta medesma avea prestati
Legami contra lei ; ch' una ritorta
D' un pieghevole ramo avea a ciascuna
Delle tenere gambe."

‡ *strambe :* These were ropes made of grass, plaited but not twisted. The meaning of the line is that the struggles of the feet were so desperate, that they would have burst asunder any kind of bonds. Gelli observes that the hides which came from Barbary in his time were bound with *strambe.*

§ *Tal era lì da' calcagni alle punte :* Scartazzini thinks that the flaming feet are intended as a direct contrast to the *nimbus* which would have adorned the heads of these Popes if they had been saintly men who had laid up for themselves a crown of glory. Instead of that, their avarice has only earned for them burning feet.

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As the flaming of oily things is wont to flicker on the outer surface only; so was it there from the heels to the toe-points.

Benvenuto sees an analogy between the flickering of the fire upon the surface of fat, greasy things, and the flames of Hell doing so upon the skin of the priests, which was fat from their ill-gotten gains.

Division II.—Dante's attention is now arrested by the sight of one of the sinners, whose limbs are jerking about with contortions more agonised and convulsive than those of his fellow-sufferers, and on whose feet a much redder flame is seen. His curiosity is aroused, and he asks Virgil who it is.

—"Chi è colui, Maestro, che si cruccia,
Guizzando più che gli altri suoi consorti,"—
Diss' io,—"e cui più rozza fiamma succia?"—
Ed egli a me:—"Se tu vuoi ch' io ti porti
Laggiù per quella ripa che più giace, 35
Da lui saprai di sè e de' suoi torti."—

"Master," said I, "who is that one who in his struggles is more infuriated than his companions, and whom a fiercer flame is devouring (*lit.* sucking up)?" And he to me: "If thou wilt let me carry thee down by that cliff-side which lies lowest, thou shalt learn from him about himself and about his crimes."

This new valley is the first of the *Bolge* into which the Poets descend. They had looked down from the overhanging ramparts into those wherein the Seducers and the Flatterers were being punished. The cliff being too steep for Dante, with only his human power, to climb down, Virgil offers to carry him by

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his spiritual agency. By the expression "the cliff-side which lies lowest" Virgil is referring to the one beyond the bridge on which they are walking. It must be remembered that in *Malebolge* each succeeding valley is lower than the preceding one, as the whole of the *Bolge* incline towards the Pit in the centre. Consequently, as the Poets cross each bridge, they stand on a rampart of dark grey rock; while on the other side of the valley the next line of rock lies at a lower level (*più giace*), as well as being more sloping and practicable. Dante at once professes his readiness to go wherever Virgil thinks best for him.

> Ed io :—"Tanto m' è bel,* quanto a te piace :
> Tu sei signore, e sai ch' io non mi parto
> Dal tuo volere, e sai quel che si tace."—

> And I: "Whatever seems good to thee, that much is pleasing to me: thou art my lord, and knowest that I do not part me from thy will, and thou knowest that (desire of mine) which is unspoken."

Dante has from the first marked this figure whose legs are kicking so convulsively, as one with whom he would like to converse, and he at once admits that Virgil has divined his thoughts.

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* *Tanto m' è bel:* Compare *Purg.* xxvi, 140, 141 :—

> "Tan m' abellis vostre cortes deman,
> Qu' ieu no-m puesc, ni-m vueil a vos cobrire."

I have myself heard the peasants who sell fruit at the stations on the railway over the Apennines above Pistoja use the expression: "*Li s' abbellisca,*" *i.e.* "Take them as it pleases you"; "Choose them according to your liking." Compare also *Par.* xxvi, 130-132 :—

> "Opera naturale è ch' uom favella;
> Ma così o così, natura lascia
> Poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbella."

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They now quit the third rampart, walk over the bridge that towers above the valley, and having crossed it, find themselves on the fourth rampart, beyond which is the Valley of the Diviners, with which we have nothing to do in this Canto. Having reached the fourth rampart, they turn to their left, and then Virgil, as a spirit, and temporarily endowed with supernatural powers, seats Dante on his hip, and lets himself go down the sheer side of the precipice.

Allor venimmo in su l' argine quarto; * 40
Volgemmo, e discendemmo a mano stanca †
Laggiù, nel fondo foracchiato ed arto.
Lo buon Maestro ancor della sua anca
Non mi dipose, sì mi giunse al rotto
Di quel che sì piangeva con la zanca.‡ 45

Then came we upon the fourth rampart; we turned, and descended on our left hand down into that perforated and narrow bottom. And the good Master did not yet set me down from off his hip,

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* *in su l' argine quarto:* As we noticed above, it was not until after the Poets had crossed the bridge, and were confronted by the difficulty of descending the precipitous cliff on the far side of it, that Virgil took Dante up on his hip.

† *mano stanca:* The left hand is called the tired hand, because being less strong than the right, it gets more easily wearied. Compare Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, lib. ii, cap. 36: "Una delle quali [*pietre*] ruppe l' omero, e spezzò di tronco tutto il braccio stanco al Davitte di Michelagnolo."

‡ *piangeva con la zanca:* Some read "che sì *pingeva* con la zanca," *i.e.* "who was giving such kicks." But Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 189) interprets *piangeva* thus:—"Che dava segno di dolore con le zanche," because, as the remainder of their bodies was underground, the shades had no other mode of expressing their lamentations. The Suicides blow through the twigs and branches of the trees, the Fraudulent Counsellors cause their flame to twist and roar, and the Simonists kick their legs, all to show their anguish.

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until he brought me to the orifice of (*i.e.* occupied by) him who with his shanks was making such signs of distress.

Dante's first words addressed to the Simonist Pope in the hole at his feet show anything but pity for his fallen condition. They seem partly to ridicule him for being stuck in the ground upside-down, and Dante ironically pretends not to know whether the shade can speak or not, although Virgil has just told him that he can,* and Dante ends—not by an entreaty—but by a peremptory command to the shade to speak, without even telling him what he wishes him to say. Scartazzini observes that the whole of Dante's demeanour, and, later on, his stern denunciation of the vices of the Church, would seem almost inexplicably bold on his part towards a Pope, were it not that he had been carried to the spot by Virgil, who is a symbol of Imperial authority, and in that way the allegory becomes easy to understand. Not less bold is Dante's comparison of himself, leaning over the prostrate Pope, to a confessor crouching over the hole in which the half-buried assassin is asking to be shriven before the earth is thrown in.

—"O qual che se', che 'l di su tien di sotto,
Anima trista, come pal commessa,"—†
Comincia' io a dir,—"se puoi, fa motto."—

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* Benvenuto, however, gives a very plausible reason for Dante's inquiry: "Hoc pro tanto dicit quia non videbatur bene verisimile, quod ille posset bene loqui, qui habebat os repletum terra, ideo autor stabat multum attentus."

† *come pal commessa:* "Scilicet plantata et fixa ad modum pali fortiter, ita quod non potes inde divelli, sed semper stabis ibi, donec veniet palus novus, qui detrudet te decessum." (Benvenuto).

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Io stava come il frate * che confessa
Lo perfido assassin, che poi ch' è fitto, 50
Richiama lui, perchè la morte cessa.†

"O wretched Soul, whoe'er thou art that keepest thy upper part undermost, planted like a stake," I began to say, "give utterance, if thou canst." I was in the attitude of the friar who is shriving the treacherous assassin, who, after he is fastened (down in the hole), recalls him, because (thereby) he defers his death.

Gelli thinks that there was but one of the holes devoted to the Simoniacal Popes, and that the last comer had to remain with his feet burning on the outside until another Pope came to displace him, when he would fall lower down. This may possibly also be intended as an ironical taunt, in allusion to a practice of interring the Pope last deceased in a tomb at St. Peter's specially devoted to that purpose, and which his body would occupy only until that of his successor is brought to replace his. The practice, however, has now ceased.

This shade whom Dante is addressing is that of Pope Nicholas III, of the great Roman family of the Orsini, whose cognisance was a she-bear (*orsa*). He

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* *Io stava come il frate:* Here *stare* does not mean "to stand." The friar would not be standing, but crouching down, or kneeling by the hole, with his head lowered close to it so as to hear the confession of the wretch below. The two French translations of Lamennais and Briseux very correctly render the passage: "Je me tenais comme le frère," etc.

† *perchè la morte cessa:* Note that *cessare* is not a neuter verb in this passage, but an active verb, with the signification "to put off, to retard, to delay." Many translators have rendered it: "recalls him, that death may be delayed." If that were so, the verb ought to be *cessi* in the subjunctive mood, and not *cessa* in the indicative.

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never lost a chance of enriching his relations by Simony of every kind, even (as Gelli relates) before he was elected Pope, and during his whole after-life. He died in 1280. We are to suppose the present scene to have taken place in 1300. Nicholas III had been succeeded by Martin IV (1281-85); Honorius IV (1285-87); Nicholas IV (1288-92); and after these came Celestine V. Benedetto Caetani obtained the papacy (1294) by terrifying the timid Celestine into resignation. He was then elected himself, assumed the title of Boniface VIII, and persecuted Celestine to death.* (See Giov. Villani, viii, 6; and Milman, *Lat. Christ.* book xi, chap. 7.)

Dante metaphorically supposes that Nicholas, endowed, like all the lost in Hell, with foresight of coming events, knew that Boniface was to die in 1303, and did not expect to find him there in 1300; so that from this passage, and from l. 82 *et seq.*, we may take it as clearly demonstrated that the *Divina Commedia* was not written before 1303. Nicholas, therefore, is struck with wonder at hearing what he thinks is the voice of Boniface, and he cannot imagine why he is standing on his feet, and not at once thrust head downwards. It is under this misapprehension that he addresses Dante as Boniface.

Ed ei gridò:—" Sei tu già costì ritto,†

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* I take my authority for the above statements from Benvenuto, Gelli, Rossetti, Biagioli, Lord Vernon (*Inferno*), and Scartazzini.

† *Sei tu già costì ritto:* " Ritto in quanto non è ancora stato piegato e cacciato con la testa in giù nel foro, come era Niccolò e gli altri papi. Sei adunque costì ritto per esser dichinato." (Castelvetro). *Esser ritto, star ritto,* or *star in piedi,* are

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Sei tu già costì ritto, Bonifazio?
Di parecchi anni mi mentì lo scritto.*
Se' tu sì tosto di quell' aver sazio, 55
Per lo qual non temesti tôrre a inganno
La bella Donna, e poi di farne strazio?" †—

And he cried: "Art thou standing there already, art thou standing there already, Boniface? (then) by several years has the book of destiny played me false. Art thou so soon glutted with that wealth for which thou didst not fear to capture by fraud the beauteous Lady (the Church), and then to pillage her?"

The *Ottimo* remarks that a man can do no greater outrage to the wife he has espoused than by putting her up by auction to the highest bidder. Nicholas is here taunting Boniface with his avarice, and with the fraud by which he obtained the papacy.‡ This

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the only terms in Italian equivalent to the English verb "to stand." As the present writer has often pointed out, *stare* (by itself) simply means "to abide." See *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 2nd edition, vol. i, pp. 148, 149, footnote on *Purg.* iv, 104: "*Che si* stavano *all' ombra.*"

* *lo scritto:* The *Gran Dizionario* says the word as used in this passage means *Previsione del futuro.*

† *farne strazio* = "to destroy her, to outrage her, to pillage her." Lamennais translates "la saccager."
Compare Petrarch, Part II, *Sonnet* 83 (in some editions 311):—
"Fuor di man di colui [*Amore*] che punge e molce,
Che già fece di me sì lungo strazio,
Mi trovo in libertate amara e dolce."
Both Benvenuto and the *Ottimo* interpret *tôrre* "to wed forcibly" and of *farne strazio* Benvenuto says: "Scilicet inhoneste tractando eam, et prostituendo tamquam meretricem."

‡ Throughout the *Divinia Commedia* Dante shows much hatred against Boniface VIII, not only as a Guelph, but also because to Boniface he attributed his exile and subsequent adversity. In *Inf.* xxvii, 85, *et seq.*, he calls him
"Lo Principe de' nuovi Farisei,"
and makes Guido da Montefeltro relate how, by his insidious

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has already been fully discussed in Canto iii, in a note on *Colui che fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto*, namely, Celestine V, intimidated by Boniface.

Dante describes himself as utterly perplexed at the strange words that proceed out of the ground below him, and also at hearing himself addressed as Boniface. Nicholas had twice repeated the question *Sei tu già costì ritto?* before Dante is able to frame an answer; and when he does, it is at the instance of Virgil, who makes him in his turn utter his reply twice over, *Non son colui*, etc.

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arts, Boniface induced him to give the fraudulent counsel which destroyed his soul. In *Par.* xxvii, 22, *et seq.*, St. Peter utters against Boniface a denunciation so terrible that the whole heaven turns red with anger:—

"'Quegli ch' usurpa in terra il loco mio,
Il loco mio, il loco mio, che vaca
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,
Fatto ha del cimitero mio cloaca
Del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,
Che cadde di quassù, laggiù si placa.'
Di quel color che per lo sole avverso
Nube dipinge da sera e da mane,
Vid' io allora tutto il ciel cosperso."

Montaigne (*Essais*, livre ii, ch. i) in speaking of the extraordinary contradictions to be noticed in the characters of men, says: "Le jeune Marius se treuve tantost fils de Mars, tantost fils de Venus: le pape Boniface huictiesme entra, dict on, en sa charge comme un regnard, s' y porta comme un lion, et mourut comme chien." Giov. Villani (viii, cap. 6) writes of Boniface that he was "extremely grasping for money, both to enrich the Church and his own relations, having no sort of conscience about it, and saying that all was lawful to him of what was in the Church." And *ibid.* cap. 64: "He was liberal and free-handed to people he liked or who were valorous, very fond of worldly splendour befitting his high estate . . . [but he was] more worldly than his dignity required, and had done many things displeasing to God." Giovanni Villani, who judges Pope Boniface so severely, was not a Ghibelline, but a staunch Guelph.

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Tal mi fec io quai son color che stanno,
Per non intender ciò ch' è lor risposto,
Quasi scornati, e risponder non sanno. 60
Allor Virgilio disse:—"Digli tosto,
Non son colui, non son colui che credi:"—
Ed io risposi come a me fu imposto.

I became like those who, from not understanding what is said to them, remain as though put to shame, and know not what to answer. Then Virgil said: "Tell him at once, 'I am not he, I am not he whom thou thinkest:'" and I made answer as was enjoined me.

Division III.*—The shade of Nicholas, on hearing Dante disavow his identity with Boniface VIII, shows much irritation. He had replied readily enough to the voice which he had thought was that of Boniface come to occupy the uppermost place instead of him; but as soon as he finds that it proceeds from some one else, he asks the unknown speaker: "If you are not Boniface, what business can you have with me?" He tells Dante, however, who he was, and who are the Simoniacal Popes that will in their turn take his place.

Per che lo spirto tutto storse i piedi: †
Poi sospirando, e con voce di pianto, 65
Mi disse:—"Dunque che a me richiedi?

* Benvenuto begins Division III at l. 67, but it seems to me better to take it from l. 64, so that it may include the whole of Nicholas III's speech to Dante.

† *tutto storse i piedi:* I follow here the reading of Witte, Buti, the Jesi edition, and others. Although Dr. Moore reads *tutti* in the Oxford Dante, he is by no means indifferent to the claims of the reading *tutto.* In *Textual Criticism*, pp. 325, 326, he writes: "This is a case in which the arguments for *tutto* and *tutti* appear to be pretty evenly balanced: *tutti* was found in 87 MSS.; *tutto* in 71 MSS. Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 192) contends

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Se di saper chi io sia ti cal cotanto *
Che tu abbi però la ripa corsa,
Sappi ch' io fui vestito del gran manto: †

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strongly for *tutti* chiefly on the ground that the word *tutto* was likely to have been altered because of its inapplicability to two feet. *Per contra*, however, it might be argued that the singular *tutto* may have been altered because of its inapplicability to the plural *piedi*, by those who were unaware of the quasi-adverbial use of the adjective." For example, take l. 12 of this Canto:—

"E quan*to* giu*sto* tu*a* virtù comparte!"

And *Inf.* xi, 67, 68:—

". . . Maestro, assai chiar*o* procede
La tu*a* ragione;"

And *Par.* xvii, 92, 93:—

"e disse cose
Incredibili a *quei* che *fien* presente."

Dr. Moore remarks that Blanc (*l.c.*) quotes some very striking passages in favour of *tutti*, but that instances of the adverbial use of *tutto* are also very numerous. Scartazzini, in his Leipzig edition of 1874, and in his first Milan edition of 1893 read *tutti* and censured *tutto;* but in all his subsequent editions he reads *tutto.*

**ti cal cotanto:* Gelli interprets this, *se tu fai però si gran stima* "if thou attachest such great importance thereto," etc. Blanc (*ibid.*) thinks *calere*, though derived immediately from the Latin, has in Italian a somewhat different sense, namely, "to care about." Compare *Purg.* viii, 12:—

"Come dicesse a Dio: 'D' altro non calme;'"

And *Purg.* xxx, 135:—

". . . sì poco a lui ne calse;"

And *Purg.* xxxii, 4, 5:—

"Ed essi quinci e quindi avean parete
Di non caler."

†*gran manto:* The great mantle of St. Peter was, in the time of Dante, the insignia of the Papal dignity, just as the *Tiara* is now. The Popes were vested in it at their coronation. Compare *Inf.* ii, 26, 27:—

"Intese cose, che furon cagione
Di sua vittoria e del papale ammanto."

In *Purg.* xix, 99, the good Pope, Adrian V, after saying to Dante:—

"*Scias quod ego fui successor Petri,*"

adds (103, 104):—

"Un mese e poco più prova' io come
Pesa il gran manto," etc.

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E veramente fui figliuol dell' orsa, 70
Cupido sì per avanzar gli orsatti,*
Che su l' avere, e qui me misi in borsa.

Whereat the spirit vehemently writhed his feet: then sighing, and with a voice of lamentation, he said unto me: "What then dost thou want with

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**figliuol dell' orsa . . . orsatti:* According to the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, members of the Orsini family habitually signed themselves *de filiis ursae.* Buti and Gelli both remark that there is no animal so gluttonous as a bear, and the name tallies well with the characteristics of Nicholas. Benvenuto draws a heavy indictment against him: "In the year 1276 Nicholas III, of the Orsini at Rome, was elected Pope. While he was only a priest and a cardinal, he had been an upright and well-conducted man; but as soon as he was made Pope, he did everything in his power to aggrandise his own family; and he was the first Pope in whose Court Simony was openly practised for the benefit of his relations. He endowed them with property, money and castles. In a very short space of time he created seven Roman Cardinals, most of whom were of his family. . . . He had many noble palaces built hard by St. Peter's; he made Rudolph (of Hapsburg) the King of the Romans surrender to him the City of Bologna and the County of Romagna, because he had not fulfilled his promise of crossing the Alps into Italy. This was not accounted a just transaction, for Rudolph had been prevented by his wars at home from coming to receive the papal benediction. But what churchmen once take they rarely relinquish; and he made his nephew, Bertoldo, Count of Romagna, and he nominated as Legate, Cardinal Latino, his sister's son. And from the above we may judge whether or no Pope Nicholas of the Orsini was greedy after the advancement of his own family."

Petrarch, in his noble *Canzone* to Cola di Rienzi, beginning *Spirto gentil* (Part iv, *Canz.* 2), represents the Orsini, figured as the Bears, making war against the House of Colonna:—

"Orsi, lupi, leoni, aquile, e serpi
Ad una gran marmorea Colonna
Fanno noja sovente, ed a sè danno:
Di costor piagne quella gentil donna
Che t' ha chiamato, acciò che di lei sterpi
Le male piante, che fiorir non sanno.
. . . . . .
Ahi nova gente oltra misura altera,
Irreverente a tanta, ed a tal madre!"

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me? If thou carest so much to know who I am, that thou hast for this descended the bank, know that I was vested with the Great Mantle (of the Popes): and verily I was a son of the She-Bear (*i.e.* one of the Orsini family), so greedy to advance the Bear-cubs, that up there (on Earth) I put wealth, and down here (in Hell I put) myself into the pouch.

This is a play upon the words. Pope Nicholas is in the Third *Bolgia*. The primary meaning of *Bolgia* (see note on *Bolgia* at pp. 33, 34 of this volume) is purse, pouch, or wallet.

Nicholas now explains to Dante that his position is a transition state, and that as the new comer arrives, his predecessor sinks down into the cavern below. He hints that he had mistaken Dante for Boniface.

Di sotto al capo mio son gli altri tratti
Che precedetter me simoneggiando,
Per le fessure della pietra piatti. 75
Laggiù cascherò io altresì, quando
Verrà colui ch' io credea che tu fossi,
Allor ch' io feci il subito domando.

Beneath my head are dragged down the others who preceded me in Simony, flattened through the fissures of the rock. Down there likewise shall I drop, when that one shall come whom I thought thou wast, then when I put that sudden question.

It is generally supposed by Commentators that the Simoniacal Popes, when they drop down, lie flat on the ground heaped up one on the top of the other. Blanc (*Saggio*) feels uncertain as to whether the burning of their feet then ceases. He thinks it does, because, in the verses that now follow, Nicholas seems to allude to a terminable period for each to

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remain with his feet scorching. But the fact of lying flat upon the ground is, Blanc considers, distinctly in analogy with the penalty of the Avaricious in Purgatory (*Purg.* xix, 73), who all lie with their faces turned to the earth, and breathe forth the words of the Psalmist, *My soul cleaveth unto the dust* (Ps. cxix, 25). So here in Hell these Popes, whose gaze should ever have been fixed on Heaven, as a penalty for having instead turned their thoughts to earthly things, have to grovel to all eternity in close proximity to the earth. As kings they were anointed with oil upon their heads, but now they are anointed with fire upon their feet; and as in life they donned red buskins, so now have they their feet ever reddening in the flames of Hell.

Nicholas now prophesies that after Boniface there will come another Pope, whose guilt will be even yet more atrocious, and he hints that it is some one connected with the Court of the King of France, Philippe *le Bel.*

Ma più è il tempo * già che i piè mi cossi,
E ch' io son stato così sottosopra, 80
Ch' ei non starà piantato † coi piè rossi :

**più è il tempo*, et seq.: Pope Nicholas III had died on 22nd August, 1280, so that according to the supposed date of Dante's Vision, he would have been twenty years with his feet burning. Boniface VIII died on 11th October, 1303, and his successor Clement V on 20th April, 1314; so that Boniface is supposed to be doomed to the topmost place for only eleven years as against the twenty of Nicholas III. "Dante in all probability wrote this passage before Clement's death, but had reason to believe he would not live long enough to falsify the prediction." (Cayley's *Dante*, 1855).

†*piantato:* This is, of course, an allusion to the mode of execution called *propagginare*, by which condemned assassins,

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Chè dopo lui verrà, di più laid' opra,
Di vêr ponente * un pastor senza legge,†
Tal che convien che lui e me ricopra.
Nuovo Iason ‡ sarà, di cui si legge 85
Ne' Maccabei: e come a quel fu molle
Suo re, così fia a lui chi Francia regge."--

But longer is the time already that I have been roasting my feet, and that I have thus remained upside-down, than he (Boniface) shall remain planted with his feet red: since after him will come from the Westward (Gascony) one of yet fouler deeds (Clement V), a Pastor devoid of all law, one who will have to cover both him and me. He will be a new Jason, of whom we read in the Maccabees: and as to him (Jason) his King (Antiochus) was pliant, so to him (Clement) will be he who rules France."

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and especially treacherous ones, were *planted* like vines, being fastened head downwards in a hole dug for that purpose, and were then choked to death by the hole being filled up. The old decrees of Florence say: *Assassinus plantetur capite deorsum ita quod moriatur.*

* *Di vêr ponente:* This refers to the Gascon origin of Clement V.

† *un pastor senza legge:* The personage here alluded to is Clement V, whose name was Bertrand de Gotti, a native of Gascony, and who by the influence of Philippe *le Bel* was elected Pope in 1305. Giov. Villani (viii, caps. 80, 81; and ix, 59) speaks at great length of his election, his misrule, his simoniacal practices, of the Cardinals he created, of his immoral life, and of his death.

‡ *Jason:* This was a son of the High Priest Simon II, who by means of gross bribery succeeded in superseding his own brother Onias III as High Priest, having procured by the promise of an increased tribute his appointment by Antiochus Epiphanes. See 2 *Maccab.* iv, 7, 8: "But after the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias laboured underhand to be high priest, promising unto the king by intercession three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents."

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Benvenuto points out that the comparison is admirable. The wicked High Priest Jason is compared with the wicked Pontiff Clement, and King Antiochus with King Philip [*le Bel*]; and in both cases was the High-priesthood simoniacally bought and sold. "But," adds Benvenuto, "what would Dante have said if he had lived to see Pope Clement VI, who was even more corrupt and more carnal than the Clement spoken of here, for he poured forth the whole of the great treasure of the Church to subsidise John King of France against the King of England [Edward III]; and yet after all both the money and the victory passed into the hands of the English, the King [of France] being defeated and taken prisoner in the field."

Division IV.—Dante has listened, with what patience he could summon, to the lengthy confession by Pope Nicholas respecting the Simony and avarice of himself and his two successors, but he now bursts into indignation, first, against the guilt of Nicholas himself in particular, and afterwards that of the Pastors of the Church in general. The whole of his utterances have the ring of a sermon, and there may be in them the intention of ironically showing that they whose duty it was to preach to others, are themselves in need of being preached to. Some have tried to prove that in so interpellating one who was in life the head of the Church, Dante was showing want of reverence for the Church itself, but this view cannot be sustained. The whole of Dante's interview with the good Pope Adrian V, in

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Purg. xix exhibits Dante as a most devoted and a most reverent son of the Church, with a marked deference for those who worthily held the chief offices in it. Even in the lines that follow, Dante prefaces his address to Nicholas by excusing himself for the severity of the language he is about to use.

Io non so s' io mi fui qui troppo folle,*
Ch' io pur risposi lui a questo metro: †
—"Deh or mi di', quanto tesoro volle 90
Nostro Signore in prima da san Pietro,
Che ponesse le chiavi ‡ in sua balía?

**folle:* Dante pretends to hesitate as to whether he was not very unwise in uttering his words of censure. Scartazzini does not agree with the general interpretation of *folle* as *temerario.* He thinks the two words are widely different, and that *folle* should be taken in its literal meaning of "foolish," and that Dante would say: "Perhaps it was foolish of me to waste so much time in censuring one who was already damned, seeing that my reproofs could no longer be of the slightest use." Casini agrees with Scartazzini, and their view is that of Buti, who renders *folle* "stolto." Gelli says that Dante finding in Hell three Popes guilty of Simony, would probably think the Church in so deplorable a condition, that for him to utter a word of censure would seem utter folly, and that "si sarebbe volontieri taciuto, giudicando che il reprendere dove non si può fare se non acquistare odio, fusse *pazzia.* Ma considerando dipoi che tal cosa appartiene a l' onore di Dio, onde si debbe eseguirla senza rispetto alcuno, si deliberò a farla. E però dice, quasi che per sua scusa del fare tal cosa, in quanto a la prudenza umana: *io non so se io mi fui* in questo luogo *troppo folle,* cioè stolto." I think it on the whole better to follow the above interpretation of Buti and Gelli rather than that of Benvenuto, who uses the word *temerarius,* and thinks, speaking generally, that it would not be right to utter words of censure in public to so great a personage, but for the fact that Dante writes as a poet, and truth urges him not to spare.

†*metro:* Note that Dante, after referring to the speech he is now about to utter as *questo metro,* concludes it by saying (l. 118), *mentre io gli cantava cotai note.*

‡ *le chiavi:* Compare *Matt.* xvi, 17-19: "And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: . . .

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Certo non chiese se non: 'Viemmi retro.' *
Nè Pier nè gli altri tolsero † a Mattia ‡
Oro od argento, quando fu sortito 95
Al loco che perdè l' anima ria.
Però ti sta, che tu se' ben punito;
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,§
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito.

I know not if here I was too foolish, in that I simply answered him in this strain: "Pray tell me now, how much treasure did our Lord require from St. Peter before He entrusted the keys to his keeping? He surely asked nothing of him save: 'Follow thou me.' Nor did Peter or the others extort from Matthias gold or silver, when he was

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And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

* *Viemmi retro:* These are the words of our Lord to St. Peter and St. Andrew by the Sea of Galilee, *Matt.* iv, 19: "And he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." Compare also *John* xxi, 22: "Jesus saith unto him [St. Peter], If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me."

† *tolsero:* Others, including Witte, read *chiesero* "demanded," but Dr. Moore has informed me that the reading *tolsero* has an overwhelming preponderance of MS. authority. Besides, it contrasts well with *la mal tolta moneta* in l. 98.

‡ *Mattia:* Compare *Acts* i, 26: "And they gave forth their lots; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the eleven apostles."

§ *guarda ben la mal tolta moneta:* Compare *Acts* viii, 20: "But Peter said unto him [Simon Magus], Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money." Nicholas had previously said of himself that he was *Cupido sì . . . che su l' avere, e qui me misi in borsa.* Dante now says to him in so many words: "Now that you are in the purse, hoard up the ill-acquired treasure with which John of Procida bribed you."

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by lot appointed to the post which the guilty soul (Judas Iscariot) had forfeited. Therefore stay thou (here), for thou art rightly punished; and take good care of the ill-gotten money, which caused thee to be presumptuous against Charles.

Nicholas III was so elated with pride of wealth, that he sought an alliance between his niece and a nephew of Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily; which being haughtily rejected, the Pope was said to have been bribed into joining a combination against King Charles, with John of Procida and the King of Aragon; from which—after his own death—resulted the famous massacre of the French in Sicily, known in history as the Sicilian Vespers. Benvenuto relates that King Charles's answer was to the effect that although the Pope wore red shoes, he was not worthy of entering into affinity with a King; and Villani makes Charles say in addition, that a King is born to his dignity, whereas a Pope is merely elected.

Dante, having already spoken in pretty strong language, now excuses himself that he does not say more, and make use of even stronger terms on account of his reverence for the pontifical dignity; "and yet," says Benvenuto, "it seems to me that Dante is giving that rhetorical colour which is termed *Occupatio*, because he professes to be unwilling to say that which as a matter of fact he does say very forcibly indeed."

E se non fosse, che ancor lo mi vieta 100
La riverenza delle somme chiavi,
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,*

---

* *nella vita lieta:* Compare *Inf.* vi, 51, where Ciacco calls life in the world *la vita serena; Inf.* xv, 57, where Brunetto Latini says:—

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I' userei parole ancor più gravi ;
Chè la vostra avarizia il mondo attrista,
Calcando i buoni e sollevando i pravi. 105

And were it not that reverence for the Supreme Keys which thou heldest in the gladsome life even now forbids it to me, I would use words still more severe; because the avarice of you (corrupt Pastors) afflicts the world, trampling down the good and exalting the bad.

Up to this point Dante has been addressing his words to Nicholas III, or at any rate up to the last two lines, where he says "*vostra* avarizia il mondo attrista," but in them he has changed from the singular to the plural, and the rest of his censure is directed against the ecclesiastical hierarchy in general.

He shows that this avarice in her chief Pastors is one of the great tribulations and persecutions which the Church of God is undergoing, and to prove his words, he cites a prophecy of St. John, who (*Rev.* xvii, 1) * describes how the Angel showed him the harlot that sitteth upon the waters. St. John

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"Se ben m' accorsi nella vita bella."

In *Inf.* x, 69 Cavalcanti asks Dante of his son Guido:—

"Non fiere gli occhi suoi lo dolce lome ?"

and *ibid.* 82, Farinata says:—

"E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge," etc.

* *Rev.* xvii, 1-3: "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters: With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy having seven heads and ten horns."

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was speaking of Pagan Rome, but Dante, like others who lived in his time, and notably Petrarch,* interpreted the reference to mean Christian Rome under such Popes as Nicholas III, Boniface VIII, and Clement V. In denouncing the avarice of Rome he identifies her with the great harlot, the Babylon of the Apocalypse.

Di voi pastor s' accorse il Vangelista,
Quando colei, che siede sopra l' acque,

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*It is worthy of notice that Petrarch also expressed himself with great indignation against the Popes of his time. See *Petrarchæ Opera quae exstant omnia*, Basileae, 1554, fol., p. 807, *Epist. sine titulo*, xviii: "Tu autem gaude, contrario saltem magistra virtutum, gaude (inquam) et ad aliquid utilis, inventa gloriare, bonorum hostis et malorum hospes, atque asylum pessima rerum Babylon, feris, Rhodani ripis imposita, famosa dicam an infamis meretrix, fornicata cum regibus terrae. *Illa equidem ipsa es, quam in spiritu sacer vidit Evangelista.* Illa eadem, inquam, es, non alia, sedens super aquas multas, sive ad literam tribus cincta fluminibus, sive rerum atque divitiarum turba mortalium quibus lasciviens ac secura insides opum immemor aeternarum sive ut idem qui vidit exposuit. Populi et gentes, et linguae, aquae sunt, super quas meretrix sedes, recognosce habitum."

Cary quotes a passage from the writings of Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, in which the Bishop points out that "numberless passages in the writings of Petrarch speak of Rome under the name of Babylon. But an equal stress is not to be laid on all these. It should be remembered that the Popes, in Petrarch's time, resided at Avignon, greatly to the disparagement of themselves, as he thought, and especially of Rome; of which this singular man was little less than idolatrous. The situation of the place, surrounded by waters . . . brought to his mind the condition of the Jewish Church in the Babylonian captivity." Cary adds: "The application that is made of these prophecies by two men so eminent for their learning and sagacity as Dante and Petrarch, is, however, very remarkable. . . . Such applications were indeed frequent in the Middle Ages. . . . Balbo observes [in his *Life of Dante*], that it is not Rome, as most erroneously interpreted, but Avignon and the Court there, which is termed Babylon by Dante and Petrarch."

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Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:
Quella che con le sette teste nacque,
E dalle dieci corna ebbe argomento,* 110
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.

Pastors like you the Evangelist had in his mind, when she that sitteth upon the waters was seen by him to commit fornication with kings; she that was born with the Seven Heads, and from the Ten Horns had her scheme of government, for so long as virtue was pleasing unto her spouse (*i.e.* so long as the Pope, the husband of the Church, took pleasure in virtue).

The Pope is here signified as the Spouse of the Church. So long as the Popes were virtuous and uncorrupt, the Church was governed in accordance with the Divine Law. By the Seven Heads are to be understood, according to some, the Seven Sacraments of the Church, according to others the Sevenfold Gifts of the Holy Spirit, or the Seven Virtues.

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* *argomento:* Nearly every Commentator and translator has a different version of this word. Poletto (*Dizionario Dantesco*) quotes Dante's use of it in *Par.* xxiv, 65, as being "evidence of things not seen." But the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, while quoting *the latter passage with that meaning*, gives the following version for *this* passage: "Talora per figurazione (Dante, *Inf.* xix): 'Che dalle dieci corna ebbe argomento.'" This is also the interpretation given by Buti: "ebbe argomento; cioè figurazione: imperò che argomento è ingegno et industria siccome si dice: Tu non ài argomento veruno; et argomento è figurazione, e così si piglia qui: imperò la santa fede di Cristo fu figurata per le figure che son nell' antica legge." Scartazzini and Tommasèo both interpret: "Modo di governare." Gelli: "ebbe argomento e stabilità dalle dieci corna." Blanc and Biagioli translate it: "proof." Cary also. Lamennais: "signe." Carlyle: "witness." Pollock: "token." Longfellow: "power and strength." Lubin: "ebbe argomento, cioè, ebbe suo avanzamento." Tozer: "took her rule of life from." After much hesitation, I have followed the interpretation of Tommasèo and Scartazzini, "scheme of government."

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The Ten Horns are nearly universally accepted as signifying the Ten Commandments. The intention, however, is clear. The Church should have been governed according to the Virtues, both cardinal and moral, according to the Old Testament as indicated by the Ten Commandments, and according to the New Testament as indicated by the Holy Sacraments.*

Blanc (*Saggio*) points out that in these lines one may see very clearly with what freedom Dante has treated allegorical interpretations of Holy Writ, so universally loved in his time. He represents the woman that sitteth upon the waters bearing herself the Seven Heads and the Ten Horns, whereas in the Apocalypse these attributes are given to the beast upon which she sits. The right administration of the Seven Sacraments, and the just observance of the Ten Commandments are what secure to the Church purity and truth.

It is somewhat remarkable that in the Commentary of Benvenuto all reference to the three lines that follow is entirely omitted.†

* Blanc (*Saggio*) remarks that Fraticelli's interpretation of the Seven Heads as meaning the Seven Hills of Rome, and the Ten Horns as meaning the nations conquered by Rome (the determinate for the indeterminate number) has this merit, that it entirely agrees with the explanation of these allegorical figures in the Apocalypse itself.

† Mr. H. C. Lea (*Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, 1890, p. 81) points out that three passages, of which this (ll. 106-117) is one, were ordered by the Spanish Inquisition to be expurgated from all copies of the *Divina Commedia* introduced into Spanish territory. The other passages were *Inf.* xi, 8, 9; and *Par.* ix, 136, 137. I have myself recently seen a very beautiful MS., in which this part of the Canto is most carefully obliterated.

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Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento : *
E che altro è da † voi all' idolatre, ‡
Se non ch' egli § uno, e voi n' orate cento ?

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* *Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento :* Compare *Hosea* viii, 3, 4 : " Israel hath cast off the thing that is good : the enemy shall pursue him. They have set up kings, but not by me : they have made princes, and I knew it not : of their silver and their gold have they made them idols, that they may be cut off." And *Ephes.* v. 5 : " . . . nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." Also *Col.* iii, 5 : " . . . and covetousness, which is idolatry."

† *che altro è da voi all' idolatre :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says that *altro* here must be taken as a substantive, and the words interpreted : " qual differenza è tra voi e l' idolatre ? " Compare *Purg.* xxiv, 62 :—

" Non vede più dall' uno all' altro stilo."

And *Par.* ii, 145, 146 :—

" Da essa vien ciò che da luce a luce
Par differente, non da denso e raro."

‡ *idolatre :* Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, 284-288) says that *idolatre* here is the masculine plural of the noun *idolatra.* Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 197) obse rves : " *Idolatre*, as Nannucci stoutly maintained and distinctly proved, is a plural form, and not only is it *not* made use of here for the sake of the rhyme [as some contend], but on the contrary, it was the word in by far the most constant use by the old Italian writers." The *Vocabolario della Crusca* (s.v. *Idolatra*) says that among the older Italian writers *Idolatra* was much used, and its plural was both in *i* and *e ;* as was also the case with *Eresiarca*, *Profeta*, etc., which took both plural forms indiscriminately.

§ *egli :* The plural for *eglino*, equivalent to *quelli.* Old writers made use of *egli* for *eglino* in innumerable instances. Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) cites six passages besides the present one, where Dante so uses it in the *Divina Commedia ;* but he notices that many editions in those cases write it *elli.* Of these seven passages, the Oxford *Dante* (including the present passage) writes four with *egli* for *eglino.* Compare *Par.* vii, 136 :—

" Creata fu la materia ch' egli hanno."

And *Par.* xxiii, 124-126 :—

" Ciascun di quei candori in su si stese
Con la sua fiamma, sì che l' alto affetto
Ch' egli aveano a Maria, mi fu palese."

And *Par.* xxxi, 16-18 :—

" Quando scendean nel fior, di banco in banco
Porgevan della pace e dell' ardore,
Ch' egli acquistavan ventilando il fianco."

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> Ye have made your god of gold and silver; and what difference is there between you and the idolaters, save that they worship one, and you a hundred of them?

And now Dante, believing that all the abuses existing in the Church arose from its having temporal possessions, concludes his harangue by apostrophising Constantine as the author of the mischief according to his supposition.

> Ahi, Constantin,* di quanto mal fu matre,† 115
> Non la tua conversion,‡ ma quella dote
> Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!"—

---

* *Constantin:* It was generally believed in the Middle Ages that Constantine the Great, after being healed of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester I, bestowed on him as a gift *the so-called patrimony of St. Peter.* Tradition relates that the Emperor, smitten with leprosy in Rome, sought out St. Sylvester, who was concealed in the caverns under Mount Soracte; and after receiving Baptism at his hands, was miraculously healed of his leprosy. The whole story is a fiction. It is well known that Constantine was baptised at Constantinople, not at Rome, and only a few moments before his death. The *so-called patrimony of St. Peter* is said to have been the gift of the Countess Matelda; whereas the Donation of Constantine was a much bigger affair, *viz.:* the whole of Italy, if not the whole temporal dominion of the West. See *Par.* xx, 57; and Dr. Moore's footnote in *Studies in Dante*, ii, p. 15. See also St. Thom. Aquinas, *de Regim. Princ.* iii, 10: "qui [Constantinus] Silvestro in imperio cessit."

† *matre . . . patre:* These forms, derived from the Latin *mater* and *pater*, were in constant use in the early days of the Italian language. Later on the *t* was softened into *d*. *Matre* was used here in the sense of "origin."

‡ *conversion:* Compare *Inf.* xxvii, 94-97:—

> "Ma come Constantin chiese Silvestro
> Dentro Siratti a guarir della lebbre,
> Così mi chiese questi per maestro
> A guarir della sua superba febbre."

Compare Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Prologus:—

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Ah Constantine! of how much ill was mother,
not thy conversion but that dower which the first
rich father (Pope Sylvester) accepted from thee!"

In the time of Dante it was generally believed that all the ills of the Church arose from its supposed donation by Constantine, and that from that moment Avarice, Simony and Sensuality sprang up among the chief Pastors of the Church. Dante himself refers to the gift in *Par.* xx, 55-60, though in one passage in the *De Monarchia*, lib. iii, cap. 10, ll. 39-42, he seems to imply doubt and hesitation as to the legal validity of the donation, for he says: "Therefore to make a rent in the Empire exceeds the lawful power of the Emperor himself. If then some dignities were by Constantine alienated from the Empire, *as they report*," etc. On this see Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, ii, pp. 15, 16.

Benvenuto, who of course believed the story, re-

"The patrimonie and the richesse
Which to Silvester in pure almesse
The firste Constantinus lefte."

Cary remarks that this gift is very humorously placed by Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xxxiv, st. 80) in the Moon, among the things lost upon the earth:—

"Di varii fiori ad un gran monte passa,
Ch' ebbe già buono odore, or putía forte.
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)
Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece."

And Milton translated both this passage and the one in the text (*Prose Works*, vol. i, p. 11, edition 1753):—

"Ah Constantine! of how much ill was cause
Not thy conversion, but those rich demains
That the first wealthy Pope receiv'd of thee!"

"Then past he to a flowry mountain green,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously:
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave."

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marks that it seems to him very far from the truth what some have tried to prove, namely, that the donation of Constantine resulted in a general abandonment of the laws of God, for the Prelates did not become depraved immediately after the donation, but on the contrary were men of the greatest piety and learning, such as were Pope Gregory, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose and many others; but he thinks that after several centuries the Prelates had acquired such a superabundance of wealth that they began to deviate from the law, as we see happens with all powers, both temporal and spiritual, which so often have a good beginning, and then lapse; this happened to the Romans themselves, and therefore of right to the Prelates of the Roman Church. Benvenuto thinks Constantine was the remote, but not the immediate, cause of the depravation of the Prelates. The documentary evidence of the pretended gift is to be found in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

Dante's reproofs appear to have stung the shade of Nicholas nearly to madness. He does not utter a syllable, but the violent contortions of his limbs testify to the mental anguish Dante's words have occasioned. Virgil looks on apparently with much satisfaction, and the Canto is now brought to a conclusion by his carrying back Dante in his arms up the cliff and along the bridgeway, until they reach the centre of the next bridge which overhangs the *Bolgia* of the Diviners.

E mentre io gli cantava cotai note,
O ira o coscïenza che il mordesse,

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Forte spingava * con ambo le piote. 120
Io credo ben che al mio Duca piacesse,
Con sì contenta labbia † sempre attese
Lo suon delle parole vere espresse.
Però con ambo le braccia mi prese,
E poi che tutto su mi s' ebbe al petto, 125
Rimontò per la via onde discese;
Nè si stancò d' avermi a sè distretto,
Sì mi portò ‡ sopra il colmo dell' arco,
Che dal quarto al quinto argine è tragetto.
Quivi soavemente spose il carco, 130
Soave per lo scoglio sconcio ed erto,
Che sarebbe alle capre duro varco:
Indi un altro vallon § mi fu scoperto.

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* *spingava:* See *springare* in Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary:* "Springare, It. Dante *Inf.* xix, 120 (al. *spingare*) to sprawl, O. Fr. *espringuer*, dance with leaps, Pic. to dance for joy; from O.H.G. *springan*, Eng. *spring*. O. Fr. *espringale* = (1) a dance, (2) a machine for throwing missiles, a *springald*, It. *springarda*, a battering-ram, Sp. *espingarda*, a small cannon.

† *labbia:* Compare *Inf.* vii, 7:—
"Poi si rivolse a quell' enfiata labbia," etc.
And *Inf.* xxv, 21:—
"Infin dove comincia nostra labbia" [*the human form*].
And *Purg.* xxiii, 46-48:—
"Questa favilla tutta mi raccese
Mia conoscenza alla cambiata labbia [*altered features*],
E ravvisai la faccia di Forese."
See also Petrarch, *Trionfo d' Amore*, iv, *ad finem:*—
"In così tenebrosa e stretta gabbia
Rinchiusi fummo; ove le penne usate
Mutai per tempo e la mia prima labbia."

‡ *Sì mi portò: Sì* is for *sin*, and *sin* for *sinchè*.

§ *vallon:* The full force of the literal meaning of *vallone* must not be neglected here. *Valle* is a valley; *valletta*, a little valley; *vallone* is a large, spacious, extensive valley, and is the augmentative of *valle*. Let it be remembered that there is no sort of analogy between the French *vallon*, a small valley, and the Italian *vallone*, a large valley.

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And while I was singing such notes to him, whether it was frenzy or conscience that bit him to the quick, he began kicking violently with both his feet. I do believe that it pleased my Leader, with so satisfied a mien did he keep on listening to the sound of the words of truth uttered. Thereupon he caught me in both his arms, and when he had got me quite upon his breast, he remounted over the same path by which he had descended; nor did he weary of holding me clasped to him, until he had borne me up to the summit of the arch, which is the passage from the fourth to the fifth rampart. Here he gently set down his burden, gently by reason of the rugged and precipitous cliff, which would have been a difficult passage for goats. From there (namely, the bridge) another great valley was discovered to me.

Professor Luigi Rocca,* in an admirable lecture on the Papacy and the Church in the Middle Ages, observes that in Dante's indignation two sentiments were combined, the religious and the political. He found in the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes of his time the primary cause of the ills being suffered by the Church and by true religion; and he also found there the principal obstacle to the effectual consummation of his political ideal, namely, the universal monarchy under the joint rule of the Pope and the Emperor. The whole world marshalled

*In *Il Papato e la Chiesa nel Secolo XIII*, in *Conferenze Dantesche*, Vol. ii, pp. 125-127. Milano, Ulrico Hoëpli, 1901. Messrs. Hoëpli have published numerous splendid works connected with Dante in recent years, among them being a sumptuous quarto *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri illustrata nei luoghi e nelle persone a cura di* Corrado Ricci, *con* 30 *eliotipie e* 400 *zincotipie*, Milano, 1898, in which there are illustrations of the baptismal fonts of Pisa, Pistoja, Calci, Parma and one in the Museum at Milan, showing the holes in which the baptising priests took their stand.

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in peace under the wings of the two great forces, the Imperial and the Papal, the one as guide to earthly happiness, and the other as the spiritual guide to celestial bliss, this was the splendid Utopia which was formerly dreamt of throughout the Middle Ages, but in undeterminate outlines, and which found its chief interpreter in Dante (see *Purg.* xvi, 106-129; and *Convito*, iv, 5, ll. 16-32). It was to the failure of this ideal that we may trace Dante's outspoken wrath. (I give Professor Rocca's own words, which would lose much in a translation): "Di qui i suoi giudizî non benevoli pei papi del medio evo, anzi la sua aperta avversione, troppo manifesta sia nel silenzio sdegnoso che egli serba davanti ai più grandi fra essi, sia nella severità colla quale di altri ricerca le colpe ed i difetti per chiuderli nelle bolge dell' inferno o per tormentarli nei cerchi del purgatorio. Di qui gli acerbi rimproveri contro i papi suoi contemporanei, contro Bonifazio VIII in particolare, e le frequenti invettive che risuonano fino nel più alto de' cieli per bocca di san Pietro stesso: fiere invettive che a tutta prima fanno stridente contrasto col sentimento profondamente religioso del poema. Ma sono il grido appassionato d' un credente, non l' insulto beffardo [*railing*] di un nemico; sono colpi diretti a spezzare il diadema temporale onde i papi avevano recinta la tiara, non a scalzare [*to undermine*] la podestà delle somme chiavi, davanti alla quale il poeta china reverente la fronte, come davanti all'autorità divina delle sacre scritture" (*op. cit.* p. 127).

END OF CANTO XIX.

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CANTO XX.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE FOURTH *BOLGIA*: THE DIVINERS AND SORCERERS—AMPHIARAUS—TIRESIAS—ARUNS—MANTO—EURYPYLUS—MICHAEL SCOT—GUIDO BONATTI—ASDENTE.

THE Nineteenth Canto was brought to a close at the time when Virgil, having carried Dante on his breast up the precipitous side of the Third *Bolgia*, continued to bear him along the bridgeway until they were in the centre of the bridge that overhangs the Fourth *Bolgia*. He has set him down very gently, and the Poets now turn their attention to the wonderful spectacle at their feet.

In this Canto I find myself unable to follow Benvenuto, whose divisions seem much less happy than usual, as in each change of scene he makes the break occur either in the middle of the speech of some personage, or during an episode. I have accordingly adopted the following divisions :—

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 24, Dante describes generally the penalty of the Diviners.

In *Division* II, from ver. 25 to ver. 51, he mentions certain Diviners of Ancient History with an evil reputation for various kinds of divination and sorcery.

In *Division* III, from ver. 52 to ver. 99, while telling

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the story of Manto, he describes how she founded Mantua, the birthplace of Virgil.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 100 to ver. 130, he names other Diviners of ancient and modern times.

Division I.—Benvenuto observes that Dante is now about to describe in verse a new form of torment (*nuova pena*), which has never been seen or heard of before, for this penalty of the Diviners is entirely of Dante's own invention, and is not to be found in the poems either of Virgil or Homer.*

Di nuova pena mi convien far versi,
E dar materia al ventesimo canto
Della prima canzon, ch' è de' sommersi.
Io era già disposto tutto e quanto
A riguardar † nello scoperto fondo 5
Che si bagnava d' angoscioso pianto:

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* Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi, part ii, p. 78) says: "We have not much to interest us about the Diviners in the Fourth *Bolgia*, except perhaps in observing that Dante put no credence in magic arts." The opinion of Bartoli always carries great weight, but I cannot agree with his observation that Dante did not believe in magic. I prefer to follow the view of Benvenuto (see p. 111), that Dante's tears (l. 21) were due to the self-reproach of the Poet at having himself dabbled in the arts of divinations.

† *disposto tutto e quanto a riguardar:* Some translate *disposto* as I have done, "placed." See *Gran Dizionario* s.v. *disposto*, § 25: "*Essere ben disposto* per Trovarsi in luogo acconcio all' azione relativa." As in *Purg.* xxxiii, 19-21:—

"E con tranquillo aspetto: 'Vien più tosto,'
Mi disse, 'tanto che s' io parlo teco,
Ad ascoltarmi tu sie ben disposto.'"

This is the interpretation of Fraticelli: "Io m' era posto con tutta l' attenzione," the latter words explaining *tutto e quanto.* Others, and they are many, translate the words "wholly intent to look down." I take *disposto* to refer to ll. 128, 129 of the

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E vidi gente per lo vallon tondo
Venir tacendo e lagrimando, al passo
Che fan le letanîe * in questo mondo.
Come il viso mi scese in lor più basso,† 10
Mirabilmente apparve esser travolto
Ciascun tra 'l mento e 'l principio del casso:
Chè dalle reni era tornato il volto,‡

---

last Canto, where we are told that Virgil did not weary of carrying Dante, until he had placed him upon the summit of the arch of the bridge (*sopra il colmo dell' arco*), from whence (*indi*) another spacious valley was disclosed to him (*scoperto*), which latter word tallies with the *scoperto fondo* of l. 5 in this Canto.

* *letanîe:* The *Gran Dizionario* (s.v. *litania*, § 6) says: "Per le persone che cantano le litanie in processione." Benvenuto reads *letane*, and remarks: "*che fanno le letane in questo mondo*, idest illi qui vadunt in processione." *The Vocabolario della Crusca*, after quoting the present passage, adds: "and because these prayers and supplications [the primary meaning of *litanie*] are recited in numerous processions, the word came to signify 'le persone che le recitano' and is here used to compare the slow and mournful step of the Diviners with that of those who walked in religious processions." The *Gran Dizionario* says that *Litanía* and *Letanía* are the modern forms of the word. *Litana* and *Letana* are obsolete except sometimes in poetry. I may remark that in some few Churches in London, which while observing a High Ritual, adhere as closely as possible to the Early Anglican or Sarum use, rejecting any purely Roman interpolations, it is the custom to recite the Litany walking in very slow procession round and round the Church. I may specially mention St. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, of which the Rev. Percy Dearmer is the Vicar. The effect of the Litany so recited is extremely solemn.

† *il viso mi scese in lor più basso:* When Dante first reached the bridge, the unhappy band seem to have been some distance off, so that his eye only rested on them in the mass; but as they advanced, and came under the bridge, his eye naturally travelled down lower and lower, until at last he was able to distinguish the grotesque though heartrending details of their sufferings.

‡ *tornato il volto:* Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, Book i, Canto viii, st. 30, 31) describes Ignaro as similarly distorted:—

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Ed indietro venir gli convenia,
Perchè il veder dinanzi era lor tolto. 15
Forse per forza già di parlasia *
Si travolse così alcun del tutto ;
Ma io nol vidi, nè credo che sia.

Of a new punishment it becomes my duty to make verses, and furnish matter for the twentieth Canto of the first Lay (*i.e. Cantica*), which is about those plunged down (in Hell). I was already placed so that I could with my whole attention look down into the Abyss opened out below, which was being bedewed by tears of anguish: and I saw people coming along the vast circular valley silent and weeping, at the pace which in this world religious processions maintain. As my sight descended lower down upon them, each one seemed to be

---

"At last, with creeping crooked pace forth came
An old old man, with beard as white as snow;
That on a staffe his feeble steps did frame,
And gwyde his wearie gate both to and fro;
For his eye sight him fayled long ygo;
And on his arme a bounch of keyes he bore,
The which unused rust did overgrow:
Those were the keyes of every inner dore ;
But he could not them use, but kept them still in store.

But very úncouth sight was to behold,
How he did fashion his untoward pace ;
For as he forward moov'd his footing old,
So backward still was turned his wrincled face :
Unlike to men, who ever, as they trace,
Both feet and face one way are wont to lead.
This was the auncient keeper of that place,
And foster father of the gyaunt dead ;
His name Ignaro did his nature right aread."

**parlasia :* Benvenuto says that paralysis will sometimes so distort, dislocate, and disarrange a man's neck, that he will look at himself transversely, as it were sideways, over his shoulder, and that he, Benvenuto, had once seen a little old woman thus deformed; but never had it been so acute that it could make a man's face look right down his back behind him, as was the case with these poor wretches.

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> marvellously distorted between the chin and the commencement of the chest: for the face was turned towards the loins, and they (these people) were forced to walk backwards, because to look forwards was taken from them. Perchance ere now by violence of palsy some may have become thus completely deformed; but I never saw it, nor believe it can be.

Dante means that he would like to cite some peculiarly distressing case of distortion of the human body to which he could compare the terrible condition of these Diviners, but none that he has ever seen or heard of could give an idea of it. Benvenuto begs his readers, however, to examine closely how just and suitable is the punishment assigned to the Diviners. They are represented walking slowly along the valley, with their faces twisted round so as to look down their backs, and all of them weeping. Now here they are seen with their faces turned the wrong way, for as they had wished to see, far away in the distant future, events which must be uncertain to man, so by the just judgment of God, Who alone knoweth the future, they can now only see what is behind them.

Dante is unable to restrain his tears, and Benvenuto remarks that the passage which now follows has been often misunderstood, for it is a very subtle piece of imagery, and the real meaning of it is the insinuation by Dante that many excellent men have yielded to the folly of Divination; and that this matter came home to Dante himself, who had at times dabbled in astrology, and had wished to foretell future events, as may be seen in this Poem.

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Se Dio ti lasci, Lettor, prender frutto *
Di tua lezione, or pensa per te stesso, 20
Com' io potea tener lo viso asciutto,†
Quando la nostra imagine da presso
Vidi sì torta, che il pianto degli occhi
Le natiche bagnava per lo fesso.

Reader, so may God grant thee to gather fruit (*i.e.* profit) from thy reading, now think for thyself how could I keep my face unwetted, when I beheld close to me our (human) image so distorted, that the weeping of the eyes was bathing the hinder parts along their fissure.

Gelli ‡ is struck with the fact that Dante could

**frutto:* "Fructus hujus lectionis est, quod lector discat expensis istorum, non inquirere vane futura, et dicere multa mendacia cum perditione animae et irrisione sui." (Benvenuto).

† *asciutto:* Compare *Purg.* xxx, 52-54:—

"Nè quantunque perdè l' antica matre
Valse alle guance nette di rugiada,
Che lagrimando non tornassero atre."

And Petrarch, Part I, *Sonnet* lxii:—

"Forse non avrai sempre il viso asciutto:
Ch' i' mi pasco di lagrime; e tu 'l sai."

And Milton, *Par. Lost,* xi, 494-498:—

"Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
Dry-eyed behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born; compassion quell'd
His best of man, and gave him up to tears
A space."

‡ Gelli describes six different kinds of Diviners:—

(*a*) *Superstiziosi*, who try to learn from God that which it is not lawful for them to know.

(*b*) *Incantatori*, who seek to learn the future, either from Angels by means of that art which was called *l' Arte Angelica*, or by that other known as *Almadec*, by which they pretend to be able to summon up a body to come to some given place to converse with them.

(*c*) *Astrologi giudiciarii* are those who assume to know, by the aspect and position of the heavenly bodies, the free actions of Man, besides many other things which are not really in the least subject to celestial influences.

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look on without a tear at the suffering undergone by Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti in a tomb heated to a white heat, and could see his beloved teacher Brunetto Latini ceaselessly running upon burning sand under a rain of fire, although these were persons for whom in their life-time Dante had felt great affection; whereas now, on witnessing the grief of these Diviners, he cannot restrain his tears.

Benvenuto relates an anecdote about Pietro di Abano, a native of Padua, and a man of great goodness, who on his deathbed, addressing his friends, masters, scholars and doctors, who were gathered round him, told them that he had given up the best part of his life to three noble sciences; of which one had made him intelligent, and that was philosophy; the second had made him rich, and that was medicine; but the third had made him a liar, and that was astrology. "And I," adds Benvenuto, "will say with Averroës: 'The astrology of our day is naught!' But the astrologer will at once retort: 'Averroës was ignorant of astrology, for the stars cannot lie.' To which I should answer: 'Show me the man who *did* know astrology well, and let us see

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(*d*) *Chiromanti* are they who profess to read the future of a man in the lineaments of his hand, or other parts of his body.

(*e*) *Auguri ed Aruspici*, who pretend to teach men how to regulate their actions from their own observations of the flight and movements of birds.

(*f*) *Geomanti e Idromanti* assume to be able to tell the future, either by making certain marks upon the earth and then reducing them to figures, or by agitating water at fixed times and seasons, and noting the ripples or circles that it makes.

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what truths he ever uttered, for never through all the days of my life did I set eyes upon one, although I have had knowledge of and acquaintance with many.' Truly I admit that the stars do not lie, but the astrologers lie handsomely about the stars."

Division II.—Dante is not long allowed to shed tears of compassion for the Diviners. Virgil rebukes him for feeling pity for those who are thus condemned, as though God had punished them unjustly.*

Certo i' piangea, poggiato ad un de' rocchi 25
Del duro scoglio, sì † che la mia scorta
Mi disse:—"Ancor sei tu degli altri sciocchi?
Qui vive la pietà ‡ quando è ben morta.

---

* Compare *Lev.* x, 6, where when Nadab and Abihu had been destroyed by fire from God for their presumption in venturing to offer unconsecrated incense in the Tabernacle, Moses forbade their own family to mourn for them: "And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons, Uncover not your heads, neither rend your clothes, lest ye die, and lest wrath come upon all the people: but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which the Lord hath kindled."

† *i' piangea . . . sì:* Compare *Inf.* v, 139-141:—

"Mentre che l' uno spirto questo disse,
L' altro piangeva sì, che di pietade
Io venni meno sì com' io morisse."

And *Christian Year, Eleventh Sunday after Trinity*, st. 5:—

"The fire of God is seen to fall
(Thou know'st it) on this earthly ball;
Full many a soul, the price of blood,
Mark'd by th' Almighty's hand for good,
To utter death that hour shall sweep—
And will the Saints in Heaven dare weep?"

‡ *pietà:* Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 199) has an admirable article upon this passage. He interprets it: "Qui vive la pietà (*pietas*,

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Chi è più scellerato che colui
Che al giudizio divin passïon porta? * 30

Certainly I was weeping, leaning against one of the projecting crags of the hard rock-bridge, so that my Escort said to me: "Art thou even now among the other fools? Here pity is alive when it is wholly dead. Who is more wicked than he who has compassion (antagonistic) to the Judgment of God?

Virgil had not reproved Dante for showing compassion for those punished for sins of Incontinence and Violence, such as Francesca, Ciacco, and Pier delle Vigne; and even to the degraded beings mentioned in Canto xvi, he invites Dante to be courteous. But no sooner are they down in the valleys of *Malebolge*, than all this is changed, and Virgil seldom or never speaks of the tormented but in terms of contempt or reproof. He listens with complacency to

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divozione), quando la pietà (*compassione*) è ben morta." Compare *Inf.* xxxiii, 150:—

"E cortesia fu in lui esser villano."

And *Par.* iv, 105:—

"Per non perder pietà si fe' spietato."

* *passïon porta:* There are three variants here, namely, *passion porta*, *passion comporta*, and *compassion porta*, all of which Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 326) says have much support from the MSS. He rather prefers *passion porta*, as probably in the original text, since it is rather an unfamiliar phrase, and leaves the rhythm somewhat rugged, and therefore possibly *compassion porta* was intended to remedy these defects. . . . The sense may perhaps be the same, whether one reads *passion* or *compassion*. The *Vocabolario della Crusca*, s.v. *passione*, § 22, says: "Portar passione ad uno, vale, Aver compassione di lui." Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. viii, Nov. 7: "Ma la sua fante, la quale gran passion le portava, non trovando modo di levar la sua donna del dolor preso per lo perduto amante, vedendo lo scolare al modo usato per la contrada passare, entrò in uno sciocco pensiero," etc.

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Dante's outburst of indignation against the Simoniacal Popes, and now rebukes him for pitying the Diviners, to do which, is like passing censure upon the Justice of God.

Virgil now commences a long discourse by directing Dante's attention to Amphiaraus.

Drizza la testa, drizza, e vedi a cui
S' aperse agli occhi de' Teban la terra,
Per ch' ei gridavan tutti: 'Dove rui,
Anfiarao? * perchè lasci la guerra?'
E non restò di ruinare a valle 35
Fino a Minòs, che ciascheduno afferra.
Mira che ha fatto petto delle spalle:
Perchè volle veder troppo davante,
Diretro guarda, e fa retroso calle.

Lift up thy head, lift (it) up, and behold him to whom the earth opened itself before the eyes of the Thebans, whereat they all began to cry out: 'Whither art thou falling, Amphiaraus? Wherefore quittest thou the warfare?' And he ceased

---

* *Anfiarao:* Amphiaraus was one of the seven kings who besieged Thebes. When war was declared, having knowledge of futurity, and foreseeing his own death, he concealed himself; but his wife Eriphyle, bribed by Polynices with the present of a necklace and a robe, revealed his hiding-place. He was swallowed up by the opening of the earth. See Statius, *Theb.* vii, 789-823; and *ibid.* viii, 1, *et seq.* Dante borrowed the incident from Statius, and the words *Dove rui*, et seq., in the present passage are evidently imitated from Pluto's words to Amphiaraus, in *Theb.* viii, 84, 85:—

"At tibi quos, inquit, Manes, qui limite praeceps
Non licito per inane ruis?"

Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 247) remarks that it is curious to note the introduction of Minos into both these passages from Dante and Statius, though with different associations; in *Inf.* xx, 36 as the minister of condemnation; and in *Theb.* viii, 27, *et seq.*, as the minister of mercy. Compare also Pindar, *Nemean Odes*, Ode ix.

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not to fall down headlong as far as Minos, who lays hold on everyone. Behold how he has made a breast of his shoulders: because he sought to see too far forward (now) he looks behind, and treads a backward path.

The next Diviner to be noticed is Tiresias.

Vedi Tiresia,* che mutò sembiante, 40
Quando di maschio femmina divenne,
Cangiandosi le membre tutte quante;
E prima poi ribatter gli convenne
Li due serpenti avvolti con la verga,
Che rïavesse le maschili penne. 45

Behold Tiresias, who changed his semblance, when from male he became female, transforming every one of his members; and afterwards he was obliged once more to smite the two intertwined serpents with his wand, before he could regain his masculine plumage (*i.e.* sex).

Tiresias had a daughter named Manto, of whom more anon.

Dante now introduces Aruns, who according to Lucan was a renowned Etruscan augur. Aruns lived up in the mountains of Carrara, then, as now,

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* *Tiresia:* Tiresias was a celebrated prophet of Thebes in Greece. It is said that in his youth he found two serpents twined together on Mount Cyllene, and having struck them with his staff, to separate them, he found himself changed into a girl. Seven years after this he chanced to find these serpents again, and having once more struck them, he recovered his original manhood. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* iii, 324-331:—

"Corpora serpentum baculi violaverat ictu:
Deque viro factus (mirabile) femina, septem
Egerat autumnos. Octavo rursus eosdem
Vidit: et, Est vestrae si tanta potentia plagae,
Dixit, et auctoris sortem in contraria mutet;
Nunc quoque vos feriam. Percussus anguibus isdem
Forma prior rediit, genitivaque rursus imago."

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famous for their beautiful white marble; he principally exercised his art in the City of Luna, situated in the plain below. He was summoned to Rome to predict the issue of the war between Cæsar and Pompey, whereupon, though somewhat ambiguously, he foretold the ultimate success of the former.

Aronta * è quel che al ventre gli s' atterga,
Che nei monti di Luni,† dove ronca ‡

---

* *Aronta:* Compare Lucan, *Phars.* i, 584-588:—

". . . placuit Tuscos de more vetusto
Acciri vates: quorum qui maximus aevo
Aruns incoluit desertae moenia *Lunae*,
Fulminis edoctus motus, venasque calentes
Fibrarum, et monitus volitantis in aëre pennae."

On *moenia Lunae* see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, i, p. 242: "The reading in nearly all MSS. is said to be *Lucae* (Lucca) here, and this is now found in most recent editions, but Dante's MS. evidently had *Lunae*, since in the next lines he emphasises the reference to the locality of Carrara and the Lunigiana, in which he had a special interest, having certainly spent a portion of his time in exile there, under the protection of the Malaspina. (See *Purg.* viii, 115-139)."

† *Luni:* The ancient Luna, a city of Etruria, situated on the left bank of the Macra, not far from its mouth, and therefore on the confines of Liguria. Pliny calls it the chief city of Etruria; Ptolemy mentions it first among the Etrurian cities; it seems to have belonged to the Etruscans during the height of their prosperity, but at the time when it fell into the power of Rome, it had already passed into the hands of the Ligurians. The period of its final decay is uncertain. It was sacked by the Lombards in 630, and by the Saracens in 849 and again in 1016, and Dante, writing after 1300, makes Cacciaguida speak of it as one of the four great cities that had sunk into complete decay, and therefore the decline of illustrious families need not excite his wonder. See *Par.* xvi, 73-78:—

"Se tu riguardi Luni ed Urbisaglia
Come son ite, e come se ne vanno
Diretro ad esse Chiusi e Sinigaglia,
Udir come le schiatte si disfanno,
Non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
Poscia che le cittadi termine hanno."

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Lo Carrarese che di sotto alberga,
Ebbe tra bianchi marmi la spelonca
Per sua dimora; onde a guardar le stelle 50
E il mar non gli era la veduta tronca.

Aruns is that one who has his back near his (Tiresias's) belly, he who, in the mountains of Luni, where the Carrarese that dwells at their foot tills the soil, had for his dwelling a cave among the white marbles; whence, for gazing at the stars and the sea his view was not obstructed.

The name of Luni is still preserved in that of the district, which is called the Lunigiana. Gelli refers to the famous but long-discredited *Commentaria* of Annius Viterbiensis [*i.e.* Giovanni Nanni], Romae, 1498, 2 vols. fol., who maintains that after the Deluge, Noah, having sent forth his sons to inhabit the rest of the earth, came himself to dwell in Etruria, and that Luna was one of the twelve cities which he built. As he introduced vine-growing and wine into the district, he acquired the name of *Iano* derived from *Ia*, a bringer, and *In*, wine, words in the Armenian tongue which Noah *is supposed to have brought with him* into the country! And from this, the town, and subsequently the surrounding territory, came to be called *Luni Iani*, whence Lunigiana. Gelli would seem to be a believer in this absurd fable.

‡ *ronca* for *arronca*. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says this is the same as the Greek βοτανίζω, to root up weeds, and a passage is quoted in which it is recommended that a field of buckwheat [*saggina*] be cleared of weeds [*arroncata*] at the end of April, and be well hoed [*sarchiata*] in the month of June. I mention this, because some translate *ronca* in this passage "hoes." It is, however, according to Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*), and the *Voc. della Crusca*, to be taken in its wider sense of "to till, to cultivate the soil." The following is interesting: "*Roncare*, dicono, qui è lo stesso che *arroncare*, nettare i boschi per poi coltivarli, d' onde la frase, *Fare un ronco*, viva nel Casentino. Ma forse *arroncare* ha qui il significato di *arronzare*, voce viva in molte parti del nostro paese, e fra queste nella Lunigiana, a significare 'Essere uno affaticato o intento e assiduo al lavoro.' Questa voce, oltre ad essere propria del luogo di cui Dante parla, ben s' addice al lavorio assiduo dell' opera de' marmi, che allora più che mai ferveva in Carrara." (Caverni, *Voci e modi della Divina Commedia dell' uso popolare toscano:* Dizionaretto, Firenze, 1877.)

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Among ordinary persons, when one walks behind the other, it is the hindermost whose belly is near the back of the foremost; but in this Circle it is just the contrary; as they keep stepping backwards, the belly of Tiresias, who is in advance of Aruns, is nearly in contact with the back of Aruns, who follows after the back of the head and the front of the body of Tiresias.

Division III.—Virgil now relates at great length how the City of Mantua, his own birthplace, was founded by Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, and he hints that the topic is one which he takes pleasure in discussing. He first points out the approaching form of Manto, whose face is turned towards the Poets, as with her body she is stepping backwards. Her hair, therefore, falls down over her bosom, which, as well as the front part of her body, is not seen by the Poets.

E quella che ricopre le mammelle,
Che tu non vedi, con le treccie sciolte,
E ha di là ogni pilosa pelle,
Manto * fu, che cercò per terre molte † 55

---

* *Manto:* Blanc (*Saggio*) points out that Dante in this passage had represented Manto in Hell, but in *Purg.* xxii, 100-114, he describes how Virgil recounted to him the names of some of the shades in Limbo (*nel primo cinghio del carcere cieco*) and he says (l. 113):—

"Evvi la figlia di Tiresia e Teti,"

which is usually supposed to refer to Manto. Some, however, (*e.g.* Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias) say that Tiresias had two daughters, and that the one in *Limbo* is Daphne. Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) approves of this view. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 173-175) remarks that Dante's treatment of the fable of Manto is very curious. Apart from the unique instance of inaccuracy into which Dante has fallen by placing her in the Eighth

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Poscia si pose là dove nacqu' io;
Onde un poco mi piace che m' ascolte.
Poscia che il padre suo di vita uscío,
E venne serva la città di Baco,
Questa gran tempo per lo mondo gío. 60
Suso in Italia bella giace un laco
Appiè dell' alpe, che serra Lamagna
Sopra Tiralli, ch' ha nome Benaco.*

Circle of the *Inferno*, and also in *Limbo* (*Purg.* xxii, 113), he puts a curious story into the mouth of Virgil inconsistent with that poet's own account of the matter in the *Æneid.* And this is introduced in language which makes it look like a retractation on the part of Virgil; in other words, Dante here intentionally corrects the Virgilian legend. . . . The Virgilian account (*Æn.* x, 198-200) is that Ocnus, son of the river Tiber and the prophetess Manto founded Mantua:—

"[Ocnus] Fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen."

Compare, too, Isidore, *Origines*, xv, l. 59: "Manto Tiresiae filia post interitum Thebanorum dicitur delata in Italiam Mantuam condidisse."

† *cercò per terre molte:* See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *cercare*, § 11: "Andare attorno veggendo." The present passage is quoted. Also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* Canto xxix, st. 57:—

"Dopo molto cercare, alfin discende
Verso merigge alla terra di Spagna."

Castelvetro thinks that in this passage *cercò* has not its usual signification as from *quaerere*, or else Dante would have said that Manto *cercò molte terre*, and not, as in the text, *cercò per molte terre*, without saying what it was that she sought. The word in this passage must be interpreted: "roamed as a vagabond through many countries"; and Castelvetro says that Dante has looked back here to the original sense of *cercare*, which is derived from *circumeo* or *circuo*, which means "to go round and round."

* *un laco . . . ch' ha nome Benaco:* Benvenuto, giving a sort of general description of the Lake of Garda, says: "You must know that at the head of this lake there is an exceedingly fair castle, which is called Ripa (*Riva*), in the diocese of Trento: while at the lower end of the lake there is another castle very stately and strong, which is called Pischeria, in the diocese of Verona; and in the lake itself, at a distance from Pischeria of perhaps six miles, there is a small island, which is called Ser-

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Per mille fonti, credo, e più si bagna,
Tra Garda * e Val Camonica,† Apennnino.‡ 65
Dell' acqua che nel detto lago stagna.
Loco è nel mezzo là,§ dove il Trentino

---

mione, where I saw remains of vast and very ancient buildings underground: and this island is only inhabited by fishermen, nor is there anything grown there except the olive oil in which they fry those fish which are called *carpioni*, which fish are excellent eating, and will keep for a long time."

* *Garda:* A small town situated on the south-eastern shore of the Lake of Garda.

† *Val Camonica:* One of the largest valleys in Lombardy, which extends for more than fifty miles from the chain of Tonale and the mountains to the South of Bormio, as far as the Lake of Iseo. Through this valley the river Oglio flows into the Lake of Iseo.

‡ *Apennino:* Scartazzini does not agree with Blanc (who, like many others, reads *Pennino*) that this from the errors of copyists has become one of the most difficult passages in the *Divina Commedia*. He says the difficulty has simply arisen from people not knowing that *Apennino* does not mean the chain of the Apennines, but a single mountain, *Monte Apennino*, and he explains that the expression *tra Garda e Val Camonica* would, besides the lake itself, include the whole of that chain of mountains from whose eastern slopes the lake receives its waters. One single mountain in this chain is the Monte Apennino here spoken of, and at whose foot flows the river Toscolano. Monte Apennino is not marked on the maps, but it would seem to be situated between Gargnano and Maderno, on the western shore of the Lake of Garda. Gelli takes Monte Apennino as a matter of course. He says: "And this lake is formed by more than a thousand springs, that have their source in Monte Apennino between Garda and Val Camonica, which valley is in the territory of Brescia." The first four editions all read *Apennino*. Witte has a note in which he takes the same view as Gelli and Scartazzini as to the *Apennino* in this passage being a single mountain. Vellutello enlarges on the absurdity of supposing *Apennino* to be the chain of the Apennines. He remarks that they who support that view seem to forget that the *mille fonti*, on the eastern slope of the Apennine chain, all flow by Ravenna into the river Po, and not into the Lago Benaco.

§ *Loco è nel mezzo là*, etc.: Of this spot Vellutello, in the edition of Marcolini, Venice, 1544, says: "Not far from Mal-

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Pastore, e quel di Brescia, e il Veronese
Segnar potria, se fesse quel cammino.

And that woman who with loosened tresses covers her breasts which thou seest not, and has on that side all the skin that bears hair, was Manto, who wandered through many lands, and afterwards settled there where I was born (*i.e.* at Mantua), about which it pleases me that thou hearken to me for a while. After that her father had departed from life, and the City of Bacchus (Thebes) had become enslaved, she for a long time roamed about the world. Up above in beautiful Italy there is a lake lying at the foot of that Alpine chain which shuts in Germany above the Tyrol, and it is called Benacus (*i.e.* the Lake of Garda). Through a thousand springs and more, I believe, between Garda (the village) and Val Camonica, (Mount) Apennino is laved by the water which settles in the said lake. There in the midst of it is a spot where (each one of three Bishops), the Pastor of Trent, and he of Brescia, and he of Verona, might, if he travelled that way, make the sign of the Cross (*i.e.* might give his Episcopal benediction in his own Diocese).

The three Dioceses, Trent, Brescia and Verona, have their boundaries in an island in the lake.

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senese, and opposite to an islet called San Giorgio, there is a place, of which the popular name is *Termellon*, but that is a corruption. It should properly be called *Terminon*, from *termino* [limit, boundary]." Scartazzini says it is the islet near the point of Manerba (near the south-west corner of the lake) of which Bishop Gonzaga records, that there was on the upper part a small chapel dedicated to St. Margaret (*in eminentiori parte aedicula quaedam sanctae Margarethae dicata*); and which was under the jurisdiction of three bishops (*Tridentino scilicet, Brixinesi, atque Veronensi*). This islet belonged to the convent of the Franciscans, of which Bishop Gonzaga had previously been the Superior, and he mentioned the chapel as existing in his time.

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Virgil passes on to describe the fortress of Peschiera, and Benvenuto says that he does so that he may proceed in regular order, and speak of the river Mincio, which there flows out of the lake, and thereby bring him to his subject matter, which is Mantua.

Siede Peschiera,* bello e forte arnese † 70
Da fronteggiar Bresciani e Bergamaschi,
Ove la riva intorno più discese.‡
Ivi convien che tutto quanto caschi
Ciò che in grembo a Benaco star non può,
E fassi fiume giù per verdi paschi. 75
Tosto che l' acqua a correr mette co',§
Non più Benaco, ma Mencio|| si chiama

---

* *Peschiera:* Benvenuto speaks of the Castle of Peschiera as being comparatively modern in his time, fortified with many a tower and bastion, and which was, as it were, the bulwark of the whole country side.

† *bello e forte arnese:* Compare Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* Canto i, st. 67:—

"Perch' egli avea certe novelle intese,
Che s' è d' Egitto il Re già posto in via
In verso Gaza, bello e forte arnese
Da fronteggiare i Regni di Soria."

‡ *discese:* This is generally understood to stand for *discende*, and all the Commentators and translators treat the word as though it were the present tense, but no one has explained that such use is lawful.

§ *mette co':* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says: "*metter co'* d' un fiume che comincia a scorrere fuori d' un lago." He explains that *co'* is a contraction of *capo*, Lat. *caput*, and signifies "*la testa*, il capo, il principio." Compare *Inf.* xxi, 64:—

"Poscia passò di là dal co' del ponte."

And *Purg.* iii, 127, 128, where Manfred says:—

"L' ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In co' del ponte presso a Benevento."

And *Par.* iii, 95, 96:—

"la tela
Onde non trasse infino a co' la spola."

|| *Mencio* for *Mincio:* C. Loria (*L' Italia nella Divina Commedia*, Mantua, 1868) remarks: "The river Mincio begins

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Fino a Governo,* dove cade in Po.

Where the surrounding shore lies lowest, Peschiera, a fair and powerful fortress, is situated (in a position) to show a (bold) front to them of Brescia and Bergamo. There of necessity must all that water flow out which is unable to remain within the bosom of Benaco, and it becomes a river (flowing) down through the green pasture-lands. As soon as the water gathers head to flow (as a river), it is no longer called Benaco, but Mincio, as far as Governo, where it falls into the Po.

Virgil, having described the Lake of Garda and the river Mincio, now mentions at what point in the course of this river his birthplace Mantua was founded.

Non molto ha corso, che trova una lama,†

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under the walls of Peschiera; flows past Borghetto, Goito and Rivalta, at which latter point it forms the so-called Lago Superiore of Mantua. The lagoon is artificial, the water of the Mincio being dammed up by one dike between the city and the citadel, and by another between Porta Pradella and the outlying fortifications. The water that is discharged by the sluices of the Lago Superiore forms two other artificial lakes that surround the city. At Pietole the river resumes its ordinary course as the Lower Mincio, which flows on to the Po.

* *Governo*, better known as Governolo, is a small town about twelve miles from Mantua. It is on the right bank of the Mincio, and is situated at the point where that river flows into the Po. Attila is said to have had an interview here with Pope Leo I, and at his intercession to have promised to depart out of Italy. In the Middle Ages it was strongly fortified.

From the above description we may see the accuracy of Dante's word *impaluda* in the lines that follow, showing how the river spreads out into a wide swamp.

† *lama:* Gelli remarks that this means a spot which lies at a lower level than the surrounding plain, and he says: "we [in Tuscany] are accustomed so to call certain flats, which from lying very low, are extremely damp, and on these we usually plant trees, because the soil is peculiarly favourable to their growth, and thence we talk of *una lama d' alberi.*"

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Nella qual si distende e la impaluda, 80
E suol di state talora esser grama.*

Not far has it flowed, when it finds a low-lying flat, on which it spreads out and forms thereof a swamp, and in summer is apt at times to be pestilential.

Being widened out into a shallow lagoon, it becomes stagnant in summer from the evaporation of its waters, and gives forth malarious exhalations.

Virgil now continues the story of Manto, showing how she selected this spot as remote from the dwellings of men, and suitable for the practice of her magic arts. She did not found Mantua, but after she lived and died on its future site, the city was built by surrounding tribes attracted by its impregnable position.

Quindi passando la vergine cruda †

**grama :* The *Voc. della Crusca* (s.v. *gramo*, § 3) interprets the word as "unhealthy, pestilential," and quotes the present passage. Scartazzini, contending that Dante has never used *gramo* in that sense before, would rather take it to mean that the spot was inauspicious; but both Blanc and Gelli interpret it "unhealthy" in this passage.

† *vergine cruda :* Both Benvenuto and Gelli point out that it is only by poetic license that Manto is here spoken of as a virgin, for she is said (by Virgil himself) to have been married to a Tuscan husband, and to have had sons; of whom one was named Ocnus and the other Mopsus. Benvenuto thinks *virgo* must have been meant for *virago*, which is the same thing as a masculine woman, who follows masculine pursuits; in the same way that Virgil speaks of Pasiphaë (Gelli thinks ironically) as a virgin, when in fact she was the mother of Phaedra, Ariadne and Androgeus. Compare Virgil, *Bucolica*, *Ecl.* vi, 45-47 :—

"Et fortunatam, si nunquam armenta fuissent,
Pasiphaën nivei solatur amore juvenci.
Ah virgo infelix! quae te dementia coepit?"

Benvenuto suggests that possibly Manto may have been unwedded when she first settled in this place, and may have

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Vide terra nel mezzo del pantano,
Senza cultura, e d' abitanti nuda.
Lì, per fuggire ogni consorzio umano, 85
Ristette co' suoi servi a far sue arti,
E visse, e vi lasciò suo corpo vano.*
Gli uomini poi che intorno erano sparti
S' accolsero a quel loco, ch' era forte
Per lo pantan che avea da tutte parti. 90
Fêr la città sopra quell' ossa morte;
E per colei che il loco prima elesse,
Mantova l' appellâr senz' altra sorte.

Passing by this spot the savage maiden saw some ground in the middle of the fen, uncultivated, and bare of inhabitants. There, to shun all human fellowship, she, with her slaves, abode to practise her arts, and dwelt, and (at her death) left her tenantless body. Afterwards the men who were scattered round about gathered together at that spot, which was strong by reason of the fen which it had on all sides. They built the city above those dead bones (of Manto); and on account of her, who had first selected the place, they called it Mantua without other augury.

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married and had children afterwards. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 174, 175) writes: "It is perhaps worth noticing that Statius (*Theb.* iv, 463) speaks of *innuba Manto*, with which we may compare Dante's *vergine cruda*, and the various rites in which Statius describes her as assisting her father may perhaps be referred to in illustration of Dante's expression *far sue arti*. Also in Ovid, *Metam.* vi, 157 (a context familiar to Dante, containing the stories of Arachne and Niobe) Ovid describes Manto as daughter of Tiresias: 'Nam sata Tiresia, venturi praescia Manto,' etc. Possibly Dante may have wished to correct Virgil's account on the strength of his other authorities, Statius and Ovid."

* *corpo vano:* This means that Manto left her body untenanted by her soul. The same idea is expressed in *Purg.* v, 101, 102, where Buonconte da Montefeltro, describing his death at the battle of Campaldino, says:—

"quivi
Caddi, e rimase la mia carne sola."

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It was usual in ancient times to consult omens before naming a city, as may be read in Livy as to the origin of Rome, or in Varro as to the foundation of Athens. Benvenuto says that Valerius Maximus in his second book relates that in olden times no public or private matters were undertaken until auguries had been performed.

Virgil, having related the origin of Mantua, now speaks of the days of its greatest prosperity, lest any, seeing the decadence into which it had fallen in the time of Dante, might be ignorant of its former magnificence. He then charges Dante to recollect that his is the true account of the origin of Mantua, and to contradict any other stories that he may hear which do not tally with it.

Già fur le genti sue dentro più spesse,
Prima che la mattìa di Casalodi * 95
Da Pinamonte inganno ricevesse.†
Però t' assenno, che se tu mai odi
Originar mia terra altrimenti,
La verità nulla menzogna frodi."—

Formerly its population was more thick within it, before that the senseless Casalodi had been de-

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* *la mattìa di Casalodi:* Understand this for *il matto Casalodi* —Abstract for concrete. The Guelph Counts of Casalodi in 1272 obtained possession of Mantua. Alberto di Casalodi foolishly allowed himself to be persuaded by Pinamonte de' Buonacossi, a noble of Mantua, that he would ingratiate himself with the people, if he banished to their own castles all the nobles who were obnoxious to them. This being done Pinamonte himself seized the government, drove out the Casalodi, and put to a great slaughter all the nobles remaining in the city who were adherents of the deposed family.

† *inganno ricevesse:* In the *Gran Dizionario,* s.v. *inganno* under § *inganno ricevere,* we are told that this is a regular idiom, signifying "to be defrauded of one's just rights."

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frauded of his just rights by Pinamonte. Therefore I warn thee, if ever thou hearest a different origin ascribed to my native city, that no falsehood may beguile the truth."

Gelli thinks that these words seem to show that in Dante's time some other account of the foundation of Mantua must have been getting credence.

Division IV.—The long digression about Mantua having been brought to an end, Dante, returning to the main subject of the Canto—first, however, acknowledging himself to be fully convinced of the accuracy of Virgil's statements—asks his Leader to point out any other noteworthy spirits.

Ed io:—"Maestro, i tuoi ragionamenti * 100
Mi son sì certi, e prendon sì mia fede,
Che gli altri mi sarian carboni spenti.†
Ma dimmi della gente che procede,
Se tu ne vedi alcun degno di nota; ‡

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* *i tuoi ragionamenti*, etc.: Compare *Inf.* xi, 67, 68:—
"Ed io: 'Maestro, assai chiaro procede
La tua ragione,'" etc.

† *carboni spenti:* Weak arguments are here compared to extinguished coals. In *Par.* xvi, 28-30, the radiance in which is the spirit of Cacciaguida, when urged by Dante to recall the mighty events of his own days, is compared to dying coal rekindled into flame:—
"Come s' avviva allo spirar de' venti
Carbone in fiamma, così vidi quella
Luce risplendere a' miei blandimenti."

‡ *alcun degno di nota:* Throughout the *Commedia* we notice Dante's contempt for mediocrity. Cacciaguida (*Par.* xvii, 133-142) tells Dante that in writing his book he should be sure to note that only the great, the illustrious, and the noble, are worthy of his pen, and that in the three kingdoms of the dead he has been shown
"Pur l' anime che son di fama note."

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Chè solo a ciò la mia mente rifiede."—* 105

And I: "Master, thy reasonings are to me so convincing, and take such hold on my belief, that the others would be to me as spent coals (*i.e.* without light or warmth). But tell me of the people that are moving past, if thou seest any one worthy of notice; for only on this is my mind intent."

During the long narration by Virgil, the Poets had been walking on, and had passed quite out of sight of the group in which was Manto. The forms that Dante now sees belong to a different section of the shades in this *Bolgia.*

Virgil, complying with Dante's request, points out the other most notable Diviners, the first being Eurypylus, the augur who predicted the fortunate hour for the departure of the Grecian fleet in the expedition against Troy.

Allor mi disse:—"Quel che dalla gota
Porge la barba in sulle spalle † brune,
Fu—quando Grecia fu di maschi vota
Sì che appena rimaser per le cune—
Augure,‡ e diede il punto con Calcanta § 110
In Aulide a tagliar la prima fune.

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* *la mia mente rifiede:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) interprets this: "Mon esprit ne vise, ne s'attache qu'à cela." "Mein Geist strebt nur darnach." The *Voc. della Crusca* says: "aspirare o intendere a checchessia." Some read *risiede.*

† *Porge la barba in sulle spalle:* The head being twisted completely round, the beard fell over the shoulders.

‡ *Fu . . . augure:* These two words are to be taken together, the intermediate words being a parenthesis.

§ *Calcanta:* On the use of this form instead of the more usual one *Calcante,* see Nannucci, *Teorica dei Nomi,* pp. 237, 238. On the episode mentioned here which connects Eurypylus with Calchas, Dante seems to have confused two distinct and separate incidents, for in the passage in Virgil here referred

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Euripilo ebbe nome, e così il canta
L' alta mia Tragedía * in alcun loco:
Ben lo sai tu, che la sai tutta quanta.

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to, Virgil makes no allusion to Eurypylus and Calchas having foretold the time of the sailing of the Greek fleet from Aulis. See *Æn.* ii, 114-124:—

"Suspensi Eurypulum scitantem oracula Phoebi
Mittimus; isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat:
'Sanguine placastis ventos, et vergine caesa,
Quum primum Iliacas, Danai, venistis ad oras;
Sanguine quaerendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica.' Vulgi quae vox ut venit ad aures,
Obstupuere animis, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor; cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo.
Hic Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu
Protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina divum
Flagitat."

* *L' alta mia Tragedía:* In his letter dedicating the *Paradiso* to Can Grande della Scala, Dante gives the most clear and precise reasons why Virgil should call the *Æneid* a *Tragedia*, while he himself terms his own vision a *Commedia*. See Epist. *Kani Grandi*, § 10, ll. 193-217: "Est comoedia genus quoddam poeticae narrationis, ab omnibus aliis differens. Differt ergo a tragoedia in materia per hoc, quod tragoedia in principio est admirabilis et quieta, in fine sive exitu est foetida et horribilis; et dicitur propter hoc a *tragus* [τράγος], quod est *hircus*, et *oda* [ᾠδή], quasi *cantus hircinus*, id est foetidus ad modum hirci, ut patet per Senecam in suis Tragediis. Comoedia vero inchoat asperitatem alicuius rei, sed eius materia prospere terminatur, ut patet per Terentium in suis Comoediis. Et hinc consueverunt dictatores quidam in suis salutationibus dicere loco salutis, 'tragicum principium, et comicum finem.' Similiter differunt in modo loquendi: elate et sublime tragoedia; comoedia vero remisse et humiliter; sicut vult Horatius in sua *Poetica* [*Ars. Poet.* 93-95], ubi licentiat aliquando comicos ut tragoedos loqui, et sic e converso:—

'Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri.'"

It is noteworthy that just after alluding to the *Tragedia* of Virgil, Dante speaks of his own *Commedia* in the opening of the next Canto (*Inf.* xxi, 1, 2):—

"Così di ponte in ponte, altro parlando
Che la mia commedía cantar non cura."

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Then he said to me: "That one whose beard extends from his cheek over his swarthy shoulders, was an augur—when Greece was so emptied of males that scarce any were left (even) in the cradles—and at Aulis, he with Calchas, gave the instant for cutting the first cable. Eurypylus was his name, and thus (*i.e.* by that name) my lofty tragedy sings of him in a certain passage: well dost thou know it, for thou knowest the whole of it (the *Æneid*).

The next shade pointed out is that of Michael Scot, of whom Benvenuto says that he "was of the *Island* of Scotland," and understood all the falsehoods of necromancy; and in this is to be seen the foolish ignorance of the lower classes, who attribute to magic all that they are unable to comprehend. Virgil himself (*cf.* Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*) was credited with doing many things by magic arts, which, Benvenuto says, are utterly untrue, as he has shown elsewhere. Benvenuto adds that he has often heard many things asserted about this same wizard Michael Scot, which he reputes more as fictions than as facts.

Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,* 115
Michele Scotto † fu, che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il gioco.

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* *che ne' fianchi è così poco:* "Hoc dicit, vel quia erat naturaliter talis, vel quia propter studium erat mirabiliter extenuatus." (Benvenuto).

† *Michele Scotto:* Sir Michael Scot of Balwearie, in Scotland, flourished during the thirteenth century, and was a man of much learning, chiefly acquired in foreign countries. He wrote a commentary on Aristotle, printed in Venice in 1496; and several treatises upon natural philosophy, from which he appears to have been addicted to the abstruse studies of judicial astrology, alchemy, physiognomy and chiromancy.

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> That other one who is so spare about the loins, was Michael Scot, who verily knew the trick of the impostures of magic.

Two Diviners are now named, the one an Astrologer of the highest order, the other a cobbler. Bartoli

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Hence he passed among his contemporaries as a skilful magician. Dempster (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1627, book xii, p. 495) says that he remembers to have heard in his youth that the magic books of Michael Scot were still in existence, and could not be opened without danger, on account of the malignant fiends that were thereby invoked. Landino states that by many he was reputed to be a Spaniard, but that all agree that he was an excellent astrologer and magician. And he often invited guests to a banquet without making any preparation of victuals, and then at the time of serving up he would compel spirits to bring the dishes from various places, and would say that one dish came from the kitchen of the King of France, and another from that of the King of England, and so on. As to this, Boccaccio (*Decam. Giorn.* viii, Nov. 9) remarks: "See, O Reader, what an age of blessed ignorance that must have been!" The *Anonimo Fiorentino* relates that once at a banquet, Michael Scot was asked to give some demonstration of his art, and although it was January, he suddenly made appear upon the tables vines loaded with grapes, and having requested each guest, knife in hand, to lay hold on a bunch, at the instant when Michael gave the word "cut," both grapes and vines vanished. Benvenuto says that although some of his predictions came true, others did not, and notably, that one wherein he foretold the death of his lord, Frederick II, as to take place at Florence, whereas it happened, not at *Florentia* in Tuscany, but at *Florentiola* in Apulia. But he seems to have foreseen his own death, and with all his arts to have been unable to avoid it. He had predicted that he would be killed by a certain small stone of a certain exact weight falling upon his head. To guard against this, he used to wear an iron lining to his hood, but on entering a church one day on the occasion of the festival of the *Corpus Domini*, he lowered his hood as a sign, not of real devotion, for he was an unbeliever, but to impose upon the worshippers. At that instant a small stone fell upon his head and inflicted a very slight wound. But Michael, after carefully weighing it, found it was of the precise weight that he had foretold, and thereupon he set his house in order and died.

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thinks it is out of contempt that Dante places them in such proximity. He also mentions certain witches.

Vedi Guido Bonatti,* vedi Asdente,†
Che avere inteso al cuoio ed allo spago
Ora vorrebbe, ma tardi si pente. 120
Vedi le triste che lasciaron l' ago,
La spuola e il fuso, e fecersi indovine;
Fecer malie con erbe e con imago.‡

See Guido Bonatti, see Asdente, who would now wish that he had attended to his leather and his twine, but too late he repents. See the wretched women who abandoned the needle, the shuttle, and the distaff, and became fortune-tellers; and wrought baneful spells with herbs and images (of wax).

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* *Guido Bonatti:* A celebrated astrologer of Forlì, at the time that it was under the dominion of the Ghibelline chief, Count Guido da Montefeltro, who is said to have relied greatly for a time on Guido Bonatti's predictions. Benvenuto relates, however, a long story showing how the faith of the Count in the astrologer was entirely destroyed by his failing to predict a storm which a certain peasant had warned the Count would assuredly take place, from certain movements he had observed about his ass's ears. The ass proving the better weather-prophet, Guido Bonatti fell into disgrace with Guido da Montefeltro, and according to tradition died of grief in consequence. He wrote a treatise on astrology which is mentioned by Muratori, Gelli and other Commentators.

† *Asdente:* A cobbler of Parma, whom Benvenuto dismisses very contemptuously, saying that even if he did presage events, it must have been from nature rather than from literature, of which he was profoundly ignorant. Dante alludes to him in *Conv.* iv, 16, ll. 69-71.

‡ *malie con erbe e con imago:* "Puossi fare malie per virtù di certe erbe medianti alcune parole, o per imagine di cera o d' altro fatte in certi punti et per certo modo che, tenendo queste imagini al fuoco o ficcando loro spilletti nel capo, così pare che senta colui a cui imagine elle sono fatte, come la imagine che si strugga al fuoco." (*Anonimo Fiorentino*).

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The Poets are now quitting the Fourth, and are passing into the Fifth *Bolgia*, in which are punished the *Barattieri*, that is, those who trafficked for public offices, or were guilty of peculation while holding them.

We now come to one of the most important references to time in the *Cantica* of the *Inferno*, wherein Virgil tells Dante that the Moon, which only on the previous day had been at the full, is just setting on the horizon. Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 43) says that the time is indicated by the setting of the Moon below Seville, *i.e.* in the West. The extreme Western limit of the world was in those days regarded as the Pillars of Hercules, which term was often variously expressed by Dante as Spain, Cadiz, the Ebro, Morocco, etc. The time, therefore, now indicated would be about 6 A.M. on Easter Eve. The allusions in the *Inferno* are never to Sun-rising, but to Moon-setting. Dr. Moore considers that all Dante's calculations refer to the Calendar Moon, and not to the real Moon.

Ma vienne omai, che già tiene il confine
D' amendue gli emisperi, e tocca l' onda 125
Sotto Sibilia, Caino e le spine,*

---

* *Caino e le spine:* Compare *Par.* ii, 49-51 :—

"Ma ditemi, che son li segni bui
Di questo corpo, che laggiuso in terra
Fan di Cain favoleggiare altrui ?"

This was the old Italian way of saying "The Man in the Moon." Several passages in Shakespeare's *Midsummer-Night's Dream* refer to the same belief. Act iii, sc. i : "Find out moonshine. . . . Why. then you may leave a casement . . . open; and the moon may shine in at the casement. . . . Aye; or else one must come in with a bush of thorns and a lanthorn

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E già iernotte fu la luna tonda:
Ben ten dee ricordar, chè non ti nocque
Alcuna volta* per la selva fonda."—
Sì mi parlava, ed andavamo introcque.† 130

But now come on, for already Cain with his thorns occupies the confines of both the hemispheres (*i.e.* the Moon is setting on the horizon), and touches the wave below (*i.e.* to the westward of) Seville, and only yesternight was the Moon full: well shouldest thou remember it, for she did thee no harm on a certain occasion in the deep wood." Thus spake he to me, and we were moving on the while.

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and say, he comes to disfigure or to present the person of moonshine." Again in Act v, sc. 1:—

"This lanthorn doth the horned moon present;
Myself the man i' th' moon do seem to be."

Ibid. "All that I have to say is to tell you that the lanthorn is the moon; I, the man in the moon; this thorn-bush my thorn-bush; and this dog my dog."

* *non ti nocque alcuna volta:* This means that the moon helped him with her light. We may infer not only that Dante was many hours in the dark wood, but allegorically, that we have, as it were, a retrospect of his whole life.

† *introcque:* Benvenuto says that this word, derived from *inter hoc*, "in the interim," was in use in the time of Dante, but that in his (Benvenuto's) time, it had already fallen into disuse at Florence, though it was still preserved at Perugia. In the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 13, ll. 13-20, Dante himself cites the word as an instance of a Florentine barbarism: "Et quoniam Tusci prae aliis in hac ebrietate bacchantur, dignum utileque videtur municipalia vulgaria Tuscanorum singulatim in aliquo depompare. Loquuntur Florentini, et dicunt:—

'Manichiamo introcque:
Noi non facciamo altro.'"

In Macchiavelli's somewhat spiteful *Discorso in cui si esamina se la Lingua, in cui scrissero Dante, il Boccaccio, e il Petrarca, si debba chiamare Italiana, Toscana, o Fiorentina*, he throws especial ridicule on *introcque*.

END OF CANTO XX.

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CANTO XXI.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE FIFTH *BOLGIA*: THE BARRATORS, JOBBERS, OR CORRUPT OFFICIALS—THE BOILING PITCH—THE LUCCHESE MAGISTRATES—THE *MALEBRANCHE.*

IN this Canto we find the Poets on the arch of the bridge that surmounts the Fifth *Bolgia.* In the valley below them are immersed in boiling pitch public officials who trafficked for the purchase or the sale of offices of state, or traded with those who sought the interest or favour of their employers. Two Cantos are devoted to the Barrators,* and in

* *The Barrators:* Gelli states that in his time (1560) the word *baratteria* meant something entirely different from what it did in the time of Dante, namely, a place of public entertainment, where cards and dice, exclusively supplied to customers by the establishment, were used. The proprietor or manager of this place, called the *barattiere,* was bound to repay any money that was lost with cards or dice other than those he supplied. He would therefore take good care that his customers used no cards but his. In the time of Dante such places were known as *biscazze.* (See *Inf.* xi, 44). Gelli remembers two of these establishments at Florence, near where the public women used to take their stand. But *baratteria* in 1300 meant the use and violation of justice, and by *barattieri* were understood men, who being corrupted by money or other profit, bought and sold justice. Murray (*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* Oxford, 1885) gives the following significations of *Barrator* among others: "(1) One who deals fraudulently with business or office; (2) a person who buys or sells ecclesiastical preferment, a simoniac or simonist; one who buys or sells offices of state; (3) a judge who takes bribes."

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this twenty-first Canto Dante confines himself to the consideration of those in the first category, namely, those who trafficked for the purchase or sale of public offices.

We may note that no two classes of sinners roused such indignation in Dante as the Simonists and the Barrators. Each class marred the purity of his ideal state, wherein the Pope should exercise the spiritual functions, and the Emperor the temporal. The Simonists traded for the spiritual offices, the Barrators for the temporal offices. Against the Simonists Dante was unable to restrain his outspoken wrath; the Barrators, however, he represents as reduced to such degradation that their condition only excites ridicule and contempt.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 21, Dante describes the pitch boiling in the *Bolgia*, and compares it to that which he has seen in the Arsenal at Venice.

In *Division* II, from ver. 22 to ver. 57, he sees a black Demon bring the body of a Barrator, which he hurls down into the pitch.

In *Division* III, from ver. 58 to ver. 105, the Demons, who are about to attack Dante, are appeased by the remonstrances of Virgil.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 106 to ver. 139, the chief of the Demons, Malacoda, tells off ten of his band to escort the Poets along the edge of the *Bolgia*.

Division I.—Dante commences this Canto by linking it on to the last one, showing that there was no break in his conversation with Virgil until their attention was aroused by a new scene.

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Così di ponte in ponte, altro parlando
Che la mia commedía * cantar non cura,
Venimmo, e tenevamo il colmo, quando
Ristemmo per veder l' altra fessura
Di Malebolge, e gli altri pianti vani; † 5
E vidila mirabilmente oscura.

Thus from bridge to bridge we came along, discoursing of other matters, which my comedy cares not to sing, and we had gained the summit (of the fifth bridge), when we stopped to look upon the next fissure of *Malebolge*, and the next vain lamentations (*i.e.* a new set of sinners weeping to no purpose); and I saw it (was) wonderfully dark.

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* *commedia:* Gelli remarks that many of his contemporaries blamed Dante for calling his poem a *Commedia*, and that they had persuaded themselves that no one had a right to make any sort of composition that did not blindly follow the rules of the Greeks, or those laid down by Aristotle in that portion of his Poetics which was in existence in Gelli's days; and which he laments that his ignorance of Greek has compelled him to study only from Latin versions. If it be an error on Dante's part to call a *Commedia* that which travels so far from the rules of the Greek stage, it was a far more excusable error in 1300, when so little knowledge of Greek subjects had reached Italy, than it would have been in his (Gelli's) time in 1560. Gelli protests against a slavish imitation of all that is Greek. Many artists have begun by following the ancients, and then afterwards have improved upon them. Neither Brunelleschi in building the great Cupola at Florence, nor Michael Angelo in his many great works, tied themselves down to ancient rules of architecture, and yet their works are none the less beautiful; so that there is no cause to wonder that Dante too has composed a poem, which though not strictly in accordance with the rules of the ancients, yet possesses no less art and no less beauty than their compositions.

† *gli altri pianti vani:* Biagioli says that this is a very beautiful way of expressing poetically: *gli altri che piangono in vano*, like the passage in *Inf.* xiii, 131, 132:—

"E menommi al cespuglio che piangea,
Per le rotture sanguinenti, invano."

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Although Dante is more especially speaking of their passage from the bridge of the Fourth *Bolgia* to that of the Fifth, he probably intends also to speak generally of all the bridges they have left behind them. Benvenuto thinks they must have been talking about the soothsayers. No doubt as they traversed each bridgeway, they would be speaking of what they had most recently seen; and this not only shows the great length of the bridgeways, but also leaves one to infer that Dante had only touched upon the most striking incidents, and mentioned the most important personages, although there were many more that he did not think worthy of his notice.

Benvenuto remarks "that Dante has given to the Barrators a most suitable punishment. He represents them tormented in a valley filled with glowing and boiling pitch, and this for several allegorical reasons. First, because pitch is dark and black, and Barratry (*i.e.* jobbery) blackens with infamy; secondly, because pitch is tenacious, viscous and sticky, and so is Barratry, which is founded upon Avarice, and whosoever is once infected with it is never again able to get quit of it; thirdly, because pitch defiles all who touch it, as Solomon has said. And in like manner this Barratry is a pitch so contagious, that if a very saint were to enter a Court, or hold offices about one, he would become a Barrator, as in fact I have myself witnessed in several cases; fourthly, because all that is below the surface of the pitch is unseen, and in like manner Barratry plies its craft occultly and secretly. And the author (Dante)

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describes the punishment of this sin by a beautiful comparison about the Arsenal of the Venetians, which is a place of great strength and capacity, where ships are built, and all the machinery and engines that are necessary for them; and consequently a large quantity of pitch for caulking the vessels is always to be seen there seething in large cauldrons."

Quale nell' Arsanà * de' Viniziani
Bolle l' inverno la tenace pece
A rimpalmar li legni lor non sani,
Chè navicar non ponno,† e in quella vece ‡ 10

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* *nell' Arsanà:* "Arsenale arzanà It., Sp. Fr. Engl. *arsenal*, Greek *ἀρσενάλης*; It. *darsena*, Sic. *tirzanà*, the part of a harbour, which is chained off, a wet-dock = Fr. *darse darsine*, Sp. *atarazana*, *atarazanal*, covered shed, Pg. *taracena tercena;* from the Arabic *dâr aççinâ 'a*, house of industry, etc." (Donkin, *Etymological Dictionary*). Scartazzini says that the arsenal of which Dante is speaking is the old one, built in 1104, and in Dante's time reckoned one of the most important in Europe. Everything connected with shipbuilding was prepared there. The chief glory, however, of the Venetian arsenal was the *Galeazze* (Galeasses), which were real floating fortresses, low in the water, of great beam, and with crews of upwards of a thousand men. The arsenal was surrounded by high battlemented walls, and flanked by towers. It was considerably increased in size about 1303. The new arsenal was built by Andrea Pisano in 1337. We might add that at Genoa the Arsenal and the Dockyard are called *La Darsena*, not *L' Arsenale.*

† *Chè navicar non ponno:* Some read *che*, and Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 206) says It is rather difficult to determine whether the *che* is the relative referring to the ships, or *che* in the sense of "because," and referring to the Venetians. There cannot be any certainty as to this, since all the ancient editions were without accents or stops. I follow the Oxford text in reading *Chè* (because).

‡ *in quella vece:* There are two ways of translating this (1) "in lieu thereof;" and (2) "under those circumstances." I follow No. (1).

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Chi fa suo legno nuovo, e chi ristoppa
Le coste a quel che più vïaggi fece;
Chi ribatte da proda, e chi da poppa;
Altri fa remi,* ed altri volge sarte;
Chi terzeruolo ed artimon † rintoppa: 15

As in the Arsenal of the Venetians, in winter, boils the tenacious pitch for the paying the seams of their unsound vessels, because they cannot send them out to sea, and in lieu thereof, one is building himself a new ship, and another is re-caulking the sides of that one which has made many voyages; one hammers at the prow, and another at the stern; one is making oars, and another is twisting cordage; one mends the stay-sail and (another) the mizzen-sail.

Gelli (who lived at the court of a sovereign prince, Cosmo de' Medici, in 1560) draws attention to the very lengthy discussion of the passage in the text by Benvenuto da Imola, who seems to have been inti-

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* *remi:* Dante is probably here alluding to the huge oars that were used in the galleys. Each oar was pulled by five men, usually galley-slaves, though some of the galleys were rowed by free men. In the narrow streets and alleys of Genoa one may still see, here and there, fixed to the outer walls of houses, iron brackets on which one of these oars used to rest. The oar, when required, was lifted down and carried to the port by the five men who had to man it.

† *terzeruolo ed artimon:* By *terzeruolo* I understand "stay-sail," which in French is *voile d'étai*, and Lamennais so translates it. *Artimone* in Italian, and *artimon* in French is the mizzen-sail. But it would seem that in those days the mizzen-sail was the largest of all; anyhow Buti tells us so: "Artimone è la maggior vela che abbia la nave, *terzeruolo* è la minore; imperocchè la nave porta tre vele: una grande, che si chiama artimone; una mezzana, che si chiama la mezzana; e un' altra minore, che si chiama terzeruolo." Père Berthier (*La Divina Commedia*, 4to, vol. i, p. 373) observes that Dante, wishing to include all kinds of sails, speaks of the two extreme sizes, the smallest and the largest. He also says of *artimone:* "Vela maggiore inalberata sulla poppa."

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mately acquainted with the intrigues of a Republican Court in 1375. Barratry existed alike under the monarchical and under the republican forms of government.

Dante had begun speaking of the boiling pitch in ll. 7, 8, and after the parenthesis about the Arsenal, he describes the immense lake of boiling pitch in this *Bolgia.*

> Tal non per foco ma per divina arte
> Bollia laggiuso una pegola spessa
> Che inviscava la ripa da ogni parte.
> Io vedea lei, ma non vedeva in essa
> Ma' che * le bolle che il bollor levava, 20
> E gonfiar tutta, e riseder compressa.

Even so down below there a thick pitch was boiling—not by fire, but by Divine agency—which belimed the bank on every side. I saw it, but saw not in it aught else but the bubbles which the ebullition raised, and (I saw) the whole heave up, and contracting subside again.

Division II.—Dante is staring down, trying to make out the horrible spectacle, when Virgil arouses him by the warning of imminent danger. He looks round, and there appears suddenly before his terrified gaze, one of the *Malebranche*, or black Demon cus-

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* *Ma' che:* This is equivalent to *magis quam*, except, save, aught else than, etc. Gelli says the expression was in common use in Dante's time, but in his (Gelli's) own time was only retained in Lombardy. Compare *Inf.* iv, 26:—

"Non avea pianto ma' che di sospiri," etc.

and see footnote on the word.

And *Inf.* xxviii, 66:—

"E non avea ma' ch' un' orecchia sola."

Compare also *Purg.* xviii, 53; and *Par.* xxii, 17.

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todians of this *Bolgia*, whose duty it is to torment its unhappy inmates. The Demon brings a sinner grotesquely seated on his shoulder, and as he speeds away after casting his victim into the boiling pitch, the Poets are quickly brought into contact with the rest of the loathsome crew. This is, I think, the only passage in the *Inferno* where we are allowed to see the arrival of a shade at its place of punishment.

Mentr' io laggiù fisamente mirava,
Lo Duca mio, dicendo :—"Guarda, guarda,"—
Mi trasse a sè * del loco dov' io stava.
Allor mi volsi come l' uom cui tarda † 25
Di veder quel che gli convien fuggire,
E cui paura subita sgagliarda,
Che per veder non indugia il partire:
E vidi dietro a noi un diavol nero
Correndo su per lo scoglio venire. 30

While I was gazing steadfastly down below there, my Leader, exclaiming: "Beware, beware," drew me to him from the spot where I was standing. Then I turned me round like the man who is impatient to see that from which he must perforce flee, and whom sudden fear unmans, (and) who for

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* *mi trasse a sè:* Compare *Purg.* viii, 94, 95, where we find the same expression used on the approach of the Evil One in the form of a serpent:—

"Com' ei parlava, e Sordello a sè il trasse
Dicendo: 'Vedi là il nostro avversaro!'"

† *cui tarda:* Compare *Inf.* ix, 9:—

"Oh quanto tarda a me ch' altri qui giunga!"

Others read *che tarda*, which means that the man delays to look at his danger until he has run far enough away to make him feel secure: *cui tarda* is: "to whom it seems a very long endless time" until he can see what he dreads to look upon: that impatient feeling that cannot endure the suspense of waiting for an evil that one knows is about to befall one.

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all that he is looking, delays not his departure (*i.e.* he runs away looking back): and I saw a black Demon come running up behind us along the rocky bridgeway.

The repulsive scene with the Demons which commences here, is continued through this Canto and the next, and only terminates at l. 57 of Canto xxiii. The great length of the episode as told by Dante, and commented on by Benvenuto and Gelli, shows the importance that both the Poet and the Early Commentators attached to the crime of Barratry and its punishment.

A description is now given of the Demon and of the hapless shade he is bearing to its doom. Blanc insists that the Demon was carrying the sinner astride on his shoulders, holding his ankles with his taloned hands; and the late Sir Frederic Burton remarked to me that in Michael Angelo's great picture of the Last Judgment in the Sixtine Chapel at Rome, one of the sinners is represented being carried by a Demon in a posture somewhat similar to this, though even more grotesque. Most of the old Commentators explain the posture as Blanc does, but Benvenuto in his Commentary, and Botticelli and Flaxman, in their illustrations, represent the Demon holding the feet over his shoulders, while the body hangs down over his back. Benvenuto thinks he was holding him just as a hawk would clutch a quail in its talons. Dr. Moore tells me that in Luca Signorelli's fresco of Hell in the Cathedral at Orvieto, there is a Demon carrying a sinner through the air, whose *arms* he clutches in his

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talons. The idea seems undoubtedly to have been borrowed from this passage in Dante.

> Ahi quanto egli era nell' aspetto fiero!
> E quanto mi parea nell' atto acerbo,
> Con l' ali aperte, e sopra il piè leggiero!
> L' omero suo ch' era acuto e superbo,
> Carcava un peccator con ambo l' anche, 35
> E quei tenea de' piè ghermito * il nerbo.

Ah how ferocious was he in his aspect! and how pitiless he seemed to me in act, with wings outspread, and light upon the foot (*i.e.* flying and running at the same time)! His shoulder, which was sharp and high, was encumbered by a sinner with both haunches, and he (the Demon) held the tendons of the feet close griped.

This Demon appears to have awaited the death of his victim on earth, and to have carried him off to Minos the instant he died; † and as soon as the Judge of Hell had pronounced the sentence, the Demon must have borne the sinner away to the lake of pitch and hurled him in; after which his terrible comrades did

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* *ghermito:* Gelli says that the word *ghermito* expressly signifies *quel ferire, stringere, e tenere che fanno gli uccelli rapaci*, and that the sinner's feet were being wounded by the talons.

† Compare *Inf.* xxvii, 112-128, where we are told that when Guido da Montefeltro died, the Demon clutched him as soon as ever the breath was out of his body, and bore the spirit away to Minos, where he was at once judged and condemned; and we may infer, from Minos acquainting the fiend with his doom, that the same bearer carried him down to the allotted place of punishment. In *Purg.* v, 104, 105, we see that in the case of Buonconte da Montefeltro (son of the above Guido), the Demon had dogged his dying steps, when, during the battle of Campaldino, he crawled mortally wounded to the river Archiano, and sank down and breathed his last upon the bank, but as he died making a cross on his breast with his arms, the Angel of God was able to prevail and save him from perdition.

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their part of tormenting the quivering frame as soon as it reappeared on the surface.

Before, however, disposing of his burden, the Demon addresses the rest of the band, who, we now hear, are called *Malebranche*. We have not been informed of their presence, and it is only by reading of the alacrity with which they fall upon the sufferer (ll. 46 *et seq.*), that we are made acquainted with their appearance upon the scene. The Demon informs them that the shade he is carrying is one of the rulers of Lucca, which city, he tells them, is full of Barratry, except in the case of one single inhabitant, whom he names *in irony* as being free from that vice, whereas in reality the citizen in question was the worst offender of all in Lucca.

—"Del nostro ponte,"—disse,—"o Malebranche,
Ecco un degli anzïan di santa Zita: *
Mettetel sotto, ch' io torno per anche †
A quella terra ch' i' n' ho ben fornita: 40
Ognun v' è barattier, fuor che Bonturo:
Del *no*, per li denar, vi si fa *ita*."—‡

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* *anzïan di santa Zita:* One of the Ancients, or municipal rulers of Lucca, which city is called Santa Zita from being specially devoted to that Saint. The *Anziani* at Lucca was the corresponding term to the *Priori* at Florence. "Le tombeau de sainte Zite est dans l'église de San Frediano, vieille et curieuse basilique, et son histoire est le sujet d'une complainte populaire que j'ai achetée dans la rue. Sainte Zite est la Paméla de la légende: c'était une pauvre servante que son maitre voulait séduire." (Ampère, *La Grèce, Rome et Dante*, p. 248).

† *per anche:* This appears to be the only instance in the *Divina Commedia* for such a use of *anche*, which has here the sense of *di più*, *altri*, etc., and the sentence might be paraphrased thus:—

"perchè io ritorno per cercarne ancora."

‡ *ita* was used in Latin for "yes." The *Vocabolario della*

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> "O Malebranche of our bridge," said he, "behold one of the Ancients of Santa Zita (*i.e.* of Lucca): thrust him under, for I am returning again for yet more unto that city, which I have got well stocked with them: there every one is a Barrator except Bonturo: there for money out of *Nay* is made *Aye*."

This means that every favour, at first refused, is afterwards granted on payment of a bribe. For gold every negative is turned into an affirmative, and every falsehood accounted as a truth. "But," adds Benvenuto, "this queen, money, does possess that power, and even greater than that, not only at the little Court of Lucca, but also in the great Court of Rome."

Having summoned his fell comrades, the Demon casts the miserable Barrator into their clutches, and darts off in quest of other prey. The *Malebranche* rush upon their victim, and after deriding the posture his contracted limbs have assumed, which they compare to that of a worshipper of the Santo Volto at Lucca, they thrust their pronged weapons into his body, and immerse it into the boiling pitch, as a cook does to boiling meat.

Crusca explains it as an adverb equivalent to *sì* "yes." Lana states that it was the custom in the Council of Lucca for two voting urns to be sent round, in which the voting papers were collected, the one being for *Ayes*, and the other for *Noes*. "Such however (Lana adds) was the corruption among the Councilmen, that when it was unquestionably for the public weal that their votes should be cast into the *No* urn, they would readily, for the sake of a bribe, cast them among the *Ayes*." Professor De Tivoli once told Dr. Moore that this refers to a fraudulent alteration by the pen of the word "no" into the word "ita."

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Laggiù il buttò, e per lo scoglio duro
Si volse,* e mai non fu mastino sciolto
Con tanta fretta† a seguitar lo furo. 45
Quei s' attuffò, e tornò su convolto;‡
Ma i demon, che del ponte avean coperchio,
Gridâr:—"Qui non ha loco il Santo Volto,§

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* *Si volse:* Contrast this account with that in *Purg.* ii, 49-51, of the souls of the saved being conveyed in a boat over the sea by the Angel Pilot, who, after he has blessed and disembarked them, speeds rapidly away to bring off another boatload from the shores of the Tiber:—

"Poi fece il segno lor di santa croce;
Ond' ei si gittâr tutti in sulla piaggia,
Ed ei sen gì, come venne, veloce."

† *mai non fu mastino sciolto con tanta fretta,* etc.: Some have erroneously interpreted this: "Never was a mastiff unloosed so quickly." The right sense is: "Never was a mastiff, that has been unloosed by his master, off so quick in pursuit of the thief, as was this demon to speed away, in order to seek fresh victims in the corrupt state of Lucca."

‡ *convolto:* Others read *col volto,* or *con volto,* and both these variants, as well as the right way of interpreting *convolto,* have given rise to much controversy. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism,* p. 330) says that we may safely condemn the reading *col volto,* though it seems to be in the majority of MSS. *Con volto* may easily have been a clerical error, but both readings are utterly feeble in sense, and miss what is probably the point of the bitter jest of the demons, who affect to suppose, when the unfortunate *barattiere* comes to the surface "doubled up" (*convolto*), that he is in the attitude of prayer, and hence the gibe, "*Qui non ha loco il Santo Volto.*"

§ *il Santo Volto:* This is an exceedingly ancient statue of the Redeemer, of great beauty and noble features, supposed to have been carved by a Byzantine hand. It is preserved and venerated in a private chapel in the middle of the Cathedral of Lucca. Lana asserts that it was a common custom among the Lucchese in his time, in any circumstance of danger whatsoever, to cry out: "O Santo Volto or m' aiuta!" Ampère, (*Voyage Dantesque*) says of it: "Quant au Santo Volto, je n'ai pu le voir; mais à Pistoia on montre un *facsimile,* d'après lequel il est aisé de se convaincre que l'original est un crucifix bysantin en bois noir, probablement d'une assez haute antiquité, et pouvant remonter au VIIIme siècle, époque où l'on

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Qui si nuota altrimenti che nel Serchio; *
Però se tu non vuoi de' nostri graffi,† 50
Non far sopra la pegola soperchio."—

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dit que Lucques reçut la précieuse image. Dans ce siècle, qui fut celui des Iconoclastes, beaucoup d'objets pareils durent être transportés en Occident par ceux qui fuyaient les persécutions des empereurs isauriens. Voici, selon la légende, l'histoire du Santo Volto. Après la mort et l'ascension du Sauveur, Nicodème voulut sculpter de souvenir la figure de Jésus Christ crucifié; déjà il avait taillé en bois la croix et le buste, et tandis qu'il s'efforçait à se rappeler les traits de son divin modèle, il s'endormit; mais à son reveil il trouva la sainte tête sculptée et son oeuvre achevée par une main céleste."

* *Serchio:* The name of a river which flows close by Lucca, and falls into the Mediterranean near Viareggio. Compare Shelley, *The Boat on the Serchio:*—

". . . the boat makes head
Against the Serchio's torrent fierce,
Then flags with intermittent course,
And hangs upon the wave, . . .
Which fervid from its mountain source
Shallow, smooth, and strong, doth come,—
Swift as fire tempestuously
It sweeps into the affrighted sea;
In morning smile its eddies coil,
Its billows sparkle, toss and boil,
Torturing all its quiet light
Into columns fierce and bright.
The Serchio, twisting forth
Between the marble barriers which it clove
At Ripafratta, leads through the dread chasm
The wave that died the death which lovers love,
Living in what it sought."

See also Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, Canto xxiv, st. 141:—

"Qui si Nuota nel sangue e non nel Serchio."

† *graffi:* Not, as Scartazzini explains it, *graffiatore*, but as the *Gran Dizionario* (s.v. *graffio*, § 4) renders it "strumento di ferro che anche si dice *raffio* (see l. 52); ed era usato ezandio nell' antica milizia, calandosi dalle mura contra coloro che volevano salire a rompere esse mura, per aggrapparli e tirarli su tosto per aria." Buti commenting on *raffi* (l. 52) says: "Raffio tanto è a dire, quanto graffio. Questo è uno strumento di ferro con denti uncinuti, ed ancor n' à uno appuntato lungo." Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xlii, st. 9:—

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Poi l' addentâr con più di cento raffi ;
Disser :—"Coperto convien che qui balli,
Sì che, se puoi, nascosamente accaffi."—*
Non altrimenti i cuochi ai lor vassalli 55
Fanno attuffare in mezzo la caldaia
La carne cogli uncin, perchè non galli.†

Down there he hurled him, and turned back over the rugged bridgeway, nor ever was an unloosed mastiff off in such haste to pursue a thief (as this Demon sped away). He (the Barrator) plunged in, and rose again doubled up ; but the Demons, who had (made) a hiding-place of the bridge, shouted out: "Here the Santo Volto has no place; here one swims otherwise than in the Serchio; therefore unless thou art wanting some of our claws, come not out above the pitch." Then they pronged him with more than a hundred drag-hooks ; saying: "Under cover must thou dance about here, so that if thou can'st thou mayest do thy trafficking secretly." Not otherwise do the cooks have the meat kept down by their scullions in the middle of the cauldron with their forks, so that it float not on the top.

"Corse lo spirto all' acque, onde tirollo
Caron nel legno suo col graffio adunco."

Compare also Buonarotti, *La Fiera*, Giorn. iv, Introduzione, p. 521, where *Interesse*, addressing *Rapacità*, says :—

"Non ti scostar da me, stammi vicina
Sempre co' graffi tuoi, co' tuoi rastrelli."

* *accaffi :* "ACCAFFARE. Att. e N. ass. *Afferrare, ghermire* [to gripe], tôrre con violenza." It is said to have an affinity of sound to *Captare.* (*Gran Dizionario*). "*Accaffi*, cioè pigli, come se' usato nel mondo di pigliare . . . occultamente." (Buti, on this passage). Francho Sacchetti (*Novelle*, 2, 34) uses the word in a jocose, punning sense: "Comechè ben gli sarebbe stato, che in quel tempo che stette in Caffa, un altro se l' avesse accaffato." On this word *Caffa*, see *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *caffare :* "Far *caffo* o *la caffa*, termine del giuoco di sbaraglio, e sbaraglino [*backgammon*]."

† *galli :* Compare *Purg.* x, 127 :—

"Di che l' animo vostro in alto galla ?"

"*Gallare* It. to swim, exult, *essere a galla*, to float. Not from

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By the expression *più di cento raffi*, we may realise what a swarm of the Demons must have been there. The hapless sinner was struck by as many of them as could possibly crowd together on the bank, or in the air above him.

Division III.—Virgil now finds it necessary to have a parley with the *Malebranche*, before exposing Dante to their fury. He accordingly makes him conceal himself behind a rock, while he himself walks forward and accosts the loathsome company, as we saw him do before the gates of the City of Dis (Canto ix).

Lo buon Maestro :—"Acciocchè non si paia
Che tu ci sii,"—mi disse,—"giù t' acquatta,*

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the floating of the *gall* nut, but probably from *Gallus*, *cf.* Sp. *tener mucho gallo*, to be very arrogant, It. *galloria*, exultation." (Donkin, *Etymological Dictionary*).

**t' acquatta :* See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *acquattare*, § 2 : "Chinarsi a terra il più basso che l' uom può per non esser visto senza però porsi a giacere . . . Tenersi quatto, piccino, o zitto dietro o sotto a cosa che copra." Compare Franco Sacchetti, *Nov.* 76 : "Matteo acquattasi dietro all' appoggio del banco." Also Michel. Buonarrotti, *La Fiera*, Giorn. iv, Act ii, sc. 7 :—

"Ch' un destro schermo
L' acquattarmi mi fu, chinando il capo."

Biagioli says that from the Latin *coactus* is derived *quatto* "squatting, cowering," and from *coartare* comes *acquattarsi*. Scartazzini observes that to many it will appear strange that Virgil should make Dante hide himself from the Demons, when only just before the Poets had been standing on the rock bridge without a thought of concealment. The only explanation is that the Demons were so occupied with the *anziano* of Santa Zita, that they never looked up, and the Poets must have perceived that so far the Demons had not become aware of their presence on the top of the lofty bridge, under the arch of which they themselves had their station immediately below.

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Dopo * uno scheggio che alcun schermo t' haia ;†
E per nulla offension che mi sia fatta, 61
Non temer tu, ch' io ho le cose conte,‡
Perchè altra volta fui a tal baratta." —§

The good Master said to me: "In order that it may not be observed that thou art here, crouch down behind a crag that thou mayest have some screen for thee; and for whatever outrage that be offered to me, fear not thou, for I have good knowledge of these things, as I have been once before in a like contention."

Benvenuto remarks that there is an allegorical signification in Virgil being represented going forward alone to reconnoitre and see whether he could have a free passage. The greatest precautions must be taken by him who is about to enter into a court

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* *Dopo:* Used here in the sense of "behind." Compare Virg. *Eclog.* iii, 19, 20:—

"Et cum clamarem: Quo nunc se proripit ille?
Tityre, coge pecus; tu post carecta latebas."

† *haia* for *abbia* or *aggia.* Latin *habeat.* This is an archaic form, and is cited by Nannucci, *Verbi*, p. 507. Compare *Par.* xvii, 140, 141:—

"Nè ferma fede per esemplo ch' haia
La sua radice incognita e nascosa."

Nannucci (*Manuale della lett. ital.*, etc., 2nd edition, Vol. i, pp. 216 and 441) protests against Dante being supposed to have used *haia* for the sake of the rhyme, for old writers frequently used *aja* when there was no rhyme: *e.g.* Brunetto Latini in the *Tesoretto*:—

"De' uom antivedere
Ciò che poria seguire,
Di quello, che 'ncomenza,
Ch' aia bella partenza."

‡ *conte* = *cognite, conosciute.* "Quasi dicat: bene novi fraudes istorum barataríorum." (Benvenuto).

§ *baratta:* Contest, contention. Compare *Dittamondo*, Canto ii, 23:—

"Qui non ti conto la mortal baratta
Ch' ei fe' co' Saracin."

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where Barratry prevails, especially if he be lacking in experience, and is not acquainted with all the crafty schemes that will surround him. And when Virgil tells Dante about his previous experience of such things, he alludes in the first instance to his supposed descent into Hell, when summoned by Erichtho (*Inf.* ix, 22-24) he visited the whole of Hell; but Benvenuto fancies Virgil is speaking from history, and implying that once in his young life, long ago, he had often been in similar scenes, when after having been despoiled of his estate, he went to the Court of the great Augustus, and before he could become known to that Emperor and obtain his favour, he had for a time to be continually passing through the hands of courtiers and officials, some of whom of course were corrupt jobbers, against whose frauds not even so just a sovereign as was Augustus could altogether guard himself. Hence Diocletian, a most upright Emperor, is said to have remarked, that no matter how good, how pure in his life, how excellent an Emperor might be, yet he is always being bought and sold by his courtiers.

Virgil having placed Dante in concealment steps forward. The Demons instantly rush upon him with levelled forks, but are checked by his resolute demeanour; and he requests them to send forward one of their number to confer with him.

Poscia passò di là dal co' del ponte,*

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* *co' del ponte:* Compare *Inf.* xx, 76:—

"Tosto che l' acqua a correr mette co'," etc.

Compare also *Purg.* iii, 127-129, where Manfred uses the expression in describing how his body was buried under a great cairn near the head of the bridge of Benvenuto:—

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E com' ei giunse in su la ripa sesta,* 65
Mestier gli fu d' aver sicura fronte.
Con quel furor e con quella tempesta
Ch' escono i cani addosso al poverello,
Che di subito chiede ove s' arresta,†
Usciron quei di sotto al ponticello, 70
E volser contro lui tutti i roncigli;
Ma ei gridò:—"Nessun di voi sia fello.‡
Innanzi che l' uncin vostro mi pigli,
Traggasi avanti l' un di voi che m' oda,
E poi d' arroncigliarmi si consigli."— 75

"L' ossa del mio corpo sarieno ancora
In co' del ponte presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora."

And *Par* iii, 96:—

"Onde non trasse infino a co' la spola."

* *ripa sesta:* In Canto xix, 40, we learn that the Poets were standing upon the Fourth Rampart (*argine quarto*). In xix, 128, 129, Virgil had carried Dante

". . . sopra il colmo dell' arco,
Che dal quarto al quinto argine è tragetto."

In xx, 130, they had left that bridge, and were walking onwards, and (xxi, 3) had reached the crown of the bridge which overlooks the Fifth *Bolgia*, and crosses from the Fifth to the Sixth Rampart (*ripa*). From the crown of this bridge they have witnessed the ghastly episode of the *anziano* of Lucca. Virgil has now walked from the bridge on to the Sixth Rampart, leaving Dante crouching in terror behind a rock upon the bridge.

† *ove s' arresta:* "Praecipue ad domum divitis; quia communiter pauper firmat se ad ostium divitis, et in domo divitis communiter sunt multi canes." (Benvenuto).

‡ *fello:* "mal pensante." (Scartazzini). "Fello è colui che pensa far male altrui." (Buti). See the word in Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary:* "*Fello* It., Prov. Old French *fel*, impious, wicked; It. *fellone*, wicked wretch, Old Sp. *felon*, *fellon* = *fello*, Fr. *félon*, perjured traitor, Engl. *felon;* It. Old Sp. *fellonia*, Prov. *felnia feunia*, profligacy, wickedness, Fr. *félonie*, Sp. *felonia*, treachery (especially of a vassal), Engl. *felony*. From the A. S. and Engl. *fell*, Dutch *fel*. Prov. and Old French nom. sing. *fel* (*fels*) acc. *felon*, whence the other forms, and fem. *felona*."

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Then he passed on beyond the bridge-head, and when he had arrived upon the sixth rampart, he had full need to show a bold front. With that fury and that impetuosity with which dogs rush out against the poor beggar, who straightway prefers his petition from where (for fear of them) he makes halt; rushed they forth from under the bridge, and levelled against him all their prongs; but he cried out: "Let none of you be planning mischief! Before one of your hooks touch me, let one of your number step forward who will hearken unto me, and then take your counsel about lacerating me."

This determined attitude on the part of Virgil has its immediate effect upon the fiendish rabble, who pause, and desisting from their intended assault upon him, call upon their leader, Malacoda, to go forward. The latter does so, muttering however, that he does not think the parley will advantage Virgil much.

Tutti gridaron :—"Vada Malacoda ;"—
Perchè un si mosse, e gli altri stetter fermi ;
E venne a lui dicendo :—"Che gli approda ?"—

They all shouted: "Let Malacoda go;" whereupon one advanced, and the others stood still; and he (Malacoda) came to him (Virgil) saying: "What good will it do him?"

Virgil takes the high line, and in a very few words convinces Malacoda that had he not been armed with Divine Authority, it would have been impossible for him to have escaped all the perils of the Circles above, and to have penetrated so far down into Lower Hell.

—"Credi tu, Malacoda, qui vedermi
Esser venuto,"—disse il mio Maestro, 80
—"Sicuro già da tutto vostri schermi,

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Senza voler divino e fato destro ? *
Lasciane andar, chè nel cielo è voluto
Ch' io mostri altrui questo cammin silvestro."—†

"Thinkest thou, Malacoda, to see me come here," said my Master, "secure against all your hindrances, except by Divine Will and propitious destiny? Let us go on, for in Heaven it is willed that I should show somebody else this road of wild horror."

The bully is cowed. Malacoda's weapon falls from his hands, and he tells his comrades that at all events for the present (*omai*), Virgil is not to be molested. He might possibly come again at some future occasion without so great a safeguard as the Will of God, and then would be their opportunity.

Allor gli fu l' orgoglio sì caduto,‡ 85

**fato destro :* The passage in the text seems to have been suggested to Dante by the following lines from Virgil (*Æn.* v, 56, 57) :—

"Haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divûm,
Adsumus, et portus delati intramus amicos."

See also *ibid.* vi, 368, 369 :—

". . . neque enim, credo, sine numine divûm
Flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem."

Virgil has on other occasions simply cited the Will of God as his passport through Hell, but on this occasion he speaks of Destiny, to which, according to Mythology, even the gods were subject. See Ovid, *Metam.* ix, 426-437.

†*cammin silvestro :* According to Tommaséo *silvestro* has the additional sense of "horrible," and Dante specially applies it as an epithet of civil crime. In the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 15, 16, 17, *et passim*, Dante shows the distinction between *modi silvestri* and *modi urbani.* Scartazzini and Tommaséo say that the road is at one and the same time wild and horrible (*salvatico e orrido*).

‡*orgoglio . . . caduto :* In *Inf.* vii, 13-15 we saw that similar words subdued the arrogance of Plutus :—

"Quali del vento le gonfiate vele
Caggiono avvolte, poichè l' alber fiacca ;
Tal cadde a terra la fiera crudele."

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Che si lasciò cascar l' uncino ai piedi,
E disse agli altri :—"Omai non sia feruto."—*

Then did his arrogance become so abased, that he let the hook fall down at his feet, and said to the others : "For the nonce he must not be struck."

Benvenuto thinks that Dante means to imply that there are moments when a man, who is at the same time upright and prudent, may pass unharmed through the hands of such evil Barrators, if he is promoting a just cause, and by help of Divine Grace, is walking in the paths of innocency and truth.†

Virgil, having obtained a promise of immunity from the Leader of the Demons, calls upon Dante to venture from his hiding-place in all security. Benvenuto thinks it is as though Virgil would tell Dante that as no suspicion of Barratry has ever been laid to his charge, and even though he had at one time been one of the *Priori* or Rulers of Florence, yet, as he had never trafficked with the interests of his native city, he can have nothing to fear.

Dante comes forth, but at the sight of the Demons

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* *feruto :* From the archaic form *ferere* for *ferire :* so from *pentere* is found *pentuto*, and in Neapolitan Italian, from *sentire*, *sentuto* instead of *sentito*.

† The Ode of Horace to Aristius Fuscus (*Carm.* i, 22) is an illustration of this idea that an upright heart will carry a man safe through untold dangers :—

"Integer vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris jaculis et arcu,
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce pharetra :
Sive per Syrtes iter aestuosas,
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum, vel quae loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes."

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he manifests as much fear as he once saw exhibited after the surrender of the fortress of Caprona in 1289, when the terrified garrison marched out through the hostile ranks of the victorious besieging army of the Pisans, at the imminent risk of being butchered, unarmed as they were, by the undisciplined and thoroughly unreliable soldiery. Like them, Dante has great misgivings as to the promise of immunity being faithfully kept, and his trembling glances testify to his dread.

E il Duca mio a me:—"O tu che siedi
Tra gli scheggion del ponte quatto quatto,*
Sicuramente omai a me tu riedi."— 90
Perch' io mi mossi, ed a lui venni ratto;
E i diavoli si fecer tutti avanti,†
Sì ch' io temetti ch' ei tenesser patto.‡

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* *quatto quatto:* Borghini (*Studi sulla Divina Commedia*, p. 236) writes: "*Quatto* non significa propriamente *nascoso*, ma *chinato* e *come spinato in* terra, e come fa la gatta quando uccella, che si stiaccia in terra per non esser veduta, e lo fa talvolta il cane. Prima avea detto *giù t' agguatta:* che lo espone bene, Calati giù e ti nascondi," etc.

† *si fecer . . . avanti: Farsi avanti* is a regular Tuscan idiom, meaning "to come, to step, forward." Compare *Purg.* viii, 52:—

"Vêr me si fece, ed io vêr lui mi fei."

‡ *temetti ch' ei tenesser patto:* Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 330, 331) finds this reading in 86 MSS., whereas 45 MSS. read *temetti non tenesser.* On this he observes: "The reading *ch' ei tenesser* is undoubtedly to be preferred here, on the simple principle that it fully accounts for the numerous alterations of the text, which all seem to have aimed at remedying a misunderstood idiom. That idiom is obviously nothing but the familiar Latin construction, *vereor ut dicat* = I fear that he will *not* say. Compare *cave te sentiat*, etc. No doubt *Temo che non*, or *Temo non* are also quite common in this same sense, both in Dante (*e.g. Inf.* ii, 35, 64; iii, 80; xvii, 76, etc.) and elsewhere. The fact that the other construction is less usual, possibly

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E così vid' io già temer li fanti
Ch' uscivan patteggiati di Caprona,* 95
Veggendo sè tra nimici cotanti.
Io m' accostai † con tutta la persona

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ambiguous, and perhaps more peculiarly Latin than Italian, would fully account for its alteration here (but not so for the converse change), and also for the conjectural devices of a bolder kind, such as the substitution of *rompesser* for *tenesser*. Among the Commentators the *Ottimo* alone has che non *rompessono;* Benvenuto, Lana, Daniello and Castelvetro insert *non* before *tenesser*." Casini agrees with Dr. Moore, not so Scartazzini.

* *Caprona:* The *Chiose Anonime* (Selmi) relates that "Caprona was a castle whose garrison had perpetrated great cruelties. They were at last so closely besieged that they surrendered on promise of their lives being spared; but when afterwards they were marched out, and found themselves in the midst of enemies, nearly all of whom had had to deplore the deaths or torture, one of a brother, another of a father, another of a son, these prisoners began to turn pale and tremble with fear. And eventually they were put to death, and the compact for sparing them was not observed." The Commentary of 1343, which gives a wrong date to the siege, represents Dante as having taken part in it when only thirteen and a half years of age. Lana also confirms the account of the faith of the capitulation having been broken, and the garrison butchered. Buti gives an elaborate account, in which he makes out that all the people of the country-side surrounded the garrison as they were being marched out, yelling, "Appicca, appicca," "hang them, hang them," but that Guido da Montefeltro, the commander of the besieging force, caused the prisoners to be all bound into one long file, and protected until they reached a secluded road, by which there was a short cut for them all to escape to Lucca. But, as Scartazzini remarks, Buti was a Pisan, and anxious to give a somewhat too favourable report of the Pisan forces, more especially as his lectures, in which he relates the incident, were being delivered to Pisan students in Pisa. Gelli confirms Buti's account, but adds that the place where the prisoners were set free and put into the road to Lucca, was Asciano.

† *m' accostai:* In *Purg.* viii, 40-42, Dante uses the same expression to describe how he drew close up behind Virgil's back on the announcement by Sordello of the near approach of the Serpent:—

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Lungo il mio Duca,* e non torceva gli occhi
Dalla sembianza lor ch' era non buona.

And my Leader to me: "O thou that sittest crouching down low among the rocks of the bridge, return now to me in all security." Whereupon I arose, and came to him quickly; and the devils all sprang forward, so that I feared they would not observe the compact. And thus did I once see the foot-soldiers, who under treaty were marching out of Caprona, show fear, on seeing themselves amid such numbers of the enemy. I drew up quite close beside my Leader with all my body, and did not turn my eyes from their countenance, which was not good.

Dante is immediately threatened by the whole horde of the Demons, who both by gestures and words show how well founded were his fears. Malacoda, however, orders them to desist.

Ei chinavan gli raffi, e,—"Vuoi che 'l tocchi,"— 100
Diceva l' un con l' altro,—"in sul groppone?"—
E rispondean:—"Sì, fa che gliele accocchi."—†

"Ond' io che non sapeva per qual calle,
Mi volsi intorno, e stretto m' accostai
Tutto gelato alle fidate spalle."

* *Lungo il mio Duca:* In *Inf.* x, 52, 53, in the description of the uprising of Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti in the fiery tomb close alongside of Farinata degli Uberti, the same word *lungo* is used:—

"Allor surse alla vista scoperchiata
Un' ombra lungo questa infino al mento."

† *fa che gliele accocchi:* Castelvetro observes: "*Toccarlo in su il groppone* and *accoccargliene una* are expressions used by the lowest classes and in proverbs. The first is commonly said of those who job their donkeys behind with a stick to make them go faster; the second is a term in archery. Dante makes these Demons converse in the most plebeian language, as he will also make them act in plebeian ways, as for instance, thrusting out their tongue in derision, and still grosser

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Ma quel demonio che tenea sermone
Col Duca mio, si volse tutto presto
E disse :—" Posa, posa, Scarmiglione."—* 105

They were lowering their prongs, and kept saying one to the other: " Wilt thou that I touch him up upon the rump ? " And they answered : " Yes, try and nick it into him." But that Demon (Malacoda), who was holding speech with my Leader, turned round with all speed and said: " Quiet, quiet, Scarmiglione."

It will be noticed that of the Demons mentioned by name, Scarmiglione is the only one whom Malacoda does not select to accompany the Poets. Benvenuto remarks that a better nickname for him would be *Spezzapatti, i.e.* " a breaker of treaties " ; and he adds that Malacoda was obliged to check the threatened attack upon Dante, as it would have been too open a breach of faith if it had taken place in his presence; and he preferred that they should first get out of sight of him, so that he should not appear to be an accomplice of the treachery.

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actions. Lord Vernon (*Inferno*) commenting on this passage, says, "*fa* in modo *che gliele, i.e.* glielo, cioè l' uncino *accocchi*, affibbi, attacchi. *Accoccarla ad uno* è locuzione che vale *affibbiargli bene la botta, aggiustargli bene la percossa, conciarlo bene.*"

* *Posa, posa, Scarmiglione:* In this passage Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) interprets *posare* as " to be quiet, to cease or desist from what one is doing " ; as in *Purg.* ii, 85, where Casella bids Dante desist from his fruitless attempts to embrace his unsubstantial impalpable form :—

" Soavemente disse ch' io posasse."

In like manner in *Purg.* xxxi, 76-78, where the Angels leave off casting flowers over Beatrice :—

" E come la mia faccia si distese,
Posarsi quelle prime creature
Da loro aspersion l' occhio comprese."

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Division IV.—Malacoda now gives the Poets directions as to the road they are to follow, and causes them to be attended by a guard of ten Fiends, whom he professes to be sending that way to see if any of the sinners are out airing themselves above the surface of the pitch. In the lines that follow, we learn several important facts. *First*, how Malacoda mixed up truth and falsehood the better to entrap the Poets. *Secondly*, at what hour, how long ago, and for what cause, one of the bridges had got broken down. *Thirdly*, we learn in what year Dante made the journey, and on what day he has this conversation with the Demons.

The following explanation by Blanc (*Saggio*, pp. 214-216) brings the passage very clearly before us: "Malacoda wishes to mingle truth and falsehood, that he may deceive the Poets, and keep them longer in his power, so as to do them an injury should the occasion present itself. He tells them that the Sixth Bridge lies in ruins, which is perfectly true, but the Poets might have seen that for themselves from where they were standing, at the *inner* end of the Fifth Bridge. To give his words a semblance of truth, Malacoda further tells the Poets exactly when the bridge was broken down, and here again he tells them what is true. But now begins the falsehood. He assures them that if they will only keep along the cliff. they will find, not very far onward, another bridgeway by which one can pass. This is a lie, for we read in Canto xxiii,* that in the Sixth *Bolgia*,

* See *Inf.* xxiii, 133-144, where Fra Catalano, one of the

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where are the Hypocrites, all the bridges in succession are broken down."

Poi disse a noi :—" Più oltre andar per questo
Iscoglio non si può, perocchè giace
Tutto spezzato a fondo l' arco sesto:
E se l' andare avanti pur vi piace,
Andatevene su per questa grotta; * 110
Presso è un altro scoglio che via face.
Ier, più oltre † cinqu' ore che quest' otta,
Mille dugento con sessanta sei ‡
Anni compiè, che qui la via fu rotta.

Frati Gaudenti, corrects Virgil's misapprehension as to their way, in which he had been misled by Malacoda :—

" Rispose adunque: ' Più che tu non speri
S' appressa un sasso, che dalla gran cerchia
Si move, e varca tutti i vallon feri,
Salvo ch' a questo è rotto, e nol coperchia:
Montar potrete su per la ruina,
Che giace in costa, e nel fondo soperchia.'
Lo Duca stette un poco a testa china,
Poi disse: ' Mal contava la bisogna
Colui, che i peccator di là uncina.'
E il frate: ' Io udi' già dire a Bologna
Del Diavol vizii assai, tra i quali udi'
Ch' egli è bugiardo, e padre di menzogna.' "

**grotta :* Compare *Purg.* i, 48 :—
"Che dannati, venite alle mie grotte."
In a note on that passage we explained that *grotta* must not be taken there in its primary meaning of "cave, grotto," but in its secondary meaning of "Luogo dirupato e scosceso (*i.e* a precipice)." It was also noticed that the word is commonly used in Tuscany for the terraces banked up against the sides of the hills, on which are grown vines, oranges, figs and other crops. With the double meaning of *grotta*, we may compare the Latin *vallum*, signifying either a ditch or a rampart.

† *più oltre* here means "further on," *i.e.* "later." It is taken in that sense by nearly all the Old Commentators. I cannot agree with Mr. Tozer, who translates it "before."

‡ *Mille dugento con sessanta sei :* Lana has a very important variant here. He reads *Mille dugento* uno *con sessanta sei*. Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 46 *et seq.*) says that this reading

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> Then he said to us: "To go further along this bridgeway is not possible, because the sixth arch lies all broken to pieces at the bottom (of the *Bolgia*): and if it still pleases you to go forward, wend your way along this cliff (*i.e.* the bank between the lake of pitch and the *Bolgia* of the Hypocrites); hard by there is another bridge which affords a passage. Yesterday, five hours later than this hour, completed one thousand two hundred and sixty-six years since this way was broken down.

This is perhaps the most important reference to time in the whole of the *Divina Commedia.* I take my stand upon Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 214), and give his words *in extenso*: "Yesterday (says the Demon) were completed 1266 years since the ruin of the bridge. It was the common opinion in those times that as the Conception of our Lord took place on the 25th March, so also His birth occurred on the 25th December, and His death on the 25th March. And it was moreover believed that Christ at His death was thirty-three

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occurs in two very important MSS., viz.: the *Codice Landiano* at Piacenza, of 1336, and the most celebrated of the MSS. of the Marchese Trivulzio at Milan, of 1337, and these are probably the two oldest dated MSS. in existence; at least of MSS. bearing really reliable dates. Dr. Moore, while giving several reasons by which this curious variant may be explained, thinks it is clearly spurious, since the clumsy way in which the required unit is supplied indicates a manifest afterthought. Benvenuto thus alludes to this variant: "Et hic nota quod aliqui textus magis moderni habent aliam literam sic; *Mille dugento uno e sessanta sei*, sed ista discordantia accidit propter discordantiam opinionum quia, ut jam dixi, aliqui volunt quod Christus vixerit triginta tribus annis, alii quod triginta quatuor, et de hoc audivi magnam disputationem; sed prima opinio et ita prima litera videtur melior. Et ex hoc vide quod iste computavit annos a passione, quia si computasset a nativitate erant mille trecenti."

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years of age. Therefore, if one adds together the 1266 years, *plus* the year from the Conception to the Birth, and from this to the death, *i.e.* 1266 + 1 + 33, we get the result, that Dante represents himself as having made his marvellous journey in the year 1300, which accords with the first line of the *Commedia*, wherein he determines as the epoch of his vision the thirty-fifth year, or rather the middle, of his life. He was born in 1265, and had therefore in 1300 attained half the natural course of human life. Far more difficult is it to determine on what day this conversation (between Malacoda and the Poets) took place. There is no doubt that Malacoda asserts that the great landslip occurred on the day before; but what day would that be? Dante without actually saying so in precise words, gives us clearly to know that in his opinion, the earthquake which took place at the instant of Christ's death was the cause of these landslips in Hell. Virgil too (*Inf.* xii) * tells Dante that a portion of the cliff which girded the Circle of the Violent had made its downfall a little while before that Mighty One † descended into Hell, and levied the great spoil from Dis; an evident allusion to the

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* *Inf.* xii, 37-45:—

"Ma certo poco pria, se ben discerno,
Che venisse Colui che la gran preda
Levò a Dite del cerchio superno,
Da tutte parti l' alta valle feda
Tremò sì, ch' io pensai che l' universo
Sentisse amor, per lo qual è chi creda
Più volte il mondo in Caos converso:
Ed in quel punto questa vecchia roccia
Qui ed altrove tal fece riverso."

† See *Inf.* iv, 52 *et seq.*

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descent of Christ into Hell, and obviously meaning that His death was caused by the violence and hypocrisy of the Pharisees, for which reason the earthquake which accompanied it would be felt in Hell just at those two places, namely, in the Circle of the Violent, and in the Circle of the Hypocrites. If the landslip occurred, as Dante supposes, at the time of Christ's death, the 'yesterday' (*ieri*), of which Malacoda speaks, would of necessity be on Good Friday, and his conversation with the Poets must have taken place on a Saturday. So far all is quite clear. But the great difficulty is to know whether Dante had in his mind the day of Christ's death, namely the 25th of March, on which day it was the popular belief that God had created the World, or whether he was thinking of the Good Friday of 1300. Some might incline to the latter presumption as the most natural of all; but the determination of the Full Moon of 1300 does not at all agree with it."

Blanc then states the difficulties resulting from the fact that the Full Moon occurred on the 4th April (which seems to be an error for the 5th April). But (as Dr. Moore remarks to me), in either case, it was not, as Dante more than once implies, on the night of Thursday in Holy Week (*i.e.* 7th April, in 1300). These difficulties seem to result entirely from Blanc supposing Dante to be referring to the Full Moon as determined by astronomical calculations, and not by the calendar. By the latter the ecclesiastical seasons were determined. In 1300 there was a difference of two days between the astronomical and ecclesiastical Full Moon. The latter did, in

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fact, fall on 7th April in 1300, as may be seen in any calendar of that period. If the Calendar Moon be taken, the difficulties raised by Blanc disappear, and there is no reason to say, as he does, "that the Full Moon must be explained as a poetic fiction." No one even thought of raising the question as to which kind of Moon Dante was referring until more than two centuries after his death. It was apparently taken for granted that he was referring to the Calendar Moon, as an ordinary reader would naturally assume. It may be doubted whether information as to the real or astronomical Moon would be accessible to Dante himself, much less to most readers.

Dr. Moore (*Time References*, pp. 44, 45) thinks that in this passage we ought to take five hours before 12, and not five hours before 3 o'clock. He says: "Seeing that Dante in the *Convito* * distinctly argues, both on *a priori* and on *a posteriori* grounds, that our Lord's death took place at the *sixth* and not at the *ninth* hour, *i.e.* at noon and not at 3 P.M., it can scarcely be doubted that we are in this passage to take five hours before 12, and not five hours before 3—in other words, 7 A.M. and not 10 A.M. It matters, therefore, little to note that Dante has erroneously cited St. Luke in this particular; the Evangelist's statement about the sixth hour referring, not to Christ's death, but to His promise to the penitent thief. For we may safely employ here, in regard to the *hour* of our Lord's death, the argument of Castel-

* The passage in *Conv.* iv, 23, ll. 103-107: "E ciò ne manifesta l' ora del giorno della sua morte, chè volle quella consomigliare colla vita sua; onde dice Luca [xxiii, 44], che era quasi ora sesta quando morìò, che è a dire lo colmo del dì."

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vetro in reference to the years of His life in this passage, *viz.*, that we must adopt the view *maintained elsewhere by Dante himself* ('in questo luogo Dante seguita la sua opinione, non quella degli altri'). It should be added that the early Commentators, including the *Chiose Anonime* (edited by Selmi), Lana, the *Ottimo*, the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, Benvenuto, Landino, Vellutello, Bargigi, and Daniello, are absolutely unanimous upon this point, *viz.*, that 7 A.M. is the hour indicated. There is not one who even raises a doubt on the point."

Gelli fully confirms this view, saying that Dante was above the Circle of the Diviners at sunrise on the morning of Holy Saturday, and the Poets had occupied another hour in conversing as they walked along, as well as in their interview with Malacoda. Gelli notices too that Malacoda dares not utter the name of Jesus Christ, but uses a circumlocution to make Dante understand that he meant to allude to His death.

Malacoda now resorts to a *second* device to entrap the Poets. He has told them that further on they will find *another* bridge, which in reality he knows is broken down; but he knows that they will not be able to deviate to the right or left from off the cliff that skirts the lake of pitch; and so he pretends that he is sending some of his Demons to watch the sinners in the pitch, and that if they avail themselves of the escort, it will be of advantage to them. Castelvetro remarks that under no circumstances would the company of the Demons benefit the Poets, for they *could* only go one way and did not require guidance, while

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as for acquiring any knowledge of the identity of the Barrators in the pitch, the fact of their being accompanied by the Fiends would be a distinct disadvantage to them, as the sinners would, the instant they descried their tormentors, at once dive down out of sight; whereas, had the Poets been alone, the hapless sufferers would, without fear of molestation, have come up above the surface of the pitch, and would have given Dante the information he sought. Malacoda now summons the chosen ten, and names Barbariccia as their *decurion* or corporal.

Io mando verso là di questi miei 115
A riguardar s' alcun se ne sciorina: *
Gite con lor, ch' ei non saranno rei."—†
—"Trâtti avanti, Alichino e Calcabrina,"—
Cominciò egli a dire,—"e tu, Cagnazzo,
E Barbariccia guidi la decina. 120
Libicocco vegna oltre, e Draghinazzo,
Ciriatto sannuto, e Graffiacane,
E Farfarello, e Rubicante pazzo.

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* *se ne sciorina:* The primary meaning of *sciorinare* as given in the *Gran Dizionario* is to hang out clothes in the air: "Spiegare all' aria; e si dice per lo più de' panni." Hence it comes to mean "to open, or unbutton one's clothes for coolness during hot weather." The present passage is thus explained: "Sollevarsi per prendere ristoro in aria o postura men calda." Compare Filippo Villani, xi, cap. 97: "Quale si bagnava in Arno, quale si sciorinava al meriggio, e chi, disarmandosi, in altro modo prendea rinfrescamento." Benvenuto expounds the passage thus: "that is, if any of the punished ones comes out with his body above the pitch to get relief from its suffering, as though he would say, 'if any should attempt to cool himself in the slightest degree, for I want them to boil unceasingly inside the pitch.'"

† *ch' ei non saranno rei:* Benvenuto, Tommaséo, and Scartazzini interpret this in the sense I have adopted, namely, that the Poets need not fear any attack from the Demons. Gelli explains it quite differently, taking the passage to mean: "It will be none the worse for you to have their escort."

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Cercate intorno le boglienti pane ;
Costor sien salvi insiho all' altro scheggio 125
Che tutto intero va sopra la tane."—*

I am sending in that direction (*i.e.* towards the supposed unbroken bridge) some of these my followers to look out if any one is out airing himself (*i.e.* above the surface): go ye with them, for they will not be aggressive. Come forward, Alichino and Calcabrina," he began to say, "and thou Cagnazzo, and let Barbariccia lead the ten. Let Libicocco come besides, and Draghinazzo, Ciriatto with the tusks, and Graffiacane, and Farfarello, and mad Rubicante. Explore all round the simmering pitch; let these be unmolested as far as the other bridge which runs unbroken above the dens (*i.e.* the ten *Bolge*)."

Malacoda's apparently courteous assurance of safety to the Poets is false. He tells his followers that they are to be safe *as far as the next bridge which runs unbroken over the dens.* He knows perfectly well that the said bridge is broken down like the other, and, therefore, such promise of safety is valueless.

Castelvetro gives the following list of the ten Fiends, with references to the lines in which they are mentioned in the next Canto:—

1. BARBARICCIA, the Decurion (xxii, ll. 29, 59 and 145).
2. ALICHINO . . . („ l. 112).
3. CALCABRINA . . . („ l. 133).
4. CAGNAZZO . . . („ l. 106).
5. LIBICOCCO . . . („ l. 70).
6. DRAGHINAZZO . . . („ l. 73).
7. CIRIATTO *sannuto* . . („ l. 55).
8. GRAFFIACANE . . . („ l. 34).
9. FARFARELLO . . . („ l. 94).
10. RUBICANTE *pazzo* . . („ l. 40).

* *tane:* The word *tana* properly signifies the lair of a wild beast. Here it means, *fossa, bolgia.*

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Various explanations of these names are given by Benvenuto, Buti, the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, Gelli, Scartazzini and Rossetti. I reproduce those of Gelli, because they are a summary of those of the first-named three. He observes: "Hence they say that *Alichino* * signifies one who inclines or bends others to this vice of Barratry; *Calcabrina*, that corruption of the mind which follows after the above inclination; *Cagnazzo*, one who is like a raging and biting dog from his rapacity; *Barbariccia*, that astuteness with which one tries to conceal those actions that would be blamed, because physiognomists have always considered that a curly beard signifies fraud and malice. *Libicocco*, they think, means burning lust, as also that insatiable cupidity in amassing wealth; *Draghinazzo*, that venom which is found in such men as the Barrators, which not only injures themselves, but infects and poisons others also. *Ciriatto sannuto* is interpreted by the Imolese (Benvenuto) as quick of hand to rob (from χείρ), and of tusk to wound; and by Buti, as an injurer of his neighbours, one who hurts whosoever comes to him, like a boar (χοῖρος). *Graffiacane*, falsity itself, for under the semblance of a dog he has the power of scratching, which is the attribute of a cat, so that he lacerates all who have to do with him. *Farfarello* is interpreted by the Imolese as meaning

* Some derive Alichino from *allicere* "to entice," and to signify "the enticer." This is very Florentine. In like manner *Frullare* means "to bustle about, to busy oneself quickly and actively with one thing after another." One who does so, would at Florence be called, half in joke, half in praise, "*Frullino!*"

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one who entraps and bamboozles everybody; for it is a custom very peculiar to Barrators to entangle, as much as possible with words, whosoever does business with them. *Rubicante pazzo*, the last, means raging and furious."

Scartazzini gives some different interpretations that are worthy of notice. He takes *Alichino* to be derived from *chinar le ali.* And in xxii, 112 *et seq.*, we read of Alichino saying that he will be quick to beat his wings above the pitch. *Calcabrina*, one who tramples upon the hoar-frost, which is white, and possibly signifies one who tramples upon the party of the *Bianchi* (?) *Libicocco*, from Libya, the deserts of which were thought to be peopled by multitudes of Demons. *Graffiacane*, one who likes to rend sinners with his prongs. *Cani* are the damned (*Inf.* vi, 19); and *Inf.* viii, 42. Rubicante, the blood-red one, from *ruber.*

Notice the very ingenious and perhaps not improbable suggestion of Rossetti (*Comento Analitico*) that these Demons, twelve in all, with Malacoda and Scarmiglione, are parodies of some of the magistrates of Florence in A.D. 1300. Rossetti observes that there were twelve Demons and there were twelve *Priori* when Cardinal Acquasparta entered Florence; there were also twelve *Sindaci Neri*, elected first to treat with him and the returned *Bianchi*, and then summoned by the Pope to render an account of their proceedings. He thinks these names of the Demons may very likely be corruptions, alterations, or anagrammatical contortions of the names of the *Priori* and of the *Sindaci Neri;* one name may recall the face of one of them, another may refer to some habit

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or custom of some other of them. It is quite clear that these marvellous words are neither Biblical, Christian, or Mythological; and if the erudite Dante had merely wished to baptise Demons without other cause, he would have made use of a nomenclature taken from Holy Writ, as Milton did; or he would never have given such graceful names as *Calcabrina* and *Alichino*. There may be some corroboration of his idea, Rossetti thinks, in the fact that at the time of the entrance of the Cardinal into Florence *Manno Branca* was Podestà; and from his name people may have got to call the magistrates under his sway *Malebranche*. If one remembers that the *Gonfaloniere di Giustizia*, or corporal of the city at that time was *Jacopo Ricci*, one may be able to understand how the corporal of the band of ten Demons came to be called *Barbariccia*. If one remembers that one of the *Priori* at the same time was one of the *Raffacani*, one may see from whence was bestowed on Hell the gift of the Demon *Graffiacane*. *Rubicante pazzo* may have been the nick-name of Pazzin' de' Pazzi, who may have been rubicund in the face, with red hair. Rossetti's ideas as to the others are too long to quote at length, but his *Riflessioni sul Canto xxi* are well worthy of perusal.*

* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, ii, pp. 231-234) alludes to this, and especially on p. 232, where he says: "I must say I cannot imagine any more likely explanation than that suggested by Rossetti, and if we find nearly half of these names still at this interval of more than five centuries, in spite of their obscurity, and in spite of the very various and fanciful devices by which such travesties may be effected, lending themselves pretty easily to some such explanation, the inference that such explanation is the true one becomes almost irresistible."

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Dante's terror is aroused when he realises in what dangerous company the journey is to be resumed, and half mad with fear he entreats Virgil to dispense with so ruffian-like an escort. Virgil, however, soothes him and restores his courage.

—"O me! Maestro, che è quel che io veggio?"—
Diss' io:—"deh! senza scorta andiamci soli,
Se tu sai ir, ch' io per me non la chieggio.
Se tu sei sì accorto come suoli, 130
Non vedi tu ch' ei digrignan li denti,
E colle ciglia ne minaccian duoli?"—*
Ed egli a me:—"Non vo' che tu paventi:
Lasciali digrignar pure a lor senno,
Ch' ei fanno ciò per li lessi † dolenti."— 135

"Alas!" I said: "Master, what is this I see? I beseech thee, let us go alone without escort if thou knowest the way, as for myself I ask it not. If thou art as observant as thou art wont, dost thou not see how they grind their teeth, and with their brows threaten us with mischief?" And he to me: "I will not have thee fear: let them grind away just as they like, for they are doing it at the boiled sufferers."

The Fiends now turn to Malacoda to receive from their real captain the signal of departure. Barbariccia was only their *decurion*, their corporal. As they turned, they made a grimace with their tongues

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* *duoli:* Some understand the word in the sense of *inganni*, "deceit, treachery," from the Latin *dolus*. Blanc and Scartazzini so interpret it, but I follow Benvenuto and Buti, who understand it "woe, mischief, harm." Compare the French *deuil*. The *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. § 1 has: "*Duolo*, s.m. *dolore*." And § 8: "*Fig.* per *Guai*, *Mala ventura*, *Danno*."

† *lessi:* *Lesso* is a word principally used in Tuscany, whereas in other parts of Italy the word *bollito* is more generally heard. In a Tuscan *bourgeois* dinner "il lesso" (*le bouilli*) invariably follows after "la minestra" (*le pot-au-feu*).

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between their teeth, some say with the accompaniment of a loathsome noise in imitation of what was to follow. This, says Biagioli, is a common habit of the low populace, when they wish to deride any one, and do not want their outburst of laughter to be heard. Biagioli thinks they did this to make a private sign to their captain, Malacoda, that they had understood the full drift of his equivocal order to them that the Poets were to be safe from harm as far as the next unbroken bridge.

The Canto concludes by Malacoda giving them their marching signal, in a manner so revolting and grotesque, that many have blamed Dante for recording it, but Benvenuto, followed by Gelli, thinks that Dante did so purposely, because he who has no respect for justice, but corrupts and sells it brutally, will let himself down to any act, no matter how vile, how abominable, or how wicked; and moreover, the violation of justice in men, is like unto the violation of honour in women; for having afterwards no respect left, either for honour or for anything else, they are capable of any act, be it ever so disgusting.

Per l' argine sinistro * volta dienno;
Ma prima avea ciascun la lingua stretta
Coi denti, verso lor duca per cenno,
Ed egli avea del cul fatto trombetta.

Upon the left bank they wheeled about; but first each of them had squeezed his tongue with his teeth towards their leader (Malacoda) as a signal,

* *Per l' argine sinistro:* This merely signifies that when the motley party, consisting of Virgil, Dante and the Demons, reached the far side of the bridge, they took the bank that lay to their left.

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and he (as a counter-signal) had made of his rear
a trumpet.

I have followed the *Comento di Anonimo* (ed. Lord Vernon, 1848), Gelli, Cesari, Biagioli, Lord Vernon and *Philalethes* in thinking that it was Malacoda between whom and the Fiends these loathsome signals passed. Out of thirty-nine Commentaries that I have examined, I find seventeen doubtful, sixteen for Barbariccia and six for Malacoda. My own opinion is that Malacoda was their captain, Barbariccia their corporal; when once started, the Fiends would obey Barbariccia's orders, but while still in the presence of their captain, they would not be thinking much about him who was to be their temporary leader when they were on the march. Besides this, their captain, Malacoda, by the deceitful information given to the Poets, had just perpetrated an act of villainy after their very hearts, and they take this mode of showing their appreciation of it.

I venture to think also that *duca* (l. 138) implies the *chief* leader, and not one who had a superior officer present. It seems to agree better with the words of Malacoda in l. 115: "*Io mando* . . . di questi miei." There might also, in the very word *mala coda*, be an implied allusion to that Demon's impropriety in l. 139.

END OF CANTO XXI.

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CANTO XXII.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE—(CONTINUED)—THE FIFTH BOLGIA (CONTINUED): THE BARRATORS—CIAMPOLO THE NAVARRESE—FRA GOMITA—MICHEL ZANCHE.

GELLI defends this Canto from some who assert that it merely describes grotesque scenes more repulsive than agreeable, and who say: *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*, adding that Dante, in like manner, must have been asleep when he wrote it. Such an idea is beneath contempt. In a perfect whole there must be contrasts; variety, not sameness. In music, discords in one place bring out beauties by contrast in another. Dante has evidently wished in the present Canto to follow this natural law.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 30, Dante describes the troop of Demons, and the position and attitudes of the tormented.

In *Division* II, from ver. 31 to ver. 63, the Poets witness the maltreatment of a Barrator named Ciampolo.

In *Division* III, from ver. 64 to ver. 90, Ciampolo tells them who are his companions in suffering.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 91 to ver. 151, we read how Ciampolo, by a cunning device, escapes from

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the clutches of the Demons, who thereupon turn their fury against each other.

Division I.—Dante, by way of linking on this Canto to the repulsive incident that closed the last, declares himself totally unable to find a suitable comparison for such a marching signal as that given by Malacoda in any operations, whether naval or military, regular or irregular, whether in peace or in war, whether by land or by sea, that have ever come under his cognizance.

Io vidi già cavalier* mover campo,
E cominciare stormo,† e far lor mostra,
E talvolta partir per loro scampo:
Corridor ‡ vidi per la terra vostra,

---

* *cavalier:* Benvenuto contends that by this must be understood both horse and foot-soldiers (*intellige tam de pedestribus, quam de equestribus*).

† *stormo:* Akin to the German *Sturm* (a tempest). The word has several significations, about which the Commentators differ a good deal. Some interpret it "the assault"; some "squadron, host, troop." Toselli thinks it means *il suonare la campana a stormo*, in fact, the French word *tocsin*. "*Stormo* è quando alcuna gente è ad assedio ad alcuno castello over fortezza, e propogne di fare suo podere a quelli dentro per superchiarli e vincerli. E usasi di darli la battaglia da più lati con grande romore e con grandi gridi, per spaurire quelli di dentro; e anche questo tumulto sta in sua memoria." (Lana). Benvenuto says much the same, but says of the assault: "qui actus etiam habet fieri sub certo signo." I follow Lombardi, Tommaséo, Bargigi, Volpi, Br. Bianchi and Scartazzini, who interpret it as the first skirmishing at the commencement of a battle.

‡ *Corridor:* "quelli che fanno *correrie* guastando e depredando pel territorio de' nemici." (Di Siena). "*Corridori*, o *scorridori* (chè l' una e l' altra voce si truova ne' nostri antichi) erono chiamati certi i quali andavano innanzi a la massa del campo, per scoprire paese e per vedere se il cammino era sicuro, e parte ancor per saccheggiare e predare." (Gelli).

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O Aretini,* e vidi gir gualdane,† 5
Ferir torneamenti, e correr giostra,‡

"Homines currentes in furore populari." (Benvenuto). "Stando l' oste degli Aretini a Montevarchi, scorsero certi scorridori insieme con gli usciti di Firenze insino a S. Donato in collina, ardendo e guastando case e capanne, e menandone prede e prigioni." (Giov. Villani, Lib. vii, cap. 127, quoted by Gelli from a copy of Villani somewhat differently worded from my own copy).

* *O Aretini:* Dante is supposed here to be making allusion to the incidents that preceded and followed the battle of Campaldino in 1289, in which Dante, according to tradition, took part. But Dr. Paget Toynbee in his *Dante Dictionary* (s.v. *Aretini*) observes that such incidents as Dante describes in the text must have been common enough during the hostilities between Florence and Arezzo after the expulsion of the Guelphs from the latter city in 1287.

† *gualdane:* "Cavalcate le quali si fanno alcuna volta in sul terreno de' nemici a rubare et ardere e pigliar prigioni." (Buti). Donkin (*Etymological Dictionary*) derives *gualdana* from the Middle High German word *Woldan*, a storming. Compare Matteo Villani (*Cron.*), Lib. ix, cap. 54: "Niuna fede nè niuna pietà è in quegli uomini che seguitano gli eserciti d' armi, cioè a dire in gualdana, a predare e a far male." And Ricordano Malespini, *Istoria Fiorentina*, cap. 142: "E quella [insegna] de' guastatori era bianca, con ribaldi dipinti in gualdana giucando."

‡ *Ferir torneamenti, e correr giostra:* Gelli points out that there is a marked distinction between these two warlike exercises. In a *torneamento* an equal number of combatants is selected from each side, and being arrayed in an open field, they are at liberty, on the signal being given, to attack each other in any way they please, as was done in "the Ducal Square [*i.e. Piazza della Signoria*]" at Florence, after that State had re-conquered Pisa. In the *giostra* the knights tilted at each other with blunted lances in lists across a curtain of drapery, and hence the expression that jousts were *run*, whereas Dante says that he has seen tournaments *fought*, when wounds were freely dealt in the fierce *mêlée*. The story of such an incident may be read in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (chap. xii), in the account of the second day of the lists at Ashby. I extract from it the following definition of *torneamenti:* "In fact, although the general tournament, in which all knights fought at once, was more dangerous than single encounters, they were [*sic*], nevertheless, more frequented and practised by the chivalry of the age."

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Quando con trombe, e quando con campane,*
Con tamburi e con cenni di castella,
E con cose nostrali † e con istrane;
Nè già con sì diversa ‡ cennamella § 10

---

* *campane:* In the time of Dante the Florentines were in the habit of leading out to battle a car, painted vermilion, drawn by oxen, and called the *Carroccio.* Upon this car was hung a large bell called the *Martinella,* which, according to Ricordano Malespini (cap. 168), the Florentines used to ring day and night, in order that they might arrogantly give their enemies notice of their approach, and time to prepare.

† *nostrali:* All about the streets in Florence may be read in the wine-shop windows: "*Vino nostrale,*" *i.e.* "Native wine, wine of the country."

‡ *diversa:* This word has many significations. The more common interpretation of it is "strange, uncouth," but I take it rather in the sense which the *Vocabolario della Crusca* gives in § 7, *viz.,* "horrible, disgusting, unseemly," in which sense Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) interprets it. Di Siena renders it *inconveniente.* Compare *Inf.* vi, 13:—

"Cerbero, fiera crudele e diversa."

Blanc says it is often difficult to know which meaning to take, as for instance, *Inf.* vii, 105:—

"Entrammo giù per una via diversa."

Compare also *Inf.* xxxiii, 151-153:—

"Ahi Genovesi, uomini diversi
D' ogni costume, e pien d' ogni magagna,
Perchè non siete voi nel mondo spersi?"

Compare also *Vita Nuova,* § xxiii, ll. 20-30: "E però mi giunse uno sì forte smarrimento, ch' io chiusi gli occhi e cominciai a travagliare come farnetica persona, ed imaginare in questo modo: che nel cominciamento dell' errare che fece la mia fantasia, apparvero a me certi visi di donne scapigliate, che mi diceano: Tu pur morrai. E dopo queste donne, m' apparvero certi visi diversi ed orribili a vedere, i quali mi diceano: Tu se' morto."

§ *cennamella:* Donkin (*Etym. Dict.*) has: "*Ceramella, cennamella,* a shawm; a corruption of O. Fr. *chalemel?* Mod. Fr. *chalumeau,* Prov. *caramel,* Sp. *caramillo,* flute; from *calamus,* a reed; Low Latin *calamel.*" Nearly all the Commentators understand *cennamella* to be a wind instrument. Nannucci (*Manuale della Letteratura,* etc., vol. i, p. 519) gives the following extract from a poem of Dino Compagni called *L' Intelligenza*:—

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Cavalier vidi mover, nè pedoni,
Nè nave a segno di terra o di stella.*

I have seen ere now horsemen striking their camp, and commencing the attack, and setting their battle-array, and sometimes retreating for their safety: I have seen raiders over-running your territory, O people of Arezzo, and I have seen marauding squadrons set off, tournaments fought, and jousts run, sometimes with trumpets, and sometimes with bells, with drums and with signals from castles, and with things native and with foreign; but never yet to so unseemly a bugle-call did I see horsemen or footmen set out, nor ship by any sign of land or of star.

Benvenuto considers that the Barrators seen by the Poets in the last Canto were those who trafficked for, or in, offices of State, while those to be described now are they who bought and sold the favours of their employers.

After making the above soliloquy, Dante resumes the narrative.

Noi andavam con li dieci dimoni:
Ahi fiera compagnia! ma nella chiesa
Coi santi,† ed in taverna coi ghiottoni. 15

"Udivi suon di molte dolzi danze
In chitarre, caribi smisurati,
Trombe, e cennamelle in concordanze.
E cembali Alamanni assai triati."

Giambullari and others read *cembanella.* Poletto (*Dizionario Dant.*) says that the great variety of readings of *cennamella* by different Commentators, while all, except Gelli (who understands it to mean a pair of cymbals), adopt Buti's interpretation that a wind instrument is meant, proves that the word used by Dante had had various forms, even from the earliest times, and that it must have been obsolete for a long time.

* *segno di terra o di stella:* Before the compass came into use in Europe, sailors steered either by landmarks or by the stars.

† *nella chiesa coi santi,* etc.: This is a proverbial expression

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We were going along with the ten Demons. Ah! fearful company! but (as the proverb says) *In the church with the saints, and in the tavern with the gluttons.*

There is an ancient saying that a man is known by what company he keeps (*noscitur a sociis*), but Benvenuto observes that Dante here wishes to represent that a good and wise man may sometimes quite legitimately and honourably, without any stain to his good name, find himself in the company of disreputable persons under perfectly reasonable circumstances, that is, according to the exigencies of time and place; as for example an upright God-fearing cleric, or a merchant of irreproachable conduct, may sometimes have to go on board a ship among pimps and harlots, because otherwise he could not transact his business; and under such circumstances a virtuous man in contact with a vicious one, is as wine would be when in contact with its lees, or oil with its sediment; where neither the wine nor the oil gets corrupted by these, but on the contrary is benefited, for virtue without an adversary gets stale. "I have said thus much (says Benvenuto) for what it is worth, as I have heard many quote this saying of Dante as an excuse for themselves, if they have been frequenting different shades of society; so please do not think that Dante asserts that it is becoming to

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to denote that one's actions must be to a certain extent regulated in accordance with the place in which one happens to be. Compare 2 *Sam.* xxii, 26, 27: "With the merciful thou wilt show thyself merciful, and with the upright man thou wilt show thyself upright. With the pure thou wilt show thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt show thyself unsavoury." *Ps.* xviii, 25, 26, has nearly the same words.

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frequent the company of the gluttonous at the tavern, except in case of necessity, as, for instance, on a journey, where the company of such people cannot well be avoided; indeed, one may really stand in the greatest need of it, should one lose one's way, or find oneself in a dangerous and insecure neighbourhood, as was the case with Dante on this occasion." Gelli thinks Dante would say that if men find themselves compelled by their duty to enter places of vice, they should do so with compunction and shame, and then quit them as soon as ever their duty allows of their doing so; but while they are there, they should do as he says (in the lines that follow) he did, and give their whole attention to the business that calls them there.

Pure alla pegola era la mia intesa,*

---

* *intesa:* Compare the early Italian poet Terino da Castelfiorentino (fl. 1250) in Nannucci's *Manuale della Letteratura*, vol. I, p. 231:—

"Che se io compio mia intenza
Di vostro innamorare,
Aggio di tutta gioia compimento."

And from Jacopo da Lentino, contemporary with the above, in Nannucci, *Man. Lett.* vol. I, p. 114:—

"Novella Canzon, prega
Quella, che senza intenza
Tuttor s' agenza—di gentil costumi,
Fuor ch' ella d' amar nega."

Intesa in this passage means *attenzione*, but the *Gran Diz.* says of it: "Che prende senso vario dalle voci che l' accompagnano." Di Siena explains the word as *intenzione*, *intento*, *attenzione*, *scopo*, *studio*, *applicazione;* in Provençal *entensa*, *ententa*. He adds that in the early days of the Italian language many words of the Latin third declension terminating in *o* were changed to the first declension. From *contendere*, *offendere*, *intendere*, were derived *contentio*, *offensio*, *intentio*, and thence came *contenza* and *contesa* for *contenzione; offenza*, *offensa*, and *offesa* for *offenzione;* and *intenza*, *intenta*, and *intesa* for *intenzione*.

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Per veder della bolgia ogni contegno,*
E della gente ch' entro v' era incesa.

Solely to the pitch was my attention (given), to notice every particularity of the *Bolgia*, and of the people that were burning within it.

We are now shown how the Barrators in two ways seek to get relief from their sufferings; like dolphins on the approach of a storm, they dart out above the surface of the pitch with upturned backs, and instantly dive down again; and like frogs, they draw near the bank to breathe with their nose and mouth alone exposed, but, for fear of the Fiends, keeping their bodies concealed.

Come i delfini,† quando fanno segno

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* *contegno:* Benvenuto, Buti, Blanc and Tommaséo explain this as *cose contenute, i.e.* what was in the *Bolgia.* But, as Scartazzini points out, one must in that case take it for granted by the context, that Dante not only wanted to see what was contained in the *Bolgia*, but also what was contained *within the people who were burning in it* (*e della gente ch' entro v' era incesa*), which is absurd! Volpi, Monti, Bargigi, Lombardi, Di Siena, Cesari, Brunone Bianchi, Scartazzini, Camerini and others, explain it to mean the condition, quality, detail, particularity, and this is the meaning I have adopted. We find *contegno* in the same sense in *Inf.* xvii, 59, 60:—

"In una borsa gialla vidi azzurro,
Che d' un leone avea faccia e contegno."

Fraticelli is uncertain, and says: "condizione, qualità; ed anche ogni cosa contenuta."

† *delfini:* In Nannucci, *Man. Lett.* vol. ii, p. 370, there is a curious extract from Bono Giamboni, *Volgarizzazione del Tesoro di Ser Brunetto Latini*, book iv, cap. 5, which shows the quaint ideas of those days about dolphins: "Dalfino è uno grande pesce e molto leggiere, che salta di sopra all' acqua; e già sono stati di quelli, che sono saltati di sopra dalla nave. E volentieri seguono le navi e le boci degli uomini, e non vanno se non molti insieme, e cognoscono il mal tempo quando dee essere, e vanno contra alla fortuna [*to windward of a storm*] che dee essere. E quando i marinari veggiono ciò, sì s' antiveggiono della fortuna [*they foresee a storm*]. . . . Ed a nullo altro animale de' acqua avviene quello che a lui, che, mentre ch' elli

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Ai marinar con l' arco della schiena, 20
Che s' argomentin * di campar lor legno;
Talor così ad alleggiar la pena
Mostrava alcun dei peccatori il dosso,
E nascondeva in men che non balena.
E come all' orlo dell' acqua d' un fosso 25
Stanno i ranocchi pur col muso fuori,†
Sì che celano i piedi e l' altro grosso; ‡
Sì stavan d' ogni parte i peccatori:
Ma come s' appressava Barbariccia,
Così si ritraean sotto i bollori. 30

---

sta sotto l' acqua, non puote spirare; e però spesso viene di sopra dell' acqua, secondo che uomo lo puote vedere quando lo trova in mare." See also Frezzi, *Il Quadriregio*, lib. i, cap. 15:—

"li lieti delfini
Givan saltando sopra l' onde chiare,
Che soglion di fortuna esser divini."

* *s' argomentin:* Gelli and Tommaséo interpret this *si sforzino e s' ingegnino;* Biagioli says that *argomentarsi* denotes the effort and intention of the mind, seconded by the necessary means for immediate actions, and therefore *ingegnarsi* very well expresses the word. Compare in Nannucci, *Man. Lett.* vol. ii, p. 424, an extract from the *Volgarizzamento dell' Arte della Guerra* di Flavio Vegezio, upon the management of a ship during a naval action: "Onde l' antenna si colla, gli taglia, e la nave inutile redde, dacchè gli argomenti onde la nave si regge, sono tagliati." And in a note Nannucci explains *argomenti* as "Istrumenti, o appresti, apprestamenti; e *argomentarsi*, è nelle Storie Pistolesi per *apprestarsi.*" Following this explanation, I translate *s' argomentin* "to make ready," which I imagine is equivalent to the nautical term "to stand by." Compare *Purg.* ii, 31-33:—

"Vedi che sdegna gli argomenti umani,
Sì che remo non vuol, nè altro velo
Che l' ali sue, tra liti sì lontani."

† *i ranocchi pur col muso fuori:* Compare *Inf.* xxxii, 31-33:—

"E come a gracidar si sta la rana
Col muso fuor dell' acqua, quando sogna
Di spigolar sovente la villana."

‡ *i piedi e l' altro grosso:* Compare *Inf.* xix, 22-24:—

"Fuor della bocca a ciascun soperchiava
D' un peccator li piedi, e delle gambe
Infino al grosso."

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Like the dolphins, when by the arching of their backs they make signal to mariners to make ready to save their ships; so now and then to alleviate the torment, would one of the sinners show his back, and hide it again in less time than it lightens. And as at the edge of the water of a moat the frogs lie with only their noses out, so that they conceal their feet and the rest of their bulk; so on either side lay the sinners: but as soon as Barbariccia drew near (with his band), so soon did they retire beneath the boiling depths.

Division II.—Dante now has an opportunity of witnessing the maltreatment of one of the Barrators by the Fiends. Cesari remarks that when the sinners dived down at the approach of their tormentors, one of them took it a little too easy, and left his head above the surface of the pitch just an instant too long. It cost him dear, for quicker than thought, he was deftly hooked by the nearest Demon, who dragged him into the clutches of his ferocious comrades.

Io vidi, ed anco il cor me n' accapriccia,*
Uno aspettar così, com' egli incontra
Che una rana rimane,† ed altra spiccia.‡

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* *accapriccia:* The *Gran Dizionario* suggests the possible derivation from *capo riccio*, "perchè ne' movimenti d' orrore i capelli s' arricciano."

† *una rana rimane*, et seq.: Compare Ovid, *Metam.* vi, 370-381, the description of the Lycian boors turned into frogs:—

". . . juvat îsse sub undas;
Et modo tota cava submergere membra palude:
Nunc proferre caput: summo modo gurgite nare:
Saepe super ripam stagni considere: saepe
In gelidos resilire lacus . . .
Vox quoque jam rauca est; inflataque colla tumescunt;
Ipsaque dilatant patulos convicia rictus.
Terga caput tangunt; colla intercepta videntur;
Spina viret; venter, pars maxima corporis, albet;
Limosoque novae saliunt in gurgite ranae."

‡ *spiccia:* There are two meanings given of *spicciare.* Here

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E Graffiacan, che gli era più d' incontra,
Gli arroncigliò le impegolate chiome, 35
E trassel su, che mi parve una lontra.*

I saw, and even now does my heart shudder thereat, one linger thus, as it will happen that one frog remains, and another jumps in. And Graffiacane, who was nearest over against him, hooked him by his pitch-entangled locks, and hauled him up, so that to me he seemed an otter.

Dante next describes the savage exultation of the Fiends over their captured victim, and how they discuss the most cruel way of tormenting him. Dante explains, however, that by paying close attention both to the names and the faces of the Demons when they were told off by Malacoda, he was now able to identify each one of them. Benvenuto contemptuously dismisses the absurd exposition of some Commentators that Dante had got up their names by a sort of *memoria technica*, for he points out that to a man of such a marvellous natural memory as Dante, there could be no possible need of any artificial assistance.

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it has the sense of escaping by a leap or spring. Its primary meaning is that of a liquid which issues forcibly from a narrow opening. In *Purg.* ix, 102, it is used to denote blood gushing from a vein:—

"Come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia."

And in *Inf.* xiv, 76-78, of a stream flowing out of the Forest of Woe:—

"Tacendo divenimmo là ove spiccia
Fuor della selva un picciol fiumicello,
Lo cui rossore ancor mi raccapriccia."

* *lontra*: Dante likens the hapless Barrator to an otter, both from the writhing of his limbs, and from the dark colour that the boiling pitch had imparted to his body. From the graphic description of the way the sinner was caught, one might almost imagine that Dante had been at an otter hunt, and seen the otter writhing on the spear.

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Io sapea già di tutti e quanti il nome,
Sì gli notai quando furono eletti,
E poi che si chiamaro, attesi come.
—"O Rubicante, fa che tu gli metti 40
Gli unghioni addosso sì che tu lo scuoi,"—*
Gridavan tutti insieme i maledetti.

I already knew the names of every one of them, so well had I marked them, when they were selected, and afterwards when they called each other, I listened how. "O Rubicante," the accursed ones all yelled together, "see that thou plant thy talons into his back so that thou flay him."

Having told his readers that he had ascertained the names of the Demons, Dante next relates how at his request Virgil induced their unhappy victim to reveal his name and antecedents.

Ed io:—"Maestro mio, fa, se tu puoi,
Che tu sappi chi è lo sciagurato
Venuto a man degli avversari suoi."— 45
Lo Duca mio gli s' accostò allato,
Domandollo ond' ei fosse, e quei rispose:
—"Io fui del regno di Navarra nato.
Mia madre a servo d' un signor mi pose,
Chè m' avea generato d' un ribaldo † 50
Distruggitor di sè e di sue cose.

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* *sì che tu lo scuoi:* Compare *Inf.* vi, 16-18, where it is said of Cerberus:—

"Gli occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta ed atra,
E il ventre largo, e unghiate le mani;
Graffia gli spirti, scuoia [Witte's reading] ed isquatra."

† *ribaldo:* So many different meanings are given to this word by Commentators, that it is not easy to decide upon the signification that Dante intended to give it, but I think it on the whole better to adopt the interpretation of Buti, which was also that of my late friend Sir James Lacaita, namely "worth-

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Poi fui famiglio del buon re Tebaldo;*
Quivi mi misi a far baratteria,
Di che io rendo ragione in questo caldo."—

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less wretch," and which is also adopted by Blanc, Gelli, Serravalle, and Casini. Buti is the only one of the old Commentators who explains it. He says: "*Ribaldo* tanto è a dire, quanto *rio baldo*, cioè, ardito rio uomo, e non si dee intendere però che [Ciampolo] fosse nato, se non legittimamente; però che delle grandi donne alcune volte si maritano ai tristi uomini." Scartazzini is positive that it means an executioner, and gives a quotation in which *ribaldo* is spoken of as the executioner who puts a criminal to death from duty and not out of hatred. Tommaséo thinks it means one addicted to women; Perticari and Strocchi say that *ribaldo* is properly speaking, "a guard of the king's person," which in Arabic was called *assassin*, that is, "a defender" (*che in arabo si disse assassino, cioè* difensore); in the same way that among the ancient Latin writers *laterones*, now *ladrones*, was the name used for those who stood *a latere regis*. By the chances of words, many that in our time are used to express infamy and opprobrium, among the ancients were used as terms of honour. *Tiranno, masnada, drudo, supplizio*, etc., show the truth of this. According to Muratori military spies were called *ribaldi*. The following passage from G. Villani (xi, cap. 140) attests this: "E certo si disse . . . che solo i ribaldi e i ragazzi dell' oste nostra avrebbono vinto colle pietre il battifolle e 'l ponte." Therefore some infer that the father of Ciampolo was not "a worthless wretch," but a soldier who destroyed himself after wasting his property. Villani (in xii, cap 20) evidently means by *ribaldi* what in our modern *parlance* we should call *roughs*: "In questo bollore di città, si levo uno folle e matto cavaliere popolano . . . raunando ribaldi e scardassieri [*wool-combers*] e simile gente volonterosi di rubare," etc. But in Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ii, Nov. 6, *ribaldo* is used, to denote a person of low birth, as the footnote says: "*Ribaldo* qui non significa *scellerato* (che altrimenti biasimevole risposta avrebbe data la donna), ma *di bassa condizione;* giacchè si contrappone a *gentil uomo.*" I find the following in Donkin, *Etymol. Dict.*: "*Ribaldo* It. Sp. Pg.; Prov. *ribaut;* Fr. *ribaud;* Eng. *ribald;* hence N. *ribballdi;* Middle High German *ribbalt;* It. (corr.) *rubaldo.* Low Latin *ribaldus* cf. Matthew Paris: *fures, exules, fugitivi, excommunicati, quos omnes ribaldos Francia vulgariter consuevit appellare* = Greek πανοῦργοι. The word *ribaldi* was also specially applied to the 'enfans perdus,' the 'black guard' of an army, hence It. *rubalda* a sort of headpiece worn by such, Fr. *ribaudequin*, a missile."

* *re Tebaldo:* Thibault II, King of Navarre, son of Thibault I,

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And I: "O my Master, contrive to learn, if thou canst, who is that ill-fated being that is fallen into the hands of his adversaries." My Leader drew near to his side, asked him whence he was, and he answered: "In the Kingdom of Navarre was I born. My mother placed me in the service of a lord, for she had borne me to a worthless wretch, the destroyer both of himself and of his possessions. After that, I was a domestic of the good King Thibault; there I set myself to practise Barratry, for which I pay heavy reckoning in this heat."

Benvenuto remarks that Dante receives from the suffering wretch the fullest information about his origin, his parents, his occupation and the crime for which he is in Hell; but that to fill up any gap in the manifestation of this strange matter, Benvenuto will tell his readers that he thinks Dante must have heard the story when he had gone to study at Paris after his shameful exile from Florence, and as he had probably heard there the unutterable frauds and wickedness of this devil [*sic*], he determined to perpetuate the ill-report of him. He seems to have been a Spaniard, born 1270, in the Kingdom of Navarre,* his mother being of noble birth, *and his*

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and Marguerite de Bourbon. Succeeded his father in 1253. He married (1258) Isabelle one of the daughters of Louis IX of France. He accompanied that monarch on his disastrous expedition against Tunis in 1270, and died that same year at Trapani in Sicily on his way home. Benvenuto says of him: "Rex Thebaldus ultra reges Navarriae fuit vir singularis justitiae et clementiae." Dr. Paget Toynbee (*Dante Dictionary*, s.v. *Tebaldo*) quotes several passages in which Thibault is commended by the contemporary Burgundian poet Rustebuef.

* "Spain contains five kingdoms, namely, the Kingdoms of Castille, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal and Granada, which last is infidel, being held by the Saracens." (Benvenuto).

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*father of vile extraction.** The latter having dissipated all his property, as Benvenuto had heard, eventually hung himself, so that he would be, at the time that Dante wrote, growing as a tree among the Suicides (*ita quod debet esse arborificatus in circulo violentorum contra se*). The son was named Ciampolus, Ciampolo, or Gian Paolo,† and was placed by his mother in the service of a great magnate (probably a grandee of Spain), where he conducted himself with so much shrewdness, that in a short time he became a favourite with his lord; and thus, assisted by his growing fame and the good-will of his master, he obtained a post at the Court of King Thibault, who exceeded all other Kings of Navarre in justice and clemency; and here again, by his native wit, he acquired the good graces and favour of this King, who, becoming greatly attached to him, entrusted to him the regulation of the whole Court, so that he had the conferring of dignities and offices in his hands, and administered all the affairs of the State. Then did he set about by fraudulent trafficking and peculation, to accumulate wealth; nor would the King ever give any credit to the numerous complaints against him. Benvenuto deplores the frequency of such occurrences, and recalls one that came under his own observation at Bologna, where

* One might infer from this that Benvenuto's interpretation of *ribaldo* is "a man of low birth."

† *Ciampolo: Philalethes* remarks that if tradition had not given him this name, he would have supposed that the person alluded to was more probably the Seneschal Godefroi de Beaumont, to whom King Thibault, in his absence, *did* entrust the government of the kingdom of Navarre.–

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the Legate of Pope Urban V, the Lord of Cluny, who was a noble, good and prudent man, had as his vicar one Bartolommeo Ruino, a most vile Barrator; and although this vicar was abhorred by everybody for his vices, yet never would his master believe anything against him, and when at last he did dismiss him, it was with the greatest reluctance and indignation. How much more praiseworthy and wise (thinks Benvenuto) was Cambyses, who caused to be flayed alive a certain judge, that for money had given an unjust sentence, and whose skin was, by the King's order, made into a covering of the seat of judgment. Such a death did Ciampolo deserve. He had skinned many by his peculations in his life-time, and now he gets half flayed by the Demons. His tale, which has been thus amplified by Benvenuto, seems to have at once whetted their thirst for blood. The scene that follows is a hideous confusion of attacks upon Ciampolo by the Fiends, and a grudgingly yielded protection by their Decurion, mixed up with fragments of conversation between Virgil and Ciampolo about the other sinners that are his companions in suffering. The terror and agony of the poor wretch are painful to read.

E Ciriatto, a cui di bocca uscia 55
D' ogni parte una sanna come a porco,
Gli fe' sentir come l' una sdrucia.*

**sdrucia :* Donkin (*Etym. Dict.* s.v. *cucire*) says that the Italian verb *sdrucire sdruscire*, to unsew, is from *resuere* with privative *s* and euphonic *d*, *sdrecire*, then, on analogy of *cuscire*, *sdruscire*. The meaning is "to unsew, to rip up the seams," hence "to rip up," as would be done by the tusks of a wild boar. The word is also used to express the splitting up, the opening, of the seams of a ship.

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Tra male gatte era venuto il sorco; *
Ma Barbariccia il chiuse con le braccia,
E disse:—"State in là, mentr' io lo inforco." †—60
Ed al Maestro mio volse la faccia:
—"Domanda,"—disse,—"ancor se più desii
Saper da lui, prima ch' altri il disfaccia."—

And Ciriatto, from whose mouth there protruded on either side a tusk like a boar's, made him feel how one of them rips. The mouse had fallen amongst evil cats, but Barbariccia locked him in his arms, and said: "Stand aside there, while I clutch him tight." And to my Master he turned his face and said: "Ask on, if thou desirest to learn more from him before the others rend him piecemeal."

Benvenuto says this is a true picture of Barrators. They are so apt at extorting for themselves any portion that they can get out of anybody or anything, that every one of them wants his special share of

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* *sorco*: Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, p. 107) upon this passage says that many Commentators contend that Dante substituted *sorco* for *sorcio* for the sake of the rhyme. He asks his readers to examine the truth of this. From the Latin accusative *soricem*, or from the ablative *sorice*, was derived the Italian *sorice*. From this came *sorce*, and from *sorce sorco;* in the same way that from *dolce* comes *dolco*. Nannucci thinks the *i* must have been inserted into *sorco* for softness of language, and it is quite clear that *sorco* was a natural word, and not used for the sake of the rhyme. The plural of *sorco* is *sorchi*, which is found in the *Rime* of Burchiello (fl. 1480):—

"Perchè dormir non posso per li sorchi,
Che fanno maggior gridi, che i porchetti."

† *lo inforco:* This means, "while I hold him tight with my arms open, clutching him like a fork," and *not*, as some contend, "while I enfork him, stick my pronged fork into him." Barbariccia, we read in l. 59, *lo chiuse con le braccia*, and ll. 61-63 show that he did so for the purpose of giving Ciampolo a momentary respite until Virgil had had time to question him; and when (l. 70) he is again attacked with the hook, it is by Libicocco and not by Barbariccia.

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remuneration. "Oh," exclaims Benvenuto, "how often have I seen similar instances of this. The chamberlain wants his perquisite, the chancellor his, even the very doorkeeper wants his, so that the unhappy victim can never get away until he is so plumed that he has not a feather left upon him; but I certainly must say that this one (Ciampolo) pleases me, although he had been a consummate rascal, for we shall see him eventually cheat all those who had despoiled him, and sow discord among them."

Division III.—In the intervals of his torments, Ciampolo answers Virgil's questions as to the other sinners immersed near him. Virgil first asks him if there are any Italians among them.

Lo Duca:—"Dunque or di' degli altri rii:
Conosci tu alcun che sia Latino * 65
Sotto la pece?"—E quegli:—"Io mi partii

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* *Latino:* Dante uses this expression generally, both in his poems, and in his prose works to signify an Italian, an inhabitant of Italy. Compare *Conv.* iv, 28, ll. 60-62: "nè il nobilissimo nostro Latino Guido Montefeltrano." It is somewhat remarkable that in *Inf.* xxvii, 33, Dante uses the same expression about the same person, Count Guido da Montefeltro, where the latter, from the flame in which he is tormented, cries up to Virgil that he has just heard him speaking in the Lombard, or North Italian dialect. Virgil signs to Dante to answer Guido, saying:—

". . . Parla tu, questi è Latino."

Compare also *Inf.* xxix, 88, 89:—

"Dinne s' alcun Latino è tra costoro
Che son quinc' entro."

And *Purg.* xiii, 91, 92:—

"Ditemi—che mi fia grazioso e caro—
S' anima è qui tra voi che sia latina."

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Poco è da un che fu di là vicino;
Così foss' io ancor con lui coperto,
Ch' io non temerei unghia nè uncino."—

My Guide (said): "Then prithee tell us about the other guilty ones: knowest thou any one beneath the pitch who is Italian (*lit.* Latin)?" And he: "I parted not long since from one who was a neighbour to those parts (*i.e.* who lived in Sardinia); would that I were again with him under cover (of the pitch), so that I need not fear claw nor hook."

At this point another interruption occurs. The first time Ciampolo had been ripped up by Ciriatto's tusks; this time he is made to feel one of the hooks; and indeed he would have felt two of them, had not Barbariccia interposed (for what reason is not shown), and made the Fiends desist for the moment. Benvenuto remarks upon the way Barbariccia is obeyed, and says that even among companies of wicked persons, there must needs be some sort of order and reverence for superior officers, as is to be seen every day in campaigns, in societies, and in conspiracies.

E Libicocco:—"Troppo avem sofferto,"—* 70
Disse, e presegli il braccio col ronciglio,
Sì che, stracciando, ne portò un lacerto.†

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* *sofferto:* The word bears both the sense, as here, of "to endure, to be patient, to bear," and also of "to permit," as in *Inf.* xvi, 46-48:—

"S' io fussi stato del foco coperto,
Gittato mi sarei tra lor disotto,
E credo che il Dottor l' avria sofferto."

† *lacerto:* "Lacerto non è vocabolo speciale; ma generico, proprissimo nel caso nostro, come quello che nasce [*inasmuch as it is derived*] dal verbo *lacerare*: e vale puramente qualche brano staccato da un tutto, referibile di preferenza a parti molli e carnose." (Scartazzini).

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Draghinazzo anco i volle dar di piglio
Giuso alle gambe; onde il decurio loro
Si volse intorno intorno con mal piglio.* 75

And Libicocco (said): "We have borne too much," and with his hook he seized on his arm in such wise that he carried away a sinew. Draghinazzo also would have laid hold on his legs below; upon which their decurion turned round and round with a threatening glance.

Benvenuto thinks there was a certain amount of foresight in Draghinazzo's wish to attack the legs of Ciampolo, for, as the result shows, he was very swift and nimble.

Notwithstanding Ciampolo's suffering and fear, Virgil induces him to resume his interrupted narrative respecting the Italian Barrator whom he said he had left shortly before beneath the pitch. Ciampolo tells him it is a Sardinian, Fra Gomita, and with him another Sardinian, Michel Zanche, both unjust judges in that island.

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* *mal piglio:* Contrast this with *dar di piglio* (l. 73). The two words are made to rhyme, because Dante treats them as distinct and separate words. He never makes a word rhyme to itself, excepting in *Purg.* xx, 65, 67, 69, where the word *ammenda* is three times repeated in ironical emphasis; *vidi* in *Par.* xxx, 95, 97, 99; and CRISTO in four separate passages of the *Paradiso* (xii, 71, 73, 75; xiv, 104, 106, 108; xix, 104, 106, 108; xxxii, 83, 85, 87). The *Gran Dizionario* gives two separate words, namely, "*Piglio*, il pigliare (the act of seizing)," and "*Piglio*, aspetto, un certo modo di guardare," which some derive from *pelo*, meaning the hair of the eyebrow. It is used both in a bad sense, as in the present passage; and in a good sense, as in *Inf.* xxiv, 19-21:—

"Chè come noi venimmo al guasto ponte,
Lo Duca a me si volse con quel piglio
Dolce, ch' io vidi prima a piè del monte."

Compare also *Purg.* iii, 64, 65:—

"Guardò a loro, e con libero piglio [*with cheerful mien*]
Rispose."

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Quand' elli un poco rappaciati foro,*
A lui che ancor mirava sua ferita,
Domandò il Duca mio senza dimoro:
—"Chi fu colui, da cui mala partita
Di' che facesti per venire a proda?"— 80
Ed ei rispose:—"Fu frate Gomita †
Quel di Gallura,‡ vasel d' ogni froda,
Ch' ebbe i nimici di suo donno in mano,
E fe' sì lor, che ciascun se ne loda:

**foro:* On this Nannucci (*Analisi Critica dei Verbi*, p. 455, § 12) says: "*Forono, forno, foron, foro.* Dalla terza sing. *fu* con la giunta di *rono*, o *ro*, si ha la terza plurale *furono*, per sincope *furno*, *furon*, *furo*. Così da *fo* per la medesima regola vien *forono*, per sincope *forno*, *foron*, *foro*."

Compare *Inf.* iii, 39:—

"Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per se foro."

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xx, st. 18:—

"Dalle lor donne i gioveni assai foro,
Ciascun per se, di rimaner pregati."

And Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* xv, st. 63:—

"L' arme che sin a qui d' uopo vi foro,
Potete omai depor securamente."

And *ibid.* i, st. 37:—

"Nell' Isola di Francia eletti fôro,
Fra quattro fiumi ampio paese e bello."

†*frate Gomita:* A native of the Island of Sardinia, but it is not known to what Order of Friars he belonged. We learn from the *Chiose Anonime* (ed. Selmi) from Lana, and from Vellutello, that he was in the employment of Nino de' Visconti of Pisa, Lord Justiciary of the Judicature of Gallura in Sardinia, where he was invested with high authority. Now although his malpractices, his peculations, and his corrupt mode of governing, were duly reported and attested to Nino, yet the latter had formed so strong an impression of his rectitude for many years past, that he never would listen to any accusations against him, believing they were all made out of envy, until at last he discovered that Fra Gomita had been bribed to release certain prisoners who had been committed to his charge, and who were great enemies of Nino. Convinced at last of his treachery, Nino had Fra Gomita hanged, some say by the foot.

‡*Gallura:* After the Republic of Pisa had conquered the Island of Sardinia from the Saracens in 1117, they partitioned

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Denar si tolse, e lasciolli di piano,* 85
Sì com' ei dice: e negli altri offizi anche
Barattier fu non picciol, ma soprano.†

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it into the four Judicatures of (1) Logodoro or delle Torri; (2) Calari, Caluri, or Cagliari; (3) Gallura; and (4) Alborea. Nino Visconti of Gallura is encountered by Dante in Purgatory in the Happy Valley of the Illustrious Princes (*Purg.* viii, 46-84), where Dante's interview with Nino is related in great detail. Mark especially ll. 52-55:—

"Vêr me si fece, ed io vêr lui mi fei:
Giudice Nin gentil, quanto mi piacque,
Quando ti vidi non esser tra i rei!
Nullo bel salutar tra noi si tacque," etc.

In ll. 79-81 of the same Canto he is represented speaking with much annoyance of his widow's re-marriage with one of the Visconti of Milan, whose crest was a viper, while his own was a cock:—

"Non le farà sì bella sepoltura
La vipera ch' *il* Milanese accampa [*i.e. displays on his shield*],
Com' avria fatto il gallo di Gallura."

**di piano;* Not "secretly, privily," as some have rendered it; but "freely, without hindrance (*liberamente, senza contrasto*)." See Dr. Moore's admirable essay *Dante's Attitude towards Sins* in *Studies in Dante*, second series, where, after saying that Dante undertakes to present to us with an unflinching realism the well-merited punishment of the worst types both of sins and sinners, he adds that we cannot expect a high level of refinement in all the details . . . and that if the sin avenged be exceptionally flagrant, odious or contemptible, Dante's feeling of satisfaction becomes an entirely pitiless exultation over the fallen victim, which vents itself in ὕβρις or insult—studied insult—or mockery. See pp. 225-227, where the learned author observes: "Another feature or medium of this ὕβρις is found in coarse, comic and even slang expressions and downright 'vulgarisms,' which to our ideas are often sorely inconsistent with the conventional dignity of poetry. . . ." In *Inf.* xxii, 83 (*lasciolli di piano*), it seems most probable that *di piano* is a vulgar Sardinian provincialism put into the mouth of the Sardinian 'frate Gomita,' and it is something like 'glib' or 'slick,' and in that case *Sì come ei dice* is contemptuously and apologetically added in the sense of 'to use his own phrase,' *i.e.* 'in his own vulgar slang.'"

†*non picciol, ma soprano:* Compare *Inf.* xvii, 73, and see footnote on that passage.

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Usa con esso donno Michel *Z*anche*
Di Logodoro: ed a dir di Sardigna
Le lingue lor non si sentono stanche. 90

When they were somewhat appeased, my Leader without delay asked him who was still (ruefully) contemplating his wound: "Who was he, from whom thou sayest thou didst make an ill parting to come to the shore?" And he answered: "It was Friar Gomita, he of Gallura, vessel of all guile, who had in his power the enemies of his lord (Nino de' Visconti), and so dealt with them that every one of them commends him for it: Money he took, and let them slip off, as he says: and in his other offices besides he was not a small, but a sovereign Barrator. In his company is Michel *Z*anche, the Lord Justiciary of Logodoro, and in speaking of Sardinia their tongues never feel weary.

Benvenuto remarks that what Ciampolo has stated about Fra Gomita and Michel *Z*anche may be briefly summed up thus: "We are three well-assorted comrades, who were in our life-time three consummate

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* *Michel Zanche:* This personage was the Justiciary of the Judicature of Logodoro, or Luogo d' Oro, in Sardinia. He was killed in 1275. He was Seneschal of King Enzo, who was a natural son of Frederick II. Enzo, by right of his wife, Adelasia, Marchioness of Massa, owned this Judicature of Logodoro. On the death of Enzo, Michel *Z*anche contrived to marry his widow and thus became himself Lord of Logodoro. See Lana's account of him. In *Inf.* xxxiii, 142-147, we read how he was murdered by his son-in-law, Branca d' Oria, whose soul was instantaneously hurled down into Hell, as retribution for his hideous treachery to kindred, his body being meanwhile inhabited by a Fiend:—

"'Nel fosso su,' diss' ei, 'di Malebranche,
Là dove bolle la tenace pace,
Non era giunto ancora Michel *Z*anche,
Che questi lasciò un diavolo in sua vece
Nel corpo suo, ed un suo prossimano
Che il tradimento insieme con lui fece.'"

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rascals in our corrupt dealings with three excellent masters"; but, in the opinion of Benvenuto, Ciampolo knew far more than the others, and might even in wiliness have given them lessons at school, as we shall presently see at the end of this Canto. Gelli, alluding to their mutual conversation about Sardinia, observes that both of them, having held positions of great power and influence in that island, and having lived there in great ease and comfort, now look back with regret to those halcyon days which are for ever passed away, and compare them with their present hopeless damnation and torment. He thinks that Dante, in this passage, wishes again to impress upon his readers that there is no greater sorrow than to remember bygone days of happiness when one is in misery and suffering.

Division IV.—Ciampolo here breaks off his narrative, being overcome with terror at the threatening aspect of Farfarello (see l. 94), but immediately afterwards his ready wit enables him to take advantage of the temporary immunity from attack that is promised him, and eventually, as we shall see, to escape from his formidable adversaries.

Ò me! vedete l' altro che digrigna:
Io direi anco; ma io temo ch' ello
Non s' apparecchi a grattarmi * la tigna."—†

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* *grattarmi la tigna:* This is an expression of the lower orders, meaning "to make my sufferings greater," "to add pain to pain," as would be the case if a sore were scratched. If scurf is scraped it extends all the more.

† *tigna:* Compare *Inf.* xv, 111:—
"S' avessi avuto di tal tigna brama," etc.

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E il gran proposto,* vôlto a Farfarello
Che stralunava † gli occhi per ferire, 95
Disse :—" Fátti in costà, malvagio uccello."—

Ah me ! see the other how he grins : I would say more ; but I fear he is preparing to scratch my scurf (*i.e.* claw my skin)." And the Grand Marshal (Barbariccia), turning to Farfarello who was rolling his eyes (as if) to strike, said : " Keep off there, accursed bird."

Having thus obtained some sort of truce, Ciampolo hints that if the Demons will only consent to withdraw out of sight, he will employ a private signal, known and understood by himself and his hapless comrades, by which they give each other notice of the coast being clear, and of the possibility of coming up to the surface for cooler air. Dante being a Tuscan, and Virgil a Lombard, Ciampolo suggests that they might like to converse with some of their countrymen.

—" Se voi volete vedere o udire,"—
Ricominciò lo spaurato ‡ appresso,
—" Toschi o Lombardi, io ne farò venire.

**il gran proposto :* Commentators differ as to whether *gran* refers to Barbariccia's huge stature, or whether it is to be taken as part of the irony that speaks of that Fiend as "the great Marshall," "the great Provost," etc. *Proposto* comes from the Latin *praepositus*, and means that Barbariccia was appointed by the captain, Malacoda, as the Decurion to lead the ten. Both Benvenuto and Buti take the latter view.

† *stralunava :* The *Gran Dizionario* says that *stralunare gli occhi* means : " stravolgere in qua e in là gli occhi aperti il più che si può ; Torcere gli occhi come i lunatici."—Flavius Vegetius (*De re militari*) has the expression *Lunaticus oculus.*

‡ *lo spaurato :* Some Commentators have attempted to show that the initial *s* is privative, and have translated *spaurato* " removed from fear, reassured." But that is wrong. The

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Ma stien le male branche un poco in cesso,* 100
Sì ch' ei non teman † delle lor vendette ;
Ed io, sedendo in questo loco stesso,
Per un ch' io son, ne farò venir sette,
Quand' io sufolerò,‡ com' è nostr' uso
Di fare allor che fuori alcun si mette."— 105

"If," then resumed the terrified shade, "ye desire to see or hear Tuscans or Lombards, I will make some of them come. But let the Malebranche stand a little aside, so that they (the shades) may

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initial *s* is here an intensitive, not a privative. The meaning is the same as the Latin *perterritus*, *i.e.* "frightened out of his wits." *Spaurare*, more usually *spaurire*, is equivalent to the Latin *expaveo*, *expavesco*. The unhappy Ciampolo had little enough to reassure him, and one can only shudder to think of the terrible assaults to which he was being subjected. Nannucci (*Manuale della Letteratura*, vol. i, p. 215) gives an extract from Maestro Migliore of Florence, who flourished about 1250 :—

"Lo cor ciò ch' ha voluto non disvole,
E il voler l' auccide [*uccide*] se li dura,
Membrandoli la gioia, ch' aver suole ;
Ch' ogn' altra vita a morte lo spaura."

**stien . . . in cesso :* There are two ways of interpreting this passage : (1) which I have followed, *viz. :* "let them stand a little on one side"; and (2) "let them cease, desist from their attacks." Scartazzini says that there are no instances of *stare in cesso* having the signification of *fermarsi*, *cessare*, whereas there are several of its signifying *stare in disparte*, *essere da lungi*.

† *Sì ch' ei non teman :* Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 333) says that this, the original reading, is clear enough, though a considerable number of MSS. have gone wrong, which read *sì ch' io non tema*. The reference from *ei* is obviously to the *Toschi o Lombardi* of l. 99 whom the Navarrese craftily offers to summon. Dr. Moore suggests reasons for the error.

‡ *sufolerò :* Scartazzini thinks this was only an alleged kindness that Ciampolo *said they did* by way of warning each other, as companions in misfortune, but it was probably a lie, as in their lost state in Hell, the sinners would already have entirely ceased to have any emotions of pity or kindness to their neighbours.

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not fear their vengeance; and I, sitting on this same spot, for one that I am, will make seven come, when I shall whistle, as it is our custom to do whenever any one of us comes out (above the surface)."

Ciampolo's stratagem is completely successful; for though Cagnazzo growls out that the thing is a transparent device, on Ciampolo's assurance that they will get far more sport in tormenting the many shades he will call up, than they, ten in number, can derive from further attacking himself alone, the Fiends reluctantly comply with Alichino's advice, and retire behind the crags on the edge of the rampart away from the pitch.

Cagnazzo a cotal motto levò il muso,
  Crollando il capo, e disse:—"Odi malizia
  Ch' egli ha pensata per gittarsi giuso."—
Ond' ei ch' avea lacciuoli a gran divizia,*
  Rispose:—"Malizioso † son io troppo, 110
  Quand' io procuro a' miei ‡ maggior tristizia."—
Alichin non si tenne, e di rintoppo §
  Agli altri, disse a lui:—"Se tu ti cali,
  Io non ti verrò dietro di galoppo;

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* *lacciuoli a gran divizia:* Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. viii, Nov. 7, last page, where the very same expression is used: "Quivi la donna, che aveva a gran divizia lacciuoli," *et seq.* All through the *Decameron* are to be found sentences, words, and expressions borrowed from Dante or of frequent use both in his time as well as in Boccaccio's, and a close perusal of the book will well repay the Dante student.

† *Malizioso:* Note Ciampolo's cunning. Cagnazzo had used the word *malisia* [l. 107] in the sense of "knavish trick, dodge, device." Ciampolo uses a derivative of *malisia* with a different sense, namely, "a knave, an evil-doer."

‡ *a' miei:* Some read here *procuro a mia maggior tristizia*, but the reading *a' miei* has an overwhelmingly superior authority.

§ *di rintoppo:* That is, in opposition to the other Demons, who were most unwilling to attach the smallest credence to

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Ma batterò sopra la pece l' ali:* 115
Lascisi il colle e sia la ripa scudo
A veder se tu sol più di noi vali."—

Cagnazzo at this speech raised his snout, wagging his head, and said: "Hark at the knavery he has planned for casting himself under!" Whereupon he (Ciampolo), who had artifices in great abundance, replied: "Knavish am I too much indeed, seeing that I procure for my comrades greater sorrow." Alichino could no longer restrain himself, and in opposition to the others, said to him: "If thou plunge down, not in a gallop (*i.e.* on my feet) will I follow thee, but I will beat my wings above the pitch (*i.e.* fly like a falcon): let us quit the summit, and be the bank our screen, that we may see if thou alone art more than a match for us."

We are now to suppose that the Fiends have all turned round, with their backs towards the lake of pitch, preparatory to retiring beyond the bank. Ciampolo does not hesitate an instant, but plunges in, and the rage and disappointment of the baffled Demons is described in humorous terms. Alichino

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the statements of Ciampolo, and would never have allowed themselves to be deluded into letting him slip through their hands. Compare *Inf.* xxxiii, 95, 96, where *rintoppo* means "a barrier":—

"E il duol, che trova in sugli occhi rintoppo,
Si volve ivi entro a far crescer l' ambascia."

* *batterò . . . l' ali:* Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 1, 2:—

"Godi, Fiorenza, poi che sei sì grande
Che per mare e per terra batti l' ali,"

which means that the fame of Florence is spread all over the world. Compare also *Par.* xi, 1-3:—

"O insensata cura dei mortali,
Quanto son difettivi sillogismi
Quei che ti fanno in basso batter l' ali."

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swoops down at him as a falcon does upon a duck, but is too late, and wheeling upwards to fly back, encounters his comrade Calcabrina, who in brutal fury turns upon him. The two struggling Fiends fall into the pitch, and are with some difficulty extricated by the others.

O tu che leggi, udirai nuovo ludo!
Ciascun dall' altra costa gli occhi volse;
Quei prima, ch' a ciò fare era più crudo.* 120
Lo Navarrese ben suo tempo colse,
Fermò le piante a terra, ed in un punto
Saltò, e dal proposto lor si sciolse.

O thou that readest, thou shalt hear of new sport! Every one (of the ten) turned his eyes to the other side (of the rampart); he (Cagnazzo) first, who to do so had been the most reluctant (*lit.* harsh). The Navarrese chose his time well, planted his feet firmly on the ground, and in an instant leaped, and from their intention freed himself.

There is a great difference of opinion as to the meaning of *lor proposto*. I have followed Buti, Landino, and nearly all the modern Commentators in explaining it as "their intention, their design." Benvenuto, the *Ottimo*, Vellutello, Volpi, Cesari, Lombardi, and Blanc think it means Barbariccia (*il gran proposto*), who had been holding Ciampolo in his arms. But Scartazzini points out that if Barbariccia had remained behind, then the stipulation that the Demons should stand aside would not have been fulfilled, and they could not in that case expect that Ciampolo would have summoned the Tuscan

* *Quei prima, ch' a ciò fare era più crudo:* This refers to Cagnazzo, who had shown the greatest distrust of Ciampolo's veracity.

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and Lombard shades. Dante says moreover that they *all* turned their eyes away (*ciascun gli occhi volse*). Besides, if Barbariccia had remained with Ciampolo, he would have been the Demon nearest to him when he escaped, and *he*, not Alichino, would have been the one to fly after him, as well as the one the most to be blamed for allowing him to escape; and against him, not against Alichino, would Calcabrina's fury have been directed.

Di che ciascun di colpa fu compunto,*
Ma quei più, che cagion fu del difetto; 125
Però si mosse, e gridò:—"Tu se' giunto."—
Ma poco i valse: chè l' ali al sospetto
Non potero avanzar: quegli andò sotto,
E quei drizzò, volando, suso il petto:
Non altrimenti l' anitra di botto, 130
Quando il falcon s' appressa,† giù s' attuffa,
Ed ei ritorna su crucciato e rotto.‡

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* *di colpa fu compunto:* In this passage others read: *di colpo fu compunto*, which would mean: "they were all smitten with sudden grief." But the context in the following line (*Inf.* x, 109) seems to speak in favour of the reading *colpa*:—

"Allor, come di mia colpa compunto," etc.

"*Di colpa*, cioè ciascun si riputò colpevole del suo fuggire." (Buti). Benvenuto gives his readers their choice of either alternative interpretation.

† *l' anitra . . . Quando il falcon s' appressa*, et seq.: Compare the pursuit of the pigeon by the hawk in Homer, *Il.* xxii (x), 139, 140:—

"ἠύτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν,
ῥηιδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πελειάν."

And Virgil, *Æn.* xi, 721-723:—

"Quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
Consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam,
Comprensamque tenet, pedibusque eviscerat uncis."

‡ *rotto:* In a recent work, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, by Richard Thayer Holbrook, Ph.D., New York, Macmillans, 1902, pp. 250-252, we learn that *rotto* is a technical term in

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At which they all were smitten with self-reproach, but most of all he Alichino, who had been the cause of the loss (of their prey); wherefore he started forward, and yelled: "Thou art caught!" But little did it avail him: for his wings could not outstrip the terror (of the fugitive): the one dived under, and the other (Alichino) flying back, directed his breast upwards. Not otherwise does the wild-duck, when the falcon comes near, dive under at once, and he (the falcon) soars up again angry and ruffled.

Falconry, meaning "with rumpled plumage." Dr. Holbrook describes the scene in the text as follows: "Dante's most vigorous touches show the hawk in action, stooping to the quarry or grabbing another hawk. Certain devils have their clutches on a sinner, who of a sudden trickily slips away and dives into a pool of hot pitch. Alichino, a devil, dashes after him, and missing, grapples his fellow-devil Calcabrina. . . . Though a hungry falcon might stoop for a swimming duck, her action would be a misdemeanour, for it was a rule of Falconry not to fly the falcon until the quarry was running or on the wing. (See Albertus Magnus, *De Falconibus*, cap. 6). The situation in this instance is plainly that the duck makes for the water pursued by the falcon, which fails to give the duck a deadly clutch. In the tussle the falcon rumples her plumage; then unable to pursue her quarry into the water, she sweeps up wrathfully. One devil claws the other, as so often happens in Falconry, when two hawks, stooping for the same prey, and both missing, turn in anger, clutch, and one hawk trusses the other with her long dagger-like claws. Her ferocity is accurately described by Dante.

"If any phase of animal existence is portrayed by Dante in a masterly way, it is to be found in his pictures of hawks; for he understood them well, and painted their portraits in a few entirely natural attitudes. In his treatment of this purely mediæval theme, Dante is distinctly modern. One will scarcely find more accurate observation in the superb poems of Leconte de Lisle."

On *rotto* as a technical term of Falconry, see also *Liber de Curis Avium*, in *Scelta di Curios. Lett.*, vol. 140, p. 56: "E senpre quando a lo sparviere sono piegate le penne, si dea soccorrere coll' acqua calda e colla banbagia [*cotton-wool*], e menarla dolcemente sopra esse, e regenerannosi; inpercio che sozza cosa ene a colui che tene lo sparviere se l'uccello ene rotto."

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Benvenuto remarks that the power of fear is so great that sometimes one on foot has been known to escape from a pursuer on horseback; such speed will terror lend to his feet, if he sees not far off a place of safety to which a great effort on his part will bring him. Admirable, too, the simile of the falcon and the duck! Alichino has wings and talons like the falcon.

Irato Calcabrina della buffa,*
Volando dietro gli tenne, invaghito
Che quei campasse, per aver la zuffa. 135
E come il barattier fu disparito,
Così volse gli artigli al suo compagno,
E fu con lui sopra il fosso ghermito.†
Ma l' altro fu bene sparvier grifagno ‡
Ad artigliar ben lui, ed ambo e due 140
Cadder nel mezzo del bogliente stagno.

---

* *buffa:* The *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *buffa* § 4, explains the present passage as "inganno fatto con ischerno"; Casini in a note says: "gli antichi commentatori, che riguardo al valor di questa voce in *Inf.* vii, 61 sono discordi, qui la spiegano tutti nel significato d' *inganno* (*cf.* Diez 72)."

† *fu . . . ghermito:* Donkin (*Etym. Dict.*) says that *gremire, ghermire* is derived from the Old High German *krimman*, to claw.

‡ *sparvier grifagno:* This means a sparrow-hawk that has attained its full growth and vigour. Brunetto Latini (*Li Tresors*, livre i, part v, cap. cxlix) says that all birds of prey have three stages, in which they are respectively called, *niais* (Ital. *nidiaci*), nestlings; *ramains* (Ital. *ramaci*), when they can fly enough to follow the parent bird from bough to bough; and *grifains* (Ital. *grifagni*), when they are full fledged with their adult plumage, and their eyes glowing like fire. Compare *Inf.* iv, 123:—

"Cesare armato con gli occhi grifagni."

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxi, st. 63:—

"Come sparvier che nel piede grifagno
Tenga la starna."

Landino describes *grifagno* nearly in the same words as Ser

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> Calcabrina, furious at the trick, kept behind him (Alichino) on the wing, well-pleased that he (Ciampolo) had escaped, that he might have the broil (he sought). And as soon as the Barrator had disappeared, so at once did he turn his talons against his comrade, and with him was in close grapple above the fosse. But the other (Alichino) was indeed a sparrow-hawk full of vigour in fastening his talons upon him, and both of them fell into the midst of the boiling flood.

Benvenuto thinks that under this allegory Dante is depicting what Benvenuto has seen more than once, when two high officials (understand the Demons) think to obtain the bribes of a new comer at the Court (understand Ciampolo), who being far more wily than they, makes them believe that he is wealthy, and has important litigations to carry through, in which their interest will greatly assist him. He makes many promises to the first one, and then to the second, and when each flatters himself he has secured his prey, their supposed victim leaves them for a third high official. They quarrel. Each declares the other has robbed him of his booty, and they fall into the pitch, that is, into the infamy of being known as traffickers in their high offices, and become the laughing-stock of all the Court. But then the fear of further obloquy and ridicule makes them desist from the open enmity they still

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Brunetto: "Chiamano sparaviere nidiace, quando picciolino è preso nel nido, che ancora non può volare. Et ramingo, quando comincia a volare, et sta in sui rami. Et grifagno, poi che è mutato [*moulted*] in selva, et questi ultimi, benchè con più difficoltà si concino, [*are tamed*] nientedimeno sono più animosi allo uccellare [*are more spirited birds for hawking*]."

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feel in their secret hearts, and like the two Demons, as we read in the lines that follow, they find the place so hot for them, that they ungrapple from their deadly contention.

Lo caldo sghermitor * subito fue:
Ma però di levarsi era nïente,†
Sì aveano inviscate l' ali sue.
Barbariccia, con gli altri suoi dolente, 145
Quattro ne fe' volar dall' altra costa ‡
Con tutti i raffi, ed assai prestamente

---

* *sghermitor:* From *sghermire* the contrary of *ghermire.* The heat made the two who were grappled together (*ghermiti*), separate, or ungrapple immediately. The Latin of *sghermire* is *disglutinare.* Benvenuto comments thus on the present passage: "*sghermitor,* id est, subitus separator istorum, ita quod disghermitivit eos ubi erant primo ghermiti inter se." Others read *schermidor* (or *tor*) instead of *sghermidor* (or *tor*), and as the word *schermire* and its derivatives was much more familiar than *sghermire,* it came to be much more often adopted. Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 333, 334) says that though the difference in *meaning* of the two rival words is very important, the difference in *form* is not only very slight, but one very liable to arise accidentally from considerations of dialect or orthography, but Dr. Moore says it is important to insist on *sghermitor* being certainly the true reading. The meaning of *schermitor* (from *schermire,* cf. *schirmen*) is "a defence."

† *di levarsi era nïente*: There was no way, no possibility of their rising on their wings. It is the same expression as the Latin *nihil est quod.* Compare *Inf.* ix, 56, 57:—

"Chè se il Gorgon si mostra, e tu il vedessi,
Nulla sarebbe del tornar mai suso."

‡ *ne fe' volar dall' altra costa:* That is, Barbariccia made four of the Demons fly over *towards* the opposite shore. I do not imagine that they would reach it, or else the width of the boiling pitch would not have been wider than that of a narrow stream, but that these four, poised on their wings, helped Barbariccia and his remaining three to extricate the two belimed ones. *Da* sometimes has the meaning of "towards." See *da* in the *Gran Dizionario,* § 23: "Talora indica il luogo a cui si va."

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Di qua, di là, discesero alla posta:
Porser gli uncini verso gl' impaniati,
Ch' eran già cotti dentro dalla crosta* 150
E noi lasciammo lor così impacciati.†

The heat was an instantaneous ungrappler (*i.e.* made them part at once): but all the same they had no power of rising, so be-glued had they got their wings. Barbariccia, with his other followers lamenting, made four of them fly over towards the opposite shore with all their drag-hooks, and very speedily, on the one side and on the other, they descended to their posts: they extended their hooks towards the belimed pair, who were already scalded within the crust: and we left them thus encumbered.

This, says Benvenuto, means that wise men do not interfere in such strife, but leave the litigants to get out of their entanglement as best they can. And

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Compare Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, i, 49:—
"E fêr la via da que' giganti morti (cioè, la via andando al luogo dov' erano quei, ecc.)."
And at § 122 of *da*, the *Gran Dizionario* has: "Per *Verso, Intorno.*" Compare Bernardo Tasso, *Lettere*, ii, 12: "Il re ha da quelle frontiere [*i.e.* in the direction of those frontiers] lochi fortissimi e inespugnabili."

**crosta:* Some of the Commentators think this means the crust which the pitch had formed upon their bodies, but Scartazzini asks where the proof is that Dante described the pitch as forming any crust at all. Camerini follows Landino in thinking *crosta* means the surface of the lake on which the pitch had formed a crust. Scartazzini understands *crosta* as the outer surface of their skin, and the passage to mean that the Fiends had not only got the *outer* surface of their skin burned, but underneath it as well.

† *impacciati:* Dante means to say that he and Virgil left the Fiends "beset with difficulties," "with their hands full," "in a mess." Two were struggling on the surface of the pitch with their wings all covered with it and the other eight were occupied in pulling them up.

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from all that has been written and related in this Canto we are to mark how the greater Barrators delude and injure the lesser ones, and how there are times when the lesser Barrator succeeds in stirring up strife between them, and then flies and escapes.

END OF CANTO XXII.

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CANTO XXIII.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE—(CONTINUED)—THE SIXTH *BOLGIA*: THE HYPOCRITES—THE FRATI GODENTI—FRA CATALANO AND FRA LODERINGO—CAIAPHAS AND ANNAS.

THE Poets, on seeing the two Demons fall into the pitch, and the remaining eight fully occupied in ex-

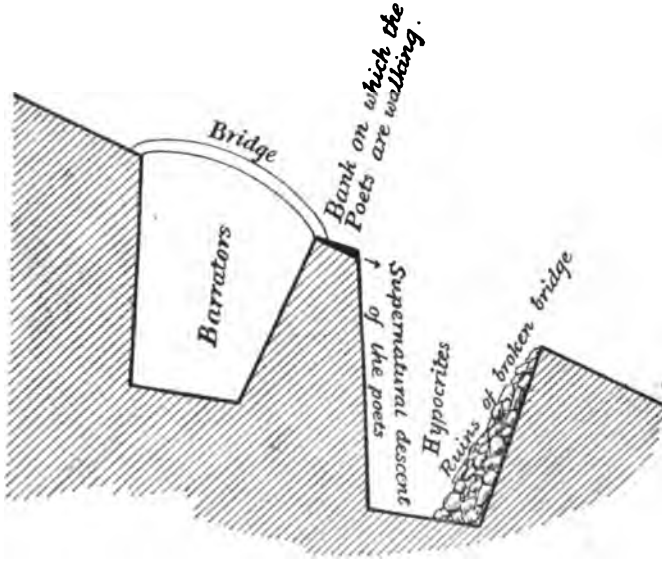

DIAGRAM OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH *BOLGE*.

tricating them, slip quietly away, and the opening lines of this Canto describes their progress along the

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bank which is the lower part of the *Bolgia* of the Barrators, but the upper rampart of that of the Hypocrites. (See diagram).

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 57, Dante relates how, as the Poets retreat from the scene of the recent contention, they are pursued by the infuriated Demons; but, by the use of his supernatural powers, Virgil carries Dante safely down into the next *Bolgia.*

In *Division* II, from ver. 58 to ver. 72, the punishment of the Hypocrites is described.

In *Division* III, from ver. 73 to ver. 108, Dante relates his interview with the *Frati Godenti.*

In *Division* IV, from ver. 109 to ver. 148, Dante mentions some other Hypocrites, among whom is Caiaphas; after which the Poets quit the Sixth *Bolgia,* by ascending the ruins of another broken bridge, by which they reach the next bank or rampart.

Division I.—The scene which they have so recently left indisposes the Poets for conversation, and they walk on for a while immersed in deep thought and in single file.

> Taciti, soli e senza compagnia,
> N' andavam * l' un dinanzi e l' altro dopo,
> Come frati minor † vanno per via.

---

* *senza compagnia, N' andavam:* Contrast this with the commencement of their march with the Fiends (*Inf.* xxii, 13, 14):—

> "Noi andavam con li dieci dimoni:
> Ahi fiera compagnia!"

Compare Chaucer, *Knighte's Tale,* 2779-2781:—

> "What is this world? what axen men to have?
> Now with his love, now in his colde grave
> Alone withouten any compagnie."

† *frati minor:* The Franciscans styled themselves Minor

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Silent, alone, and without escort we went on,
the one (Virgil) before, and the other (myself)
behind, even as Minor Friars go along the way.

Benvenuto remarks that not only because he was the more ancient Poet, does Virgil precede Dante, but also because, in the allegorical sense, the wise man ever keeps Reason before him. It is remarkable that while Benvenuto in 1375 states that the Franciscans commonly walk along the road in pairs, decorously and in silence, the more venerable going first, Gelli, writing in 1560, says: "It was a custom they seem to have had in those times, but nowadays they are in the habit of walking abreast." Scartazzini notices the happy contrast there is between the comical termination of the last Canto, and the solemn serious demeanour with which Dante and Virgil resume their journey, directly they have parted with their grotesque escort.

As Dante thinks over the broil of Alichino and Calcabrina, there recurs to his mind a fable, wrongly attributed by him to Æsop, but which is found in the Life of Æsop, written by Maximus Planudes, a monk who lived in the fourteenth century, the moral of which is that he who seeks to compass evil for his neighbour, is often surprised by misfortune himself.*

Friars in token of their humility. The *Anonimo Fiorentino* says of them: "È usanza de' Frati minori più che degli altri frati, andando a cammino, andare l' uno innanzi, quello di più autorità, l' altro dirietro et seguitarlo."

There was a tradition among some writers in the fourteenth century that Dante, when he was still young, became a Friar of the Order of the Minorites, but that he put off the garb before making his profession. The subject is discussed in the present work, in the notes on *Inf.* xvi, 106 *et seq.*

* The fable is as follows: "Quando colloquebantur animalia

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Vôlto era in sulla favola di Isopo
Lo mio pensier per la presente rissa, 5
Dov' ei parlò della rana e del topo: *
Chè più non si pareggia *mo* ed *issa*,†

---

bruta, mus ranae amicus factus ad coenam eam invitavit, et abducta in penarium divitis, ubi multa comestibilia erant, comede, inquit, amica rana. Post epulationem et rana murem in suam invitavit coenationem; sed ne defatigare, inquit, natando, fili tenui tuum pedem meo alligabo. Atque hoc facto saltavit in paludem. Ea autem urinata in profundum, mus suffocabatur, et moriens ait: ego quidem pro te morior, sed me vindicabit major. Supernatante igitur mure in palude mortuo, devolans aquila hunc arripuit, cum eo appensam una etiam ranam, et sic ambos devoravit." Buti says that in the time of Dante this fable was to be found in a little reading book used by children learning their grammar. Benvenuto mentions that a Latin version from Æsop contained this fable: "Æsopus . . . Graece scripsit magnum opus, ex quo defloratus fuit *iste parvus libellus quo Latini utuntur*," etc. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 295) remarks on the above: "This is interesting because it suggests a possible similar source for several other quotations by Dante, especially some of those which are difficult to identify in the authors cited. There must have been many *libelli* of *excerpta*, or 'elegant extracts' *in usum scholarum*, which are now lost."

* *topo:* See *Readings on the Purgatorio*, vol. ii, p. 41, footnote on l. 3 of Canto xvii, where the different words in use in Italy to express "mouse," or "rat," and the ambiguity between the two, are fully discussed. There can be no doubt in the present passage that *topo* means "mouse," as it would not have been possible for the frog to have drowned a rat.

† *mo* and *issa* are two words both of which mean "now," namely, *mo* = *modo*, and *issa* = *ipsâ horâ*. Benvenuto considers *mo* to be of Tuscan use, and *issa* of Lombard. In *Inf.* xxvii, 19-21, Guido da Montefeltro, who was not a Lombard, uses the word *mo* himself, and identifies Virgil as a Lombard from his having just before used the word *issa*, which is a Milanese word:—

"O tu, a cui io drizzo
La voce, e che parlavi mo Lombardo,
Dicendo: 'issa ten va, più non t' adizzo.'"

Guido da Montefeltro means to say: "Just now (*mo*) you were speaking Lombard, and using the words: *Issa ten va*, etc."

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Che l' un con l' altro fa, se ben s' accoppia
Principio e fine con la mente fissa : *

My thoughts were turned by the present fray to the fable of Æsop, in which he spoke of the frog and the mouse : for not more alike are *mo* and *issa*, than is the one (case) to the other, if the beginning and end (of either episode) be compared by an attentive mind.

This means that if one carefully likens the retributive justice which fell upon the frog for compassing the death of the mouse and being himself devoured by the kite, with what has just befallen Calcabrina—who, while trying to injure Alichino, has fallen with him into the boiling pitch—one will see a precise analogy in the two occurrences. Calcabrina corresponds to the frog, Alichino to the mouse. The beginning (*principio*) was the similar plotting in both cases, Calcabrina against Alichino, and the frog against the mouse; while the end (*fine*) is that in both cases the plotter and the one plotted against fell into like retribution from a third cause; the frog and the mouse were both snapped up by the kite, and the two Fiends fell into the boiling pitch.

The more Dante broods over the situation, the less is he able to assuage his fears.

E come l' un pensier dell' altro scoppia,† 10

---

* *se ben s' accoppia Principio e fine con la mente fissa :* Professor Norton remarks that the comparison is not very close except in the matter of anticipated vengeance. Benvenuto says that "passus vere est fortis, ideo notanter dixit autor quod mente fixa erat adaptanda comparatio."

† *l' un pensier dell' altro scoppia :* Compare Petrarch, Part I, *Canzone* xiii, st. 1 :—

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Così nacque di quello un altro poi,
Che la prima paura * mi fe' doppia.
Io pensava così :—" Questi per noi
Sono scherniti, e con danno e con beffa †
Sì fatta, ch' assai credo che lor nôi.‡ 15
Se l' ira sopra il mal voler s' aggueffa,§

" Di pensier in pensier, di monte in monte
Mi guida Amor; ch' ogni segnato calle
Provo contrario alla tranquilla vita."

And Michelangelo Buonarotti the younger, *La Fiera*, Giorn. IV, Act iv, sc. 24 (in Le Monnier's edition, p. 688) :—

" Sminuendo 'l cammino,
Tempo abbrevierò spésone assai,
Mentre ch' or questo or quello
Pensier succede e visco all' altro fassi,
E l' altro all' altro è laccio che sel tira
Dietro seguace."

**la prima paura :* This means the terror Dante had expressed to Virgil (xxi, 127-132), on seeing that they were to be accompanied by the ten Demons.

†*con danno e con beffa :* The ridicule (*beffa*) fell upon the whole band of the ten Demons commanded by Barbariccia; the damage (*danno*) upon the two who tumbled down into the pitch.

‡*nôi :* This is the 3rd sing. of the present subjunctive of the verb *noiare*, " to annoy, irritate, enrage."

§*l' ira sopra il mal voler s' aggueffa :* Compare *Inf.* xxxi, 55-57 :—

" Chè dove l' argomento della mente
S' aggiunge al mal volere ed alla possa,
Nessun riparo vi può far la gente."

And *Purg.* v, 112, 113 :—

" Giunse quel mal voler, che pur mal chiede
Con l' intelletto."

"*Agueffare* è filo aggiungere, come si fa ponendo lo filo dal gomito alla mano, e innaspando con l' aspo [*winding off the yarn on the reel*]." (Buti). "*Aggueffare* It. to add, Dante *Inf.* xxiii, 16 : *se l' ira sovra il mal voler s' aggueffa ;* prop. = 'to weave on' from Old High German *wifan*, to weave, cf. *adtexere.* Of the same origin is the Lombard *wiffa, guiffa*, a mark of possession attached to a property, vb. *guiffare*, to attach such a mark to a thing. Hence French *giffer*, to mark a house with chalk, confiscate it." (Donkin's *Etymol. Dict.*).

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Ei ne verranno dietro più crudeli
Che 'l cane a quella lepre ch' egli acceffa."—*

And as one thought bursts forth from another (*i.e.* the thought of the fable was suggested by the sight of the fray), so out of that there was generated another, which made my first fear double. I reasoned thus: "These (Fiends) through us have been flouted and with such great damage and ridicule as I think will much enrage them. If then to their evil-will anger be superadded (*lit.* woven on), they will come in pursuit of us more pitilessly than the dog after the hare which it snaps up."

Benvenuto observes that this is a fact patent to everybody. A man who is merely wicked is to be feared because he is naturally prone to do evil; but if, besides being wicked, he is enraged at something, then he is all the more to be feared.

Dante's terror is so great, that he entreats Virgil to devise some means of concealment.

Già mi sentia tutti arricciar † li peli
Della paura, e stava indietro intento, 20
Quando io dissi:—"Maestro, se non celi

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* *acceffa: Acceffare* (*i.e. afferrare col ceffo, ceffo* is a dog's mouth) is a term of the chase, and is said of a dog seizing the hare or other game with his teeth. Compare Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. ii, cap. xxvii:—

"Se 'l sai non so, dico dal Pi all' Effe,
Tra quai di Falterona un serpe corre,
Che par che il corpo di ciascun acceffe."

Pi (the letter P) stands for Pisa: *Effe* (the letter F) for Firenze, *un serpe* for the winding Arno which rises in Monte Falterona.

† *arricciar:* The Dictionaries say the word is equivalent to *sollevare, rizzare;* and is especially used in speaking of a man's hair, which stiffens and stands up from the effect of sudden fright or horror. Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* i, st. 29:—

"All' apparir che fece all' improvviso
Dall' acqua l' ombra, ogni pelo arriciosse,
E scolorossi al Saracino il viso;
La voce, ch' era per uscir, fermosse."

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Te e me tostamente, i' ho pavento *
Di Malebranche: noi gli avem già dietro:
Io gl' immagino sì, che già gli sento."—

Already I felt all my hair standing on end through fear, and was keeping a vigilant look out behind me, when I said: "Master, unless thou dost speedily conceal thyself and me, I am in dread of the *Malebranche*: we have already got them behind us: I so imagine them, that already I can hear them."

Tommaséo says that this last sentence is a true picture of Dante himself.

Virgil replies at once that he knows all that is in Dante's mind; he could not, even were he a mirror, be more quick to reflect Dante's features, than he now is to imprint into his understanding Dante's innermost thoughts; and that his own ideas and Dante's combine so perfectly, that they frame themselves into the same determination, namely, to escape; and he suggests in what way they may possibly do so by merely natural means; but he does not give Dante the slightest hint that their danger will be so pressing as to force him to put forth his supernatural powers to effect Dante's deliverance.

**i' ho pavento:* Biagioli observes that *pavento* has much more force than *timore*, *paura*. Tommaséo says it was a word more used in Dante's time than since. Probably it is derived from the Latin *pavor*. Compare Poliziano, *Rime*, Canzone i, st. 4 (in Milan edition of 1825, p. 60):—

Come agghiacciai, com' arsi,
Quando di fuori un nembo
Vedea rider intorno
(Oh benedetto giorno!)
E pien di rose l' amoroso grembo!
Suo divin portamento
Ritral tu Amor, ch' io per me n' ho pavento."

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E quei :—" S' io fossi d' impiombato vetro,* 25
L' imagine di fuor tua non trarrei
Più tosto a me, che quella d' entro impetro.
Pur mo † venian li tuoi pensier tra i miei
Con simile atto e con simile faccia,
Sì che d' intrambi un sol consiglio fei.‡ 30

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* *impiombato vetro :* A mirror. Compare *Par.* ii, 89, 90 :—

" Così, come color torna per vetro,
Lo qual diretro a sè piombo nasconde."

The same idea as the passage in the text is beautifully expressed by Petrarch, Part I, *Canz.* iii, st. 4 :—

" E perchè pria, tacendo, non m' impetro ?
Certo, cristallo o vetro
Non mostrò mai di fore
Nascosto ogni colore,
Che l' alma sconsolata assai non mostri
Più chiari i pensier nostri
E la fera dolcezza ch' è nel core,
Per gli occhi, che di sempre pianger vaghi
Cercan dì e notte pur chi glien' appaghi."

In *Conv.* iii, 9, ll. 72-82, Dante, comparing the crystalline lens of the eye to a mirror says : " E nell' acqua ch' è nella pupilla dell' occhio, questo discorso, che fa la forma visibile per lo mezzo suo, si compie, perchè quell' acqua è terminata quasi come specchio, che è vetro terminato con piombo ; sicchè passar più oltre non può, ma quivi, a modo d' una palla percossa, si ferma. Sicchè la forma, che nel mezzo trasparente non pare, lucida è terminata ; e questo è quello per che nel vetro piombato la immagine appare, e non in altro." Gelli observes that in his time the preparation of the lead that was laid on the back of the glass plate was made according to a particular process, and was only manufactured in Germany [*nella Magna*] by one particular family, who never allowed their secret to become known.

† *Pur mo*, et seq. : Biagioli quotes the following, but I cannot trace the reference, as he does not give the author's name :—

" D' uno stesso voler due desiderj
Si vengono a 'ncontrar."

‡ *un sol consiglio fei :* The idiom *fare*, *pigliare*, or *prendere consiglio* is equivalent to *deliberare*, *risolvere*, Lat. *consilium capere*, Greek *προαιρεῖσθαι*. Compare Petrarch, Part I, *Sonnet* cxvii (in some editions 136) :—

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S' egli è che sì la destra costa giaccia,*
Che noi possiam nell' altra bolgia scendere,
Noi fuggirem l' immaginata caccia."—

And he: "Even though I were a looking-glass, I could not draw to myself thine outward image more quickly than I receive that from within. Only now thy thoughts entered among my own (*i.e.* I was just thinking the same thing) with the like act (of suspicion) and the like appearance (of fear), so that of both (corresponding thoughts) I formed one single resolve (namely, to escape). If it be the case that the cliff on our right slopes enough for us to descend into the next *Bolgia*, we shall escape from this chase that we have pictured to ourselves."

Virgil in using the word *caccia*, is following up the idea in Dante's mind, not expressed in words, that the Demons would pursue them as pitilessly as a grey-hound snaps up a hare.

Dante's apprehensions are fully justified. The instant the two be-limed Fiends have been liberated by the other eight, the whole ten start off in hot pursuit

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"Allor raccolgo l' alma, e poi ch' i' aggio
Di scovrirle il mio mal preso consiglio,
Tanto le ho a dir che 'ncominciar non oso."

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxiv, st. 112:—

"Si piglia finalmente per consiglio,
Che i duo guerrier, deposto ogni veneno,
Facciano insieme triegua infino al giorno
Che sia tolto l' assedio ai Mori intorno."

**giaccia:* Virgil uses the same expression in *Inf.* xix, 34-36:—

". . . Se tu vuoi ch' io ti porti
Laggiù per quella ripa che più giace,
Da lui saprai di sè e de' suoi torti."

Compare also ll. 137, 138 in this Canto:—

"Montar potrete su per la ruina,
Che giace in costa, e nel fondo soperchia."

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of the Poets, and the fearful suddenness of their approach is graphically described. Virgil, however, is on the alert. Promptly acting upon his previously formed resolution, he catches up Dante, as a mother snatches a child from a burning house, and by supernatural power slides with him down the face of the precipice into the next *Bolgia*.

Già non compiè di tal consiglio rendere,*
Ch' io gli vidi venir con l' ali tese,† 35
Non molto lungi, per volerne prendere.
Lo Duca mio di subito mi prese,
Come la madre ‡ ch' al romore è desta,
E vede presso a sè le fiamme accese,
Che prende il figlio e fugge e non s' arresta, 40
Avendo più di lui che di sè cura,
Tanto che solo una camicia vesta : §

---

* *non compiè di tal consiglio rendere :* This must be taken with the context in l. 30 :—

"Sì che d' intrambi un sol consiglio fei."

From Dante's cogitations and his own, Virgil had formed one single resolution, namely, of prompt flight. He did not have time to make manifest to Dante what the aforesaid resolution (*tal consiglio*) was, before the sudden appearance of the pursuing Fiends obliged him to put it into immediate practice.

† *con l' ali tese :* Scartazzini happily compares the motion of the Demons, running with outspread wings, to that of ostriches.

‡ *di subito mi prese, Come la madre,* etc.: Benvenuto points out the appropriateness of this simile. Dante, who often calls Virgil his father, on this occasion, to show the intensity of Virgil's affectionate care for him, likens him to a mother, whose love for her children is greater than that of a father.

§ *non s' arresta . . . Tanto che solo una camicia vesta :* Trissino's paraphrase gives an exact explanation of the idiom here : "Non indugia tanto tempo quanto ne occorre per porsi indosso solamente una camicia, ma fugge tal quale ritrovasi." Some few translators have rendered this, "only so long as to put on a single shift," or "insomuch that she only puts on a smock." But that is only an English error, from some of our

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E giù dal collo della ripa dura
Supin si diede alla pendente roccia,
Che l' un dei lati all' altra bolgia tura. 45

He had not yet finished declaring this purpose, when not very far off I beheld them coming with outspread wings with intent to seize us. My Leader instantly laid hold on me, even as a mother, who is awakened by the noise, and close to her sees the burning flames, who catches up her boy, and flies, and having more regard for him than for herself, tarries not even so long as to slip on a shift: (thus did Virgil snatch hold of me), and from the summit of the rocky bank let himself glide down face upwards along the sloping cliff, which walls in one of the sides of the next *Bolgia*.

Both Benvenuto and Gelli, in commenting on the above passage, recall personal reminiscences of remarkable incidents, witnessed by themselves, of mothers saving their children.

Dante, to illustrate the rapidity of Virgil's descent, compares it to the impetuous course of a mill-race.

The Poets reach the bottom only just in time to escape from their infuriated pursuers, and find themselves in the Sixth *Bolgia*, where the Hypocrites are punished.

North Europe students not understanding the habits of the races in hot countries; and besides, the literal sense of the Italian idiom is exactly as Trissino puts it. "The mother *non s' arresta* does not pause *tanto* even so long *che solo vesta* as to slip on as much as *una camicia* a shift." The words will not bear the other interpretation. Buti says: "Anzi fugge nuda." Benvenuto saw the like thing happen: "Imo, sicut ego vidi in una, absque accipere camisiam nec aliud velamen." Lana: "Che non attende a vestirsi, nè ad altro fare se non a scampare col figliuolo." And Gelli: "fugge via ignuda, *avendo più cura di lui*, ch' ei non patisca dal fuoco, *che di sè stessa*, cioè dello essere veduto ignuda (ch' è cosa molto vergognosa appresso le donne)." Lamennais translates it very literally: "et point ne s' arrête . . . jusqu'à se vêtir seulement d'une chemise."

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Non corse mai sì tosto acqua per doccia *
A volger rota di molin terragno,†
Quand' ella più verso le pale ‡ approccia,§

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* *doccia :* The *Gran Dizionario* says that *doccia* is a conduit or pipe made of *terra cotta*, wood, or any other material, through which water is made to run in a continuous stream. Donkin (*Etym. Dict.*) gives the following derivations: "*Docciare* It. to *douse*, pour water on, substant. *doccia*, Fr. *douche*, Sp. *ducha*, a spout, etc., from *ductiare* (*ductus*) as *succiare* from *suctus*. *Cf.* ductus = O. Fr. *duit* (*conduit*), Norm. *doui*, from *ductio*, Prov. *dotz*, O. Fr. *dois*, whence *dusil*, Engl. *dossil*, a spigot"; (see Murray's *Engl. Dict.*). See also *ducículus* in Ducange. Compare *Inf.* xiv, 117, 118:—

"Poi sen va giù per questa stretta doccia
Infin là dove più non si dismonta."

† *molin terragno :* This is explained by most of the Commentators to mean a water-mill built on land, to distinguish it from those attached to vessels floating on rivers. These last have neither conduit (*doccia*) nor mill-race (*gora*) to turn the mill-wheel, which is moved by the current. But Buti, Landino, and Bargigi define the distinction more closely, and say that *mulino terragno* is an overshot mill, whereas *mulino francesco* is an undershot mill.

‡ *pale :* The primary meaning of *pala* in the *Gran Dizionario* is an instrument made of different materials and different shapes, which serves principally for shovelling minute substances from one place to another, such as sand, grain, earth, snow, and such like; and more especially denotes the long wooden peel with which bakers put bread into the oven. From this comes the secondary meaning, namely, that part of a wheel fashioned like a *pala*, which makes the mill work (*quella parte della ruota fatta a foggia di pala, che fa volgere il mulino. Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *pala*, § 7). Buti adds that the *pale* are those things which receive the water, and make the wheel turn. Therefore *le pale* here are the float-boards, and as the water rushes down the conduit, it is running at its greatest speed when it is nearest to the float-boards of the wheel (*quand' ella più verso le pale approccia*). Bargigi understands *pale* to be the sluice-gates which are opened to admit the water to fall upon the wheel and make it revolve; but that is not apparently the correct interpretation.

§ *approccia :* Compare *Inf.* xii, 46, 47:—

"Ma ficca gli occhi a valle; chè s' approccia
La riviera del sangue,"

and see my note on that passage.

Also *Purg.* xx, 9.

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Come il Maestro mio per quel vivagno,*
Portandosene me sopra il suo petto, 50
Come suo figlio, non come compagno.
Appena fur li piè suoi giunti al letto
Del fondo giù, ch' ei furono in sul colle
Sopresso noi: ma non gli era sospetto; †
Chè l' alta provvidenza, che lor volle 55
Porre ministri della fossa quinta,
Poder di partirs' indi a tutti tolle.‡

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* *vivagno:* This properly means the edge or border of a piece of cloth, and in like manner the banks are the edges or borders of the *bolgia*, and Dante accordingly calls them *vivagni*. Compare *Inf.* xiv, 121-123:—

"... Se il presente rigagno
Si deriva così dal nostro mondo,
Perchè ci appar pure a questo vivagno?"

And *Purg.* xxiv, 127, 128:—

"Sì, accostati all' un de' due vivagni,
Passammo."

In *Par.* ix, 133-135, *vivagni* signifies the margins of parchment manuscripts:—

"Per questo l' Evangelio e i Dottor magni
Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali
Si studia, sì che pare ai lor vivagni."

† *non gli era sospetto:* "There was no need to fear." *Gli* is for *egli*, and it must be taken for *vi* or *ivi*, adv. of place, and probably derived from the Latin *illic*, whence come *lì* and *gli*, just as from *illi*, dative of the Latin *ille*, came *li*, *igli*, and finally *gli*.

Compare *Purg.* viii, 68, 69:—

"... colui, che sì nasconde
Lo suo primo perchè che non gli è guado."

And *Purg.* xiii, 7:—

"Ombra non *gli* è, nè segno che si paia."

N.B.—Witte reads *lì* for *gli*.

Scartazzini says that some read *lì*, perhaps being unaware of the force of the particle *gli;* but it must be remembered that in the *Codices* there were no accents, and *li* was always used by the old writers for *gli*. For *sospetto* in the sense of "fear," compare *Inf.* v, 129:—

"Soli eravamo, e senza alcun sospetto."

‡ *Poder di partirs' indi a tutti tolle:* Scartazzini quotes the following passage from St. Ambrose:—

"Sine permissione Dei diabolum nocere non posse cognoscas."

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> Never ran water so swiftly along a conduit to turn the wheel of a land-mill when it approaches nearest to the float-boards, as my Master glided down over that verge, bearing me with him on his breast, even as his son, not as a companion. Scarcely had his feet reached the bed of the depth below, when they (the Demons) were on the summit above us: but here there was no need to fear; because the Supreme Providence, which had decreed to set them as ministers of the fifth fosse, takes away from them all power of quitting it.

Benvenuto observes that God "has set them their bounds which they shall not pass". He adds that the allegorical meaning of these last words is that Barrators have no influence or power of mischief outside the Court to which they are attached, or outside their own particular office, or against good and wise men who are unwilling to sojourn long in their company, or to be mixed up in their corrupt practices: the passage is also intended to show the great difficulty that there is in withdrawing oneself from the company of such miscreants.

Division II.—A long train of muffled forms, advancing with slow and mournful step, meets Dante's gaze as he looks about him after his hurried descent. These are the shades of the Hypocrites, whose punishment it is to move continually onwards arrayed in long, loose, ill-fitting, hooded cloaks, which though glittering on the outside with gold, are underneath heavy lead. The burden of their misery is so great, that they weep as they struggle along their weary path, scarcely able to lift one foot before the other. Benvenuto adds that the cloak of Hypocrisy is one

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of crushing weight and suffering to the wearer, who, under the stings of a guilty conscience, strives to palliate the vice that is within him, and to exhibit an appearance of virtue on the outside, a thing very difficult, and anyhow contrary to nature. Hard indeed is it to have to be constantly on the watch, lest in word or in deed, in demeanour or gesture, a man should unveil what he conceals so imperfectly! Therefore Hypocrisy is an exceeding heavy burden, which no one can ever lay aside, if he would successfully carry out all its machinations.

Laggiù trovammo una gente dipinta,*
Che giva intorno assai con lenti passi
Piangendo, e nel sembiante stanca e vinta.† 60
Egli avean cappe con cappucci bassi
Dinanzi agli occhi, fatti della taglia

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* *gente dipinta:* Scartazzini does not think that *dipinta* refers to the garments of the shades, which were gilded, not painted, but to their complexions. In *Par.* xv, 112-114, Cacciaguida praises the wife of Bellincion Berti for not painting her face, a custom we are left to infer, which had become general with the women at Florence, and even with the men in the time of Dante:—

"Bellincion Berti vid' io andare cinto
Di cuoio e d' osso, e venir dallo specchio
La donna sua senza il viso dipinto."

Compare also *Matt.* xxiii, 27, 28: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity."

† *vinta:* This means "oppressed, overcome, enfeebled". Compare *Inf.* iii, 33:—

"E che gent' è, che par nel duol sì vinta?"

Virgil uses the expression twice in *Æn.* iv, first in l. 370:—

"Num lacrimas victus dedit, aut miseratus amantem est?"

and l. 474:—

"Ergo, ubi concepit furias, evicta dolore," etc.

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Che in Cologna * per li monaci fassi.
Di fuor dorate son, † sì ch' egli abbaglia ;
Ma dentro tutte piombo, ‡ e gravi tanto, 65
Che Federico le mettea § di paglia.

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* *in Cologna :* All the old Commentators read *Cologna*, and of these the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, the *Ottimo*, Lana, Landino, and the *Chiose Anonime* (ed. Selmi) relate the following story, after saying that the shades had on cloaks and hoods after the fashion of the monks at Cologne in Germany: "In this Abbey of Cologne, which is a very rich abbey, the monks, from their great wealth, had become so arrogant and presumptuous, that by a formal resolution of their Chapter they sent to the Pope to obtain the privilege, that in consequence of their dignity and importance, and to distinguish them from all other monks, it might be specially decreed that they should be allowed to wear scarlet robes, with silver girdles and spurs. The Pope, considering their pride and presumption, ordered instead that they should wear extremely common robes, fashioned like an ashen-grey hair shirt, very long, and so ample, that they dragged along the ground behind them." The *Chiose Anonime* (ed. Selmi) differs from the others, in saying that the robes were so short that they did not touch the ground. Instead of *in Cologna* Witte and *Philalethes* read *in Clugnì*, which would make Dante refer to the famous Benedictine Monastery of Cluny in Burgundy, twelve miles from Macon. Some prefer this last reading because *Che in Clugnì* scans better than *Che in Cologna ;* but while *Clugnì* has very scanty MS. authority, it is probable that both *Cologna* and *Clugnì* were really intended for Cologne. Other readings are *Cologni*, *Crugnì*, and one MS. reads *Cächologni* = Che a *Cologni*. There is a Cologna in the Veronese territory, and some few Commentators contend that that is the place referred to.

† *Di fuor dorate son :* Brunetto Latini (*Favolello*, cap. i, 25-28, in Nannucci's *Manuale della Letteratura*, vol. i, p. 472) likens to gilded bronze those who put on the similitude only of true friendship :—

"Quest' amistà è certa,
Ma della sua coverta
Va alcuno ammantato,
Come rame dorato."

‡ *tutte piombo*, etc. : Compare *Par.* xiii, 112-114 :—

"E questo ti sia sempre piombo ai piedi,
Per farti mover lento, com' uom lasso,
Ed al sì ed al no, che tu non vedi."

§ *Federico le mettea*, etc. : The same punishment is said to

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> Down there we found a painted multitude, who, weeping, moved around with very slow paces, and in appearance weary and overcome. They had mantles with hoods falling low before their eyes, fashioned with that cut that is made for the monks at Cologne. Outside they are so overlaid with gold that it dazzles one; but within all lead, and so heavy, that (by comparison) Frederick used to put them on of straw.

Unauthenticated tradition has accused Frederick II of wrapping traitors up in lead and casting them into heated cauldrons. The *Comento di Anonimo* (ed. Lord Vernon) says that the malefactors were monks and prelates; with their leaden cloaks covered to look like straw: "Lonperadore Federigho ad alchuno malefattore monaco fecie fare una cappa di pionbo e essa cappa fecie coprire sì che parea di paglia e anche fecie fare chaldaie di pionbo nelle quali con diversi tormenti molti prelati e frati vi giustitiò," etc.

We must remember that Dante has not as yet

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have been inflicted in Scotland, and is thus described in the *Ballad of Lord Soulis*, in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, iv, 256:—

> "On a circle of stones they placed the pot,
> On a circle of stones but barely nine;
> Then heated it red and fiery hot,
> Till the burnished brass did glimmer and shine.
> They rolled him up in a sheet of lead,
> A sheet of lead for a funeral pall,
> And plunged him into the caldron red,
> And melted him,—lead, and bones and all."

Ducange also (*Gloss.* s.v. *Capa Plumbea*) quotes from a MS. authority an account of one man saying to another: "Se nostre saint pere le Pape savoit l'estat et la vie dont il vivait, il le feroit mourir en la Chappe de plonc."

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found out that the cloaks are of lead. To his eye they seem of gold. It is only after he has conversed with the *Frati Godenti*, that he understands what is the penalty that so afflicts them (ll. 97-102).

Benvenuto thinks that every act of these Hypocrites which Dante describes is intended to show some distinct act of Hypocrisy; their painted faces; their cloaks; their slow gait, which Hypocrites assume in order that they may seem to be grave and thoughtful; their down-cast eyes; and finally their tears. Benvenuto thinks the Hypocrite cries bitterly on purpose, like a weak little woman, in order that he may exhibit himself in the light of a pious and saintly man before the eyes of the public whom he deceives. "And in fact I have actually seen a certain noble Hypocrite, who when he was going to preach on the subject of the Passion of our Lord, in the morning drank himself into a maudlin state with much Malvoisie; and thus in sobs and tears he melted the wickedness of his mind, and incited many thousand persons to weep with him; and by these artful delusions he managed in a very short time to extract large sums of money from his dupes, with which he afterwards purchased a fat bishopric, so that he converted the profits of Hypocrisy into Simony."

The Poets had as usual turned to their left on entering this *Bolgia*, and Dante now relates how impossible it was for them to measure their steps so as not to outwalk any of the shades with whom they might wish to converse, for these in the leaden garments could only move at a snail's pace.

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O in eterno faticoso manto!
Noi ci volgemmo ancor pure a man manca *
Con loro insieme, intenti al tristo pianto:
Ma per lo peso quella gente stanca 70
Venia sì pian, che noi eravam nuovi
Di compagnia ad ogni mover d' anca.

O everlastingly wearisome mantle! We turned yet again to our left hand together with them, intent on their sad lamentation: but by reason of their burden that weary people were moving on so slowly, that we were in fresh company at every movement of the hip (*i.e.* at every step).

Benvenuto remarks that the Hypocrites were walking so slowly, that before they had completed one pace, Dante and Virgil had completed seven (*antequam fecissent unum passum, Dantes et Virgilius fecerant septem*) so that they were continually changing company.

Division III.—Dante asks Virgil if he can distinguish any individuals in the slow procession, who were especially notorious as Hypocrites. His Tuscan accent is at once detected by one of the shades, who strives in vain to quicken his pace, telling the Poets that he can give them the information they seek.

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* *pure a man manca:* Tommaséo observes that going as the Poets do, always turning to their left after each descent, they will, by the time they reach the bottom of hell, have completed one Circle round it. Compare *Inf.* xiv, 124-127:—

". . . Tu sai che il luogo è tondo,
E tutto che tu sii venuto molto
Pur a sinistra giù calando al fondo,
Non se' ancor per tutto il cerchio vôlto."

And *Inf.* xvii, 31:—

"Però scendemmo alla destra mammella."

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Perch' io al Duca mio:—"Fà che tu trovi
Alcun ch' al fatto o al nome si conosca,
E gli occhi sì andando intorno movi."— 75
Ed un che intese la parola Tosca
Diretro a noi gridò:—"Tenete i piedi,*
Voi che correte sì per l' aura fosca: †
Forse ch' avrai da me quel che tu chiedi."—
Onde il Duca si volse e disse:—"Aspetta, 80
E poi secondo il suo passo procedi."—
Ristetti, e vidi due mostrar gran fretta
Dell' animo, col viso,‡ d' esser meco;
Ma tardavagli il carco e la via stretta.§.

Whereupon I to my Leader: "Contrive to find some one who may be known by deed or by name, and while thus going along, move thine eyes around." And one, who heard the Tuscan speech, cried out behind us: "Stay your steps, ye who

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* *Tenete i piedi:* Compare *Æn.* v, 331, 332:—
"Hic juvenis, jam victor ovans, vestigia presso
Haud tenuit titubata solo."

† *l' aura fosca:* Compare *Inf.* iii, 28-30:—
"Facevano un tumulto, il qual s' aggira
Sempre in quell' aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena quando a turbo spira."

‡ *Dell' animo, col viso:* This reading was found by Dr. Moore in 170 MSS. In *Textual Criticism*, pp. 335, 336, he remarks that a mere glance at the long list of variants—each very slenderly supported—is quite sufficient, he thinks, to indicate the motive from which they originated, namely, the short-sighted habit of copyists of disregarding a construction that overflows the limits of a single line, and introducing supposed improvements in a line looked at in complete isolation from the context. They did not observe that here *gran fretta Dell' animo* form one idea, and that *col viso* is explanatory of *mostrar*.

§ *la via stretta:* Some think it was owing to the enormous crowd of Hypocrites, and the unwieldy garb which they wore, that the path was said to be narrow. The primary meaning of *stretto* is "compressed, tight." Compare *Inf.* xxxii, 41, 42:—
". . . vidi due sì stretti [*so crowded together*],
Che il pel del capo avieno insieme misto."

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speed so swiftly through the dusky air: perchance thou mayest obtain from me that which thou askest." Whereat my Leader turned round and said: "Wait (for him), and then move on at his pace." I stopped, and saw two, who in their faces showed great haste of mind to be with me; but the load and the crowded way delayed them.

Benvenuto points out that the Poets stood still, and waited for the shades, but that they did not render so much honour to "the reverend lord friars (*dominis fratribus reverendis*)" as to turn back to meet them, although they were so bravely arrayed in golden vestments.

The Hypocrites, on reaching the Poets, are unable to control their astonishment at seeing neither Dante nor Virgil attired like themselves, and perceiving that Dante is alive.

Quando fur giunti, assai con l' occhio bieco 85
Mi rimiraron * senza far parola;
Poi si volsero in sè, e dicean seco:
—"Costui par vivo all' atto della gola: †
E s' ei son morti, per qual privilegio
Vanno scoperti della grave stola?"— ‡ 90

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* *con l' occhio bieco Mi rimiraron:* The heavy hoods on their leaden cowls prevented their turning their heads to look at the persons walking beside them. Benvenuto remarks also that the averted glance is peculiarly descriptive of Hypocrites.

† *par vivo all' atto della gola:* They perceive by Dante's respiration that he is alive. The same thing occurs when he first encounters a band of spirits on the shore of Purgatory. See *Purg.* ii, 67-69:—

"L' anime che si fur di me accorte,
Per lo spirare, ch' io era ancor vivo,
Maravigliando diventaro smorte."

‡ *stola:* This was a long vesture coming right down from the head to the feet, worn by men among the Greeks, and by women among the Romans (Di Siena). It is used here in a general

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When they had come up, they gazed long at me with eyes askance without uttering a word: then turned one to the other, and said among themselves: "This one by the action of his throat seems to be alive: and if they are (both) dead, by what privilege do they go uncovered by the heavy stole?"

After this short conference among themselves, the Hypocrites address Dante; and an interchange of questions passes between them as to their respective identity. Dante tells them he is a Florentine.

Poi disser me:—"O Tosco, ch' al collegio *

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sense for any kind of dress, and, in a figurative sense, to signify the monastic habit. Contrast with the *cappe rance* (l. 100); the *collegio* (l. 91) and *della grave stola* (l. 90) the following from *Par.* xxx, 124-129:—

"Nel giallo della rosa sempiterna,
Che si dilata, digrada e redole
Odor di lode al sol che sempre verna,
Qual è colui che tace e dicer vuole,
Mi trasse Beatrice, e disse: 'Mira
Quanto è il convento delle bianche stole!'"

* *collegio:* I have not translated this "college," which in its modern English application refers usually to a place of education. Blanc translates it, "*la compagnie, l'assemblée, la troupe, die Gesellschaft, die Versammlung, der Haufe.*" The Italian Commentators explain it as the place where are gathered together (*collecti* from *colligere*) all the Hypocrites in the world. In *Inf.* iii, 122, 123, Virgil says to Dante about the general collection of all the damned in Hell:—

"Quelli che muoion nell' ira di Dio
Tutti convegnon qui d' ogni paese."

In the modern Italian Parliament *collegio* is the word for a constituency. Compare *Purg.* xxvi, 127-129:—

"Or se tu hai sì ampio privilegio,
Che licito ti sia l'andare al chiostro
Nel quale è Cristo abate del collegio."

Dr. Moore tells me he thinks *collegio* must be chosen here in reference to *Frati Godenti.*

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Degl' ipocriti tristi * se' venuto,
Dir chi tu sei † non avere in dispregio."—
Ed io a loro :—" Io fui nato e cresciuto
Sopra il bel fiume d' Arno ‡ alla gran villa, § 95
E son col corpo ch' i' ho sempre avuto.
Ma voi chi siete, a cui tanto distilla, ||

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* *ipocriti tristi :* Compare *Matt.* vi, 16 : " Moreover, when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance : for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast."

† *Dir chi tu sei,* etc. : Compare *Inf.* xvi, 28-32, where Jacopo Rusticucci says to Dante :—

" E se miseria d' esto loco sollo
Rende in dispetto noi e nostri preghi,
. . . e il tinto aspetto e brollo ;
La fama nostra il tuo animo pieghi
A dirne chi tu se', che i vivi piedi
Così sicuro per lo inferno freghi."

‡ *Sopra il bel fiume d' Arno :* Lubin gives the order of the sentence thus : " Io fui nato e cresciuto alla gran cittade (*villa*) sita sopra il bel fiume d' Arno."

§ *alla gran villa : Villa* is the old Italian word for *città*, and here means Florence, to which Dante also refers as his place of birth and growth in *Conv.* i, 3, ll. 20-28 : " Poichè fu piacere de' cittadini della bellissima e famosissima figlia di Roma, Fiorenza, di gettarmi fuori del suo dolcissimo seno, nel quale nato e nudrito fui fino al colmo della mia vita, e nel quale, con buona pace di quelli, desidero con tutto il cuore di riposare l' animo stanco, e terminare il tempo che m' è dato," etc. Scartazzini draws attention to the tender affection of the exile for his country in such expressions as here, *il bel fiume d' Arno ;* in *Inf.* xix, 17, *Nel mio bel San Giovanni ;* and in *Par.* xxv, 5, *del bello ovil, dov' io dormii agnello.*

|| *distilla . . . dolor . . . per le guance : Distillare* is the same as *cadere a stille, i.e.,* " to fall drop by drop." Compare *Petrarch* Part i, *Ballata* 3 :—

" Per lagrime, ch' io spargo a mille a mille,
Convien che 'l duol per gli occhi si distille
Dal cor, c' ha seco le faville e l' esca,
Non pur qual fu, ma pare a me che cresca."

And Tasso, *Gerus. Liber.* Canto iv, st. 76 :—

" Ma il chiaro umor, che di sì spesse stille
Le belle gote e il seno adorno rende," etc.

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Quant' io veggio, dolor * giù per le guance,
E che pena è in voi che sì sfavilla ? "—†

Then said they to me: "O Tuscan, who art come to the community of the miserable Hypocrites, do not disdain to tell who thou art." And I to them: "I was born and grew up in the great city on Arno's fair river, and am with the body that I always had. But you, who are ye, from whom so many tears, as I see, trickle down your cheeks, and what punishment is it which so glitters upon you ? "

One of the Hypocrites replies, and begins by answering Dante's second question as to the nature of their punishment, which Dante cannot in the least comprehend. He then answers the first question, and tells Dante their names and profession.

E l' un rispose a me:—" Le cappe rance ‡ 100
Son di piombo sì grosse che li pesi
Fan così cigolar le lor bilance.§

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* *dolor . . . distilla:* For *dolor* in the sense of tears, compare *Inf.* xvii, 46:—

" Per gli occhi fuori scoppiava lor duolo."

Tasso (*Gerus. Liber.* Canto iv, st. 77) speaks of Armida weeping:—

" Questo finto dolor da molti elice
Lagrime vere, e i cor più duri spetra."

† *sfavilla:* Benvenuto translates this *apparet.* Bargigi thinks it refers to the artificial make-up of the Hypocrites' faces (*che si mostra per gli occhi sfavillanti e per le guance rosse*). Di Siena remarks that if *sfavilla* refers to the sparkling of the golden mantles, then this sparkling punishment (*pena sfavillante*) is equally worthy of crime covered under the veil of virtue.

‡ *rance:* Mr. Tozer says this comes from a Latin form *aurantius.*

§ *Fan così cigolar le lor bilance:* He means: "Our limbs are the scales that bear these weights, which are so heavy that these limbs of ours bend down under them, and, as it were, groan under the burden. Casini paraphrases this: "Le cappe, dorate al di fuori, sono di piombo all' interno e tanto

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Frati Godenti * fummo, e Bolognesi,

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grosse che il loro peso ci fa piangere, come il carico eccessivo fa cigolar le bilance." For *cigolare* see the word in Donkin's *Etym. Dict.*: "Cigolare It., *scivolare*, to creak; from *sibilare*. Compare Venetian *cigare*, to creak; It. *cingottare*, to chirp. These may all be onomatopoea." Compare *Inf.* xiii, 40-42, where Dante uses the word to express the hissing of the sap in a piece of green wood that is on fire:—

"Come d' un stizzo verde, che arso sia
Dall' un de' capi, che dall' altro geme,
E cigola per vento che va via."

* *Frati Godenti:* The name of an Order of Chivalry, both military and conventual, called "The Knights of St. Mary (*Ordo Militiae Beatae Mariae*), said to have been founded at Bologna in 1260, or 1261, under the sanction of Urban IV, the object of which was ostensibly to protect widows, orphans, strangers, the poor, and, speaking generally, the weak against their oppressors; also to make peace between the contending factions in the different cities of Italy, and to reconcile family feuds. They were nicknamed *Frati Godenti*, or *Gaudenti*, on account of the easy life of pleasure that the laxity of their rules permitted. They possessed numerous privileges, such as the permission to marry and live in their own homes, immunity from military service, and from the duty of having to fill any municipal post. At a time when Florence was torn asunder by the feuds of Guelphs and Ghibellines, the government of the State called in two of these *Frati Godenti*, the one Messer Loderingo degli Andalò, a Ghibelline, and the other Messer Catalano Catalini, a Guelph, to fill the office of Podestà conjointly; but as soon as they were in power, they allowed themselves to be corrupted by the Guelph party, and the Ghibellines were driven out of the city.

Benvenuto says they possessed the principal monastery in the Bolognese territory at a place called Castello dei Britti. But whether it was on account of the life of luxury they led, or that they lived in their own houses and had wives and children, and enjoyed various privileges and immunities, certain it is, that out of ridicule they acquired the name of *Frati Godenti*. From Boccaccio, Muratori, and Federici (*Storia dei Cavalieri Godenti*), Di Siena collects the following additional information: "For the better understanding of this passage you must know that the three noble knights, Loderingo degli Andalò, Gruamonte de' Caccianimici of Bologna, Rinieri degli Adelardi of Modena, and Siracco da Reggio, obtained from Pope Urban IV, the authorisation to found a new Order of

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Io Catalano, e questi Loderingo *
Nomati, e da tua terra insieme presi 105
Come suole esser preso un uom solingo
Per conservar sua pace, e fummo tali
Ch' ancor si pare intorno dal Gardingo."— †

Knighthood under the title of *l'Ordine della Vergine madre Maria*, they themselves being styled *Milites Dominae*, or *soldati della Madonna*. Their new rule required of them that they should only bear arms in the service of the Church; that they should defend widows and minors, as well as poor and defenceless persons if unjustly persecuted; that they should hold no public office except for the purpose of promoting peace and union at such times as war and civil discord prevailed." Giov. Villani (vii, cap. 13) gives a long account of these two *Frati Godenti*, and ends by saying of them: "such confidence was felt in the character of the Order, that it was believed they would be impartial (*comuni*), and would save the city any unnecessary expense; but they, although inclined to opposite parties, under cover of false hypocrisy, concurred in promoting their own acquisition of wealth rather than the public weal."

* *Catalano . . . Loderingo:* Of them we read in Benvenuto: "But these accursed hypocrites, corrupted by the Guelphs, so governed the Republic, that through their schemes, the Ghibellines were driven out, and their palaces burned and sacked by the opposite faction, and in particular those of the Uberti, which were situated in the street that was called the Guardingo or Gardingo. . . . But retribution never fails to come speedily. For Loderingo the Ghibelline, through whose instrumentality the Ghibelline nobles of Florence were banished and their palaces destroyed, was eventually banished himself from Bologna, with his companions and other Ghibelline nobles, and their palaces were utterly demolished; the ruins of which are still to be seen at Bologna, hard by the Law Schools. And the palaces of Catalano were also utterly destroyed; nor does any trace of them remain, except one very high tower, which is frequently struck by lightning."

† *Gardingo:* This was a street in old Florence, near the Palazzo Vecchio, where the Church of San Firenze now stands. Giov. Villani (i, cap. 38) writes: "Some say that it [the Capitol of Florence] stood where now is the Guardingo, close by the Piazza which is now called 'Del Popolo'. . . . Guardingo was later on the name given to the remains of walls and arches that were left in ruins after the destruction of the city by Totila; and in more recent times the prostitutes used to live there."

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And one of them answered me: "These orange cowls are of lead, so thick, that their weights make the scales thus to creak. We were *Frati Gaudenti* (*lit.* Jolly Friars), and Bolognese; named, I Catalano, and he Loderingo, together chosen by thy city (Florence) as one man alone is usually selected (to be Podestà) to maintain its peace, and such were we, that even now (the proof of what we were) is to be seen round the Gardingo."

Division IV.—Dante has opened his lips, not, says Benvenuto, for the purpose of uttering words of compassion (as some have thought, who interpret *mali* as a substantive meaning "sufferings"), but, on the contrary, to upbraid them with the fact that their evil deeds (*vostri mali* . . . supply *fatti*) had caused suffering to so many. He has got thus far, when his speech is arrested by a spectacle so strange, that the words die off in the act of utterance. His eyes rest upon the crucified form of Caiaphas the High Priest, the Prince of the Hypocrites, who, as they advance along their weary path upon which he lies stretched out, trample him under their feet. Catalano then tells Dante that in other parts of this *Bolgia*, there lie crucified, Annas, as well as the other members of the Sanhedrim, who were the cause that our Lord was condemned to die by crucifixion.

Io cominciai:—"O frati, i vostri mali . . ."—
Ma più non dissi: ch' all' occhio mi corse* 110

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* *all' occhio mi corse:* Benvenuto renders this: *occurrit speculationi meae*, etc. One meaning of the Latin *occurrere* is "to present itself" to the eye, to the mind, etc. I have therefore translated the passage: "there was presented to my eye."

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Un, crocifisso in terra * con tre pali.
Quando mi vide, tutto si distorse †
Soffiando nella barba coi sospiri:
E il frate Catalan ch' a ciò s' accorse, ‡
Mi disse:—"Quel confitto che tu miri 115
Consigliò i Farisei, che convenia
Porre un uom per lo popolo a' martiri.§
Attraversato e nudo è nella via,
Come tu vedi, ed è mestier ch' ei senta
Qualunque passa com' ei pesa pria: 120
Ed a tal modo il suocero || si stenta ¶

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* *Un, crocifisso in terra:* Di Siena points out the contrast of this crucifixion with that of Christ, Who was lifted up on high on the summit of Golgotha, and drew to Himself the eyes of all the world. Caiaphas lies on the ground, and has to bear the weight, not of one leaden cloak, but of all the hypocrisy that there is in Hell.

† *tutto si distorse:* Compare *Inf.* xix, 64:—

"Per che lo spirto tutto storse i piedi,"

and see my note upon the adverbial use of *tutto.* Tommaséo attributes this writhing on the part of Caiaphas to the fear of having a living body trampling on him, but Scartazzini points out that the leaden cloaks would be a far more unbearable weight than that of Dante's body. The meaning more probably is that Caiaphas writhed with vexation; panting and sighing at the thought that a living Christian should see him in such a plight; should trample him under his feet, and perchance tell the tale of his shame in the world above.

‡ *a ciò s' accorse:* Compare Petrarch, *Trionfo d' Amore,* Cap. ii, 123-125, where a similar form with the ellipsis occurs:—

"E se non fosse la discreta aita
Del fisico gentil, che ben s' accorse,
L' età sua in sul fiorir era fornita."

§ *convenia Porre un uom per lo popolo a' martiri:* Compare *John* xviii, 14: "Now Caiaphas was he, which gave counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people."

|| *suocero:* Compare *John* xviii, 13: "They led him away to Annas first; for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, which was the high priest that same year."

¶ *si stenta:* Although Benvenuto and Buti explain that the shade is lying stretched out, extended, the overwhelming

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In questa fossa, e gli altri del concilio
Che fu per li Giudei mala sementa."— *

I began: "O Friars, your wicked . . ." but said no more: inasmuch as there was presented to my eye one crucified on the ground with three stakes. When he saw me he writhed all over, breathing heavily into his beard with sighs: and Friar Catalano, who perceived this, said to me: "That transfixed one (Caiaphas), at whom thou art gazing, counselled the Pharisees that it was expedient to put one man to torment for the people. He is laid across the road, and naked as thou seest, and he has first to feel, whoever passes, how much he weighs: and in like manner his father-in-law (Annas) is tormented in this

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majority of the Commentators understand it to mean "is tormented." Donkin (*Etym. Dict.*) says that it is derived from *abstentare* a form of *abstinere*, "to abstain, to be hungry, to be in need, to be in hardship, and hence to be in torment."

* *mala sementa:* The innocent blood of our Lord shed upon the cross was the seed, and the fruit of it was the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Compare *Matt.* xxvii, 24, 25: "Pilate . . . took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children." Dante alludes to the destruction of Jerusalem in *Purg.* xxi, 82-84; in *Par.* vi, 91-93; and at great length in nearly the whole of the seventh Canto of the *Paradiso*, and more especially in ll. 46-51:—

"Però d' un atto uscîr cose diverse;
Ch' a Dio ed ai Giudei piacque una morte:
Per lei tremò la terra e il ciel s' aperse.
Non ti dee oramai parer più forte,
Quando si dice che giusta vendetta
Poscia vengiata fu da giusta corte."

In like manner, the assassination of Buondelmonte by Mosca and others, is spoken of in *Inf.* xxviii, 106-108, as the seed which bore fruit in the Guelph and Ghibelline factions:—

". . . Ricordera' ti anche del Mosca,
Che dissi, lasso! 'Capo ha cosa fatta,'
Che fu il mal seme per la gente tosca."

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fosse, and the others of the Council which was for the Jews the seed of evil (*i.e.* the source of woes)."

In *Inf.* ix * we are told that Virgil had paid a previous visit into the lower regions of Hell. It would seem that on that occasion Caiaphas had not yet been doomed, and Virgil is lost in astonishment at seeing him here now.† Besides Virgil was unacquainted with the Gospel story.

Allor vid' io maravigliar Virgilio
Sopra colui ch' era disteso in croce ‡ 125
Tanto vilmente nell' eterno esilio. §

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* *Inf.* ix, 22-27 :—

"Ver è ch' altra fiata quaggiù fui,
Congiurato da quell' Eriton cruda
Che richiamava l' ombre a' corpi sui.
Di poco era di me la carne nuda,
Ch' ella mi fece entrar dentro a quel muro,
Per trarne un spirto del cerchio di Giuda."

† Benvenuto thinks that Virgil, although in ignorance, yet made a marvellous prophecy, which however, he did not himself understand (*tam mirabiliter quam ignoranter prophetavit, non intelligens se ipsum*), and which applies exactly to what Caiaphas said, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people. The allusion is probably to *Æn.* v, 814, 815 :—

"Unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeret ;
Unum pro multis dabitur caput."

‡ *disteso in croce :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) cites this passage, and says it ought to be translated "*étendu par terre comme un crucifié, wie ein Gekreuzigter hingestreckt.*"

§ *eterno esilio :* Compare Horace, 2 *Carm.* iii, 25-28 :—

"Omnes eodem cogimur : omnium
Versatur urna serius ocyus
Sors exitura, et nos in aeter-
-num Exilium impositura cymbae."

Heaven is the true country of the Christian, and the lost are eternally banished from their heavenly home. Compare *Hebr.* xi, 14-16, and *Hebr.* xiii, 14.

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Then saw I Virgil marvel over him who was extended so ignominiously as one crucified in the eternal banishment (of Hell).

The Poets now prepare to quit the *Bolgia* of the Hypocrites, and Virgil asks Catalano if he and his comrade can point out an easy way for them to do so.

Poscia drizzò al frate cotal voce
—" Non vi dispiaccia, se vi lece, * dirci
Se alla man destra † giace alcuna foce,
Onde noi ambedue possiamo uscirci 130
Senza costringer degli angeli neri,‡
Che vegnan d' esto fondo a dipartirci."—

Afterwards he addressed this speech to the Friar: "Let it not displease you (two spirits), if it be lawful for you, to tell us if on the right hand there lies any opening by which we may both of us issue forth (from this *Bolgia*) without constraining any of the Black Angels (*i.e.* the Demons) to come and extricate us from this depth."

Virgil is anxious to ascertain the truth of the information Malacoda gave him in Canto xxi, 111,

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* *se vi lece:* I do not apprehend that this is an instance of Dante addressing a personage of distinction in the second person plural with *vi* as a mark of deference, but rather that he meant to say "let it not displease you and your comrade (*vobis*) to tell us if ye may lawfully do so, if," etc., etc. Benvenuto evidently understands it so. He says: "*se vi lece,* idest, si licitum est vobis dicere, . . . quasi dicat: si potestis absque offendere regulam vestram, vel sanctam obedientiam."

† *alla man destra:* The Poets when they descended into this *Bolgia,* having turned to their left, the opening they now seek, by which to pass out into the next *Bolgia,* would naturally be on their right.

‡ *angeli neri:* Compare *Inf.* xxvii, 112-114:—
" Francesco venne poi, com' io fui morto,
Per me; ma un de' neri Cherubini
Gli disse: 'Non portar; non mi far torto.'"

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when he said *presso è un altro scoglio che via face.* Virgil, however, is careful to put his question in guarded language, as is only right and seemly, says Benvenuto, when one has to converse with Hypocrites, who maintain an affected reticence. So Virgil says ironically: "Pray tell us, if ye may do so without infringing the regulations of your Order, to which we know ye render such saintly obedience!"

The Friar puts them in the right way, and they learn that there is in very truth another bridge, just where Malacoda told them they would find it, but that (as he had not told them) it is broken down.

Rispose adunque:—"Più che tu non speri *
S' appressa un sasso, che dalla gran cerchia †
Si move, e varca ‡ tutti i vallon feri, 135

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* *speri: Sperare* here has the sense of "to think, to suspect, to expect, to await." See Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*), and the *Vocab. della Crusca* (Manuzzi) § 5, where we find that in the present passage the word is interpreted "*aspettare.*" Petrarch (Part i, *Sestina* vii) uses it also in that sense:—

"Di dì in dì spero omai l' ultima sera,
Che scevri in me dal vivo terren l' onde
E mi lasci dormir in qualche piaggia."

† *gran cerchia:* The difference between *cerchio* "a circle," and *cerchia* "a line of circumvallation, *enceinte,*" has already been discussed with reference to *Inf.* xviii, 72, where it is pointed out that *quelle cerchie eterne* refer to the great chain of cliffs which begird the whole of *Malebolge,* and at the foot of which Geryon set the Poets down. *Cerchia* never means a circle.

‡ *varca:* Tommaséo observes that this is not the only bridge-way, but the nearest. It must be remembered that we have adopted the view held by Blanc, Tommaséo, Biagioli and Scartazzini, that there were a number of bridge-ways running across the *Bolge* from the *Gran Cerchia* to the *Pozzo,* like the spokes of a wheel. *Philalethes* thinks there would be ten, as there are ten *Bolge.*

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Salvo ch' a questo è rotto, e nol coperchia:
Montar potrete su per la ruina,
Che giace in costa, e nel fondo soperchia."—*

Whereupon he answered: "Nearer than thou suspectest there is a bridge-way, which juts out from the vast encircling cliff, and spans all these cruel valleys, save that in this one it is broken down, and does not run over it: ye will be able to clamber up by the mass of ruins that slopes against the side, and rises in a heap upon the bottom."

On hearing this, Virgil comprehends Malacoda's deceptive directions; and his indignation and shame at having been duped are such, that for a few seconds he cannot utter a word. He then expresses his annoyance in somewhat bitter words, but the Friar retorts that the mendacity of a Demon is so well known, that he ought not to have believed him.

Virgil is anything but pacified by this homily, and strides away in great wrath. Dante follows him, and they direct their steps towards the heap of *débris* by which they are going to climb out of the *Bolgia*.

Lo Duca stette un poco a testa china,
Poi disse:—"Mal contava la bisogna † 140
Colui, che i peccator di là uncina."—

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* *nel fondo soperchia:* Compare *Inf.* xii, 7-9, where Dante describes a possible means of descent by the ruins of the cliff that had been overthrown by the earthquake:—

"Che da cima del monte, onde si mosse,
Al piano è sì la roccia discoscesa,
Ch' alcuna via darebbe a chi su fosse."

† *la bisogna: Nannucci* (*Teorica de' Nomi*, p. 340) derives this word from the Old French *besongne*, and besides the present passage quotes from the Provençal work of *Vita de Bertrand de Born:* "E 'l paire [*father*] li dava certa liurazion de deniers per vianda e per so que besoigna l' era."

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E il frate :—" Io udi' già dire a Bologna *
Del Diavol vizii assai, tra i quali udi'
Ch' egli è bugiardo † e padre di menzogna."—
Appresso il Duca a gran passi sen gì, ‡ 145
Turbato un poco d' ira nel sembiante :
Ond' io dagl' incarcati mi parti'
Dietro alle poste delle care piante.

My Leader stood for a while with head bent down, then said : "Ill related that matter he (Malacoda) who hooks up the sinners yonder." And the Friar : "In former days at Bologna I used to hear tell of vices enough of the Devil, among which I heard that he is a liar, and the father of lies." My Leader then walked away with great strides, somewhat disturbed with anger in his mien : whereupon I (also) departed from the heavy-laden (spirits), following in the traces of the beloved feet.

Benvenuto remarks that Virgil bowed his head in indignation and shame, when he thought that a Barrator had duped him, and that a Hypocrite had put him right. Malacoda wanted to retain Virgil in the toils, for it is the common practice of Barrators to detain men within the precincts of the Court

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* *udi' già dire a Bologna :* Scartazzini thinks that Catalano must have heard this when studying at Bologna under the great masters of Scholastic Theology.

† *bugiardo :* Compare *John* viii, 44 : "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there was no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own ; for he is a liar and the father of it."

‡ *a gran passi sen gì :* Homer (*Odyss.* xi, 538-540) describes the shade of Achilles striding grandly away, gratified at the news of his son's renown :—

"ὡς ἐφάμην, ψυχὴ δὲ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
φοίτα μακρὰ βιβᾶσα, κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
γηθοσύνη, ὅ οἱ υἱὸν ἔφην ἀριδείκετον εἶναι."

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where they have influence. Benvenuto mentions an incident which Petrarch (his intimate friend) witnessed at Avignon: "Two Cardinals, surrounded by a numerous retinue, were coming out from the Pope's audience. At the gate were awaiting them many petitioners, with which that city (Avignon), detestable in the sight of God, is always filled. These, when they saw their patrons, or to speak more correctly, their betrayers, from whom they had great expectations, commenced a clamour round them, each asking what success his petition to the Pope had met with. Whereupon one of the two Cardinals, without the smallest embarrassment at the suddenness of the questions, perfectly callous to the misfortunes of these unhappy persons, untouched by any shame on his own account, and a perfect master of deceit, began to give an answer to each in turn, as to what chances he had, as to what the Pope had answered touching his particular business, and in such manner with the most shameful effrontery got rid of one after the other; some going away with happy faces, and some in deep dejection, according to what answer they had each received. Thereupon the other Cardinal, more noble by nature, and with greater compunction of conscience, and who, had he not belonged to the College of Cardinals, might really have been a good man, turned to his colleague and said in jest: 'Are you not ashamed to delude poor people in that way, and at your caprice to invent the answers of the Pope, whom as you know, we have not only not seen to-day, but have been unable to see for several days past?' But

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that hoary old Barrator replied: 'Are you not ashamed rather, to have such dull wit, as to have been so long a time without learning the customs of the Court?' When the bystanders heard this, they all burst out laughing, and extolled the retort of that old rascal, and said he must be a person of the greatest sagacity and intelligence, who had learned how to lie and deceive with such readiness. But when Petrarch, who was there, heard this, he was struck with amazement, and bowed his head, with no less indignation and wrath, than did Virgil, when he detected the fraud of Malacoda."

END OF CANTO XXIII.

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CANTO XXIV.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE SEVENTH *BOLGIA*: THE THIEVES—THE SERPENTS—VANNI FUCCI.

IN this Canto and the next Dante relates the punishment of Thieves, who, according to the definition of the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, are divided into two classes. Those whose robberies were sacrilegious are spoken of in the present Canto, while the peculiar torments of the other class, which comprise all other kinds of Thieves, are recounted in Canto XXV.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 60, Dante describes the abatement of Virgil's wrath, the toilsome ascent by the ruins of the broken bridge, by means of which the Poets quit the Sixth *Bolgia*, and how Dante's failing strength and spirit are revived by the noble words with which Virgil stimulates him to fresh exertion.

In *Division* II, from ver. 61 to ver. 96, we read of the Poets' descent over the declining bridge which crosses the Seventh *Bolgia*, until they reach its inner and lower rampart, from which through the profound gloom, their eyes are just able to discern the punishment of the Thieves.

In *Division* III, from ver. 97 to ver. 120, they witness the appalling penalty of one of the shades.

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In *Division* IV, from ver. 121 to ver. 151, the shade reveals himself as Vanni Fucci, and then, after relating his crime, predicts the great changes that shall take place at Pistoja, his native city.

Division I.—At the conclusion of the last Canto, we saw Virgil's ill-repressed indignation at finding broken down the bridge to which Malacoda had directed him. Dante, on seeing the emotion of Virgil, has attributed it to fear lest they should not be able to get out of the Sixth *Bolgia*, and is greatly alarmed. But as they approach the ruins of the bridge, he is sensibly relieved on seeing Virgil turn to him with a gentle and smiling countenance. In one of his happiest similes, Dante describes how his terrors then vanished as speedily as the hoar-frost that covers the grass at break of day, in early spring, vanishes under the Sun's rays; and how the poor peasant, who on seeing the hoar-frost has given way to despair lest his sheep should perish, at once takes heart on seeing the thaw, and drives them forth contentedly to their feeding-ground.

In quella parte del giovinetto anno
Che il sole i crin sotto l' Aquario tempra,*
E già le notti al mezzodì sen vanno: †

---

* *tempra . . . i crin:* The following Commentators take *tempra* here to mean that the Sun tempers *the cold* of his locks, that is, makes his rays stronger and *warmer* as winter changes into spring: Lana, Witte, *Philalethes*, Blanc, Scartazzini, Fraticelli, Camerini, Lord Vernon, Cesari, Poletto, and the Danish translator Molbech.

† *le notti al mezzodì sen vanno:* Witte's interpretation "gegen Süden," also that of the *Ottimo* and several other excellent authorities, is the one I follow, rather than the more common

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Quando la brina in sulla terra assempra *
L' imagine di sua sorella bianca, 5
Ma poco dura alla sua penna tempra; †
Lo villanello, ‡ a cui la roba manca,
Si leva e guarda, e vede la campagna
Biancheggiar tutta, ond' ei si batte l' anca:
Ritorna in casa, e quà e là si lagna, 10
Come il tapin § che non sa che si faccia;

---

translation, "the nights are progressing towards half the day," *i.e.* the Equinox is approaching. The astronomer Antonelli (in Tommaséo's Commentary) says: "e quindi allorchè le lunghe notti han cominciato il lor passaggio dall' emisfero nostro a quallo di mezzo dì per l' opposto moto del Sole istesso, che procedente da Austro, si appressa ormai all' Equatore." As the days gets longer and the Sun advances towards the North, the long nights get shorter and retire towards the South. Gelli is very decided in rejecting the interpretation of the Equinox being referred to.

* *assempra:* See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *assemprare:* "Come dicevano [gli antichi] *Esemplare* nel senso di Copiare, Ritrarre da un esemplare." Therefore we are to take it that *assemprare* was an old Italian word signifying "to copy." Blanc (*Saggio*) thinks that here it means "to draw, to depict, to trace, to portray, to write," and that the hoar-frost sketches on the ground the image of her sister, the snow. It must be taken in immediate connection with *alla sua penna tempra.* (See *sembrare sembiare* and all its cognate words in Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary*). Dante uses the word in the *Vita Nuova*, § 1: "le parole, le quali è mio intendimento d' assemprare in questo libello," etc.

† *poco dura alla sua penna tempra:* Scartazzini says that Dante has given a personality to the hoar-frost, and has placed in her hand a pen with which she copies, and retraces in herself the semblance of her white sister; but as the fine mending of the point of the pen is not maintained, the image she is designing, from constant use, loses its accuracy; or, in plain words, as the day gets warmer, the hoar-frost disappears under the rays of the Sun.

‡ *villanello:* A modification of *villano*, "one who dwells in a country homestead (*villa*) for the purpose of leading flocks." Also "one who tills the soil, a husbandman."

§ *tapin: Tapino* is derived from the Greek ταπεινός, which the *Gran Dizionario* says primarily meant "of humble condi-

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Poi riede, e la speranza ringavagna,*
Veggendo il mondo aver cangiato faccia
In poco d' ora, e prende suo vincastro,
E fuor le pecorelle a pascer caccia. 15

In that part of the youthful year in which the Sun tempers his locks (*i.e.* warms his rays) beneath Aquarius, and when the (long) nights have begun to pass away (from the Northern hemisphere) to the South; when the hoar-frost traces upon the ground the image of her white sister (the snow); but not long does the fine mending of her pen last (*i.e.* as it thaws, the resemblance of hoar-frost to snow fades away); the peasant, whose fodder is running short, arises, and looks out and sees the plain all white, whereat he smites his thigh: turns

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tion," but in debased later Greek, came to signify *miserello.* Donkin, *Etymol. Dict.* s.v. Fr. *se tapir*, with all its derivations, particularly explains that the "Italian *tapino*, poor, is probably from ταπεινός." Littré observes that in the twelfth century, *tapin* had the same signification in France. In Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. iii. Nov. 7, the word *tapino* and *tapinare* occurs twice: "Non è molto maggiore l' ucciderlo, o il mandarlo in esilio *tapinando* [in misery] per lo mondo." And *ibid.*: "E che voi del suo esilio e dello essere andato tapin per lo mondo sette anni non siate cagione, questo non si può negare." Dante uses the word again in *Inf.* xxx, 91: "li due tapini." See also Michelangelo Buonarotti il Giovane, *La Fiera*, Giorn iii, Act 2, sc. 12:—

"e inopie
Di pedanti meschini
E d' ingegni tapini."

* *ringavagna*: This word was in 1560, Gelli says, in use along the Genoese Riviera, where *gavagni* was the name for certain baskets, therefore ringavagna here signifies, "he replaces hope in his basket," *i.e.* "recovers hope." I find *gavagno* or *cavagno* in the *Gran Dizionario*, as meaning *canestro*, a basket. Benvenuto says: "cavagna est cista rusticana," and he remarks how happily selected the word has been by Dante as adapted to the description of a rural subject (*optime competit materiae rusticanae*). Throughout the Bucolics Virgil makes similar comparisons and metaphors to suit the exigencies of his subject.

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back into his house, and goes up and down grumbling, like a poor wretch who knows not what to do; then he comes out again, and (on giving another look out) recovers hope (*lit.* stores hope up again in his basket), observing that in a little while the face of the earth has changed (owing to the hoar-frost having melted under the rays of the risen Sun), and he catches up his crook, and drives the sheep forth to pasture.

Dante, having described the precise time of year, by which he means the end of winter and the beginning of the spring, now brings forward the proposition to which he had made the comparison, in order to show how it will happen that a man may, almost at one and the same moment, be reduced to the depths of despair, and as suddenly be restored to cheerfulness. Just in like manner he wishes to show how he fell into deep dejection on seeing Virgil walk away with such perturbation and wrath exhibited in his countenance, but was re-animated on Virgil turning to him soon afterwards with a face which showed no trace of his former vexation.

Così mi fece sbigottir lo Mastro,
Quand' io gli vidi sì turbar la fronte,
E così tosto al mal giunse lo impiastro: *
Chè come noi venimmo al guasto ponte,
Lo Duca a me si volse con quel piglio 20
Dolce,† ch' io vidi prima a piè del monte.

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* *lo impiastro:* Compare Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*, Cap. ii, *Terzina* 43:—

"E chi de' nostri duci, che 'n duro astro
Passâr l' Eufrate, fece 'l mal governo,
All' italiche doglie fiero impiastro?"

† *con quel piglio Dolce:* Here again we have *piglio*, "mien," rhyming with *piglio*, "grasp," as in *Inf.* xxii, 75, which see, and read my note upon it. Although the *dolce piglio* to which Dante

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Thus did the Master make me feel dismay, when I perceived his countenance so disturbed, and just as quickly came the plaster to the wound. For as we reached the ruined bridge, my Leader turned to me with the gentle mien which I first observed at the foot of the mountain.

Virgil casts his eye attentively over the ruins of the broken-down bridge, and after a short pause for reflection, seizes firm hold of Dante from behind, and half lifts, half impels him forwards up the precipitous and rugged ascent (see *Woodcut* on p. 214).

Le braccia aperse, dopo alcun consiglio
Eletto seco, riguardando prima
Ben la ruina, e diedemi di piglio.*

---

alludes in the present passage is not mentioned by him in the account of his first meeting with Virgil, we are all the same led to infer it from the persuasive words used by Virgil to induce Dante to follow him into Hell; which words must have been accompanied by a great charm of manner. Beatrice implies as much when (*Inf.* ii, 67-69) she says to Virgil:—

"Or muovi, e con la tua parola ornata,
E con ciò ch' è mestieri al suo campare,
L' aiuta sì, ch' io ne sia consolata."

The first mention of Virgil's encouraging tenderness to Dante is in *Inf.* iii, 19-21:—

"E poichè la sua mano alla mia pose,
Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai,
Mi mise dentro alle segrete cose."

* *diedemi di piglio:* Biagioli draws attention to a passage in the *Canzoniere*, or to speak correctly, in *Canzone* ii, of the *Rime Apocrife*, attributed to Dante, but more probably imitated from him, which illustrates both *dolce piglio* and *dar di piglio*:—

"Poi guardo l' amorosa e bella bocca,
La spaziosa fronte e il vago piglio,
Li bianchi denti, e 'l dritto naso e 'l ciglio
Polito e brun, talchè dipinto pare.
Il vago mio pensiero allor mi tocca
Dicendo: Vedi allegro dar di piglio
In su quel labbro sottile e vermiglio
Che d' ogni dolce saporito pare."

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E come quei che adopera ed estima, 25
Che sempre par che innanzi si proveggia ;
Così, levando me su vêr la cima
D' un ronchion, avvisava un' altra scheggia,
Dicendo :—" Sopra quella poi t' aggrappa ; *
Ma tenta pria s' è tal ch' ella ti reggia."— 30

He opened his arms, after taking some counsel within himself, first closely surveying the ruins, and laid hold of me. And as one who executes a work and calculates, who always seems to make provision beforehand; so he, as he lifted me up towards the summit of one great rock, had his eye upon another crag, saying: "Clamber up on to that one next; but first try if it is strong enough to bear thee."

Benvenuto points out that in *Malebolge* Virgil usually lifted Dante in his arms, and carried him whenever they had to descend to the bottom of any *Bolgia*, or to issue from it. He did so when they had to descend into the *Bolgia* of the Simonists, and carried him up again out of it; when pursued by the Demons, he took Dante on his breast and slid down the cliff into the *Bolgia* of the Hypocrites; but now he partly lifts and partly helps him to clamber up by himself, and he does so, for the reason that whereas in the former *Bolge* the cliffs were too precipitous for the foot of man, in this *Bolgia* the ruins of the bridge offer a sufficient,

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* *t' aggrappa :* The verb *aggrappare* signifies "to clutch tightly by hooking on with both hands curved." In *Inf.* xvi, 133-135, the word is used to describe the fouling of an anchor caught on the bottom of the sea :—

" Sì come torna colui che va giuso
Talora a solver l' àncora, ch' aggrappa
O scoglio od altro che nel mare è chiuso."

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though difficult mode of ascent. It is not without the severest exertion that Dante is able to surmount the cliff, showing, Benvenuto thinks, how hard it is to escape from the toils of the Hypocrites, who are able to deceive the very elect. If however it was difficult for the Poets to quit the *Bolgia*, Dante remarks that for the lead-begirt Hypocrites it would have been impossible. Dante then gives a topographical explanation, by which he demonstrates that owing to the amphitheatrical inclination of *Malebolge* towards the great Central Pit, the distance they have now to ascend is considerably shorter than that down which Virgil had previously glided with Dante in his arms.

Non era via da vestito di cappa,
Chè noi appena, ei lieve, ed io sospinto,
Potevam su montar di chiappa in chiappa.*
E se non fosse che da quel precinto,
Più che dall' altro, era la costa corta, 35
Non so di lui, ma io sarei ben vinto.

---

* *di chiappa in chiappa:* Both Blanc and Scartazzini derive *chiappa* from the Old High German *Klappa*, and interpret it "a projection of rock." Buti says: "*di pietra in pietra.*" Benvenuto: "*di lapide in lapidem,*" and adds: "the metaphor is happy, for *chiappa* is the convex part of the tiles with which are covered the roofs of houses. And as the man who walks upon the roofs of houses must do so very slowly and carefully unless he would fall and break his neck, so did Dante in this rough place, as otherwise he would have run the risk of falling head downwards." In the Genoese dialect *chiappa* means a slab of stone (*lastra di pietra*). The *Gran Dizionario* says that *chiappa* is any object convenient for the hand to lay hold of (*cosa comoda a potersi chiappare*), and refers to this very passage. This interpretation excites great indignation in Blanc. It is nevertheless a fact that in Tuscany, at the present day, *chiappa* does signify something to lay hold of. As a low expression of the populace *chiappa* is quite a common word for

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Ma perchè Malebolge in vêr la porta
Del bassissimo pozzo tutta pende,
Lo sito di ciascuna valle porta
Che l' una costa surge e l' altra scende: 40

No way was it for one robed in a (leaden) cloak, for scarcely could we, he light (being a spirit), and I pushed up (by him), mount up from crag to crag. And had it not been that on that (lower) boundary the cliff was shorter than on the other side—I know not about him—but I must certainly have been overcome. But because the whole of *Malebolge* inclines towards the mouth of the lowest pit, the position of each valley necessitates that one side rises higher, and the other is lower.

The outer rampart from which they descend into each *Bolgia* is always a good deal higher than that which they see in the distance on the other side of the valley. When, after crossing the bridge, which they always do with a considerable descent, they reach the lower rampart, and stand on its causeway or boundary line (*procinto*), they find themselves upon the higher rampart of the *Bolgia* which they are to visit next.

Gelli, following the conjectures of Giambullari, estimates the difference of level between the two ramparts of each *Bolgia* at 105 ells (*braccia*), *i.e.* 210 feet.

The Poets have now accomplished the toilsome ascent, and have reached the topmost stone of the ruined mass. They find themselves standing upon

any protuberant part of the body. But whether the right interpretation be "from rock to rock," or "from hold to hold," the meaning is the same, that Dante ascended by each rock that offered a hold for his hand to clutch.

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the summit of the embankment or rampart which is the causeway between the Sixth and Seventh *Bolge.* Immediately behind them lies the Valley of the Hypocrites; before them that of the Thieves, to reach which they have to traverse the breadth of the causeway, whatever that may have been.

On this Père Berthier (Commentary on the *Inferno*) remarks: "Se in una costa di terreno si cavano fossi orizzontali e paralleli, ci saranno due sorte di argini o sponde, per tutti i fossi: gli uni verso i fossi precedenti, e gli altri verso i fossi seguenti. I primi saranno più alti dei secondi in proporzione del pendío del terreno, e supposto il fondo orizzontale della uguaglianza o disuguaglianza della inclinazione rispettiva delle sponde." And Père Berthier commends this further explanation by Poletto: "Tutte le bolge hanno la medesima larghezza e profondità, e per consequenza gli argini hanno tutti la medesima altezza, sempre attendendo che la sponda interiore d' una bolgia è di circa un terzo più bassa dell' opposta esteriore. Per conseguente abbiamo che il piano d' una bolgia, a chi facesse viaggio verso il centro, sarà sempre più alto del piano della bolgia seguente, e più basso di quello della precedente; e perciò la differenza d' altezza fra la sponda esteriore e l' interiore di ciascuna bolgia potrà calcolarsi, presumibilmente, eguale alla differenza di livello fra una bolgia e l' altra."

Noi pur venimmo alfine in sulla punta *
Onde l' ultima pietra si scoscende.

---

* *in sulla punta:* Benvenuto explains this: "finaliter pervenimus ad extremitatem hujus pontis, *onde l' ultima petra,* scilicet pontis prædicti fracti, *si scoscende,* id est, dividitur et separatur

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La lena m' era del polmon sì munta
Quando fui su, ch' io non potea più oltre,
Anzi mi assisi nella prima giunta. 45

At length however we got up to the point from which the last stone (of the ruined bridge) breaks off (from the bridgeway leading to the next bridge). The breath was so exhausted (*lit.* milked) from my lungs when I was up, that I could (move) no further, nay, I sat me down on my first arrival.

It is evident, from ll. 61-63, that the ascents up to the crests of the successive arches are exceedingly steep and laborious, especially that one now before the Poets, and Virgil does not allow Dante much repose. In words of singular beauty and power he urges him to throw off all weakness, for it is only by a life of exertion and self-sacrifice that a man can deserve renown; without it he would be but as a wind that passeth away. Dante has an infinitely greater ascent than this to make, namely, to scale the Cornices of the Mountain of Purgatory, and he must not think that his recent departure from the Hypocrites is to mark the end of his toil.

Gelli admires the moral pointed in Virgil's words to Dante, which seem to imply that for a man to live a Christian life, it will not suffice for him to depart

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a petra alterius pontis integri." I imagine, as explained in Canto xviii, that each of the spokes of the wheel of *Malebolge* was a continuously descending bridgeway that ran both across the ramparts (*ripe*) and the fosses (*Bolge*), and when crossing the *Bolge* rose up into arches from the crests of which the bridges descended to a level considerably lower. Carlyle says in a note: "The whole place tends downwards to Satan, and the valleys, lying like successive rings on the steep hanging ground, have the outer side high and the inner low."

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from sin, but that he is also bound to do active good. And that is why Virgil now reproves Dante for sitting down, reminding him that the time is short, and that he must be up and doing.

—"Omai convien che tu così ti spoltre,"—*
Disse il Maestro,—"chè sedendo in piuma
In fama non si vien,† nè sotto coltre,

---

* *ti spoltre: Spoltrire* is the contrary of *poltrire*, the initial *s* being privative. *Poltrire* according to the *Gran Dizionario* signifies "to rot in sloth, to indulge in idleness." Compare Buonarroti (the younger) *La Fiera*, Giorn. iv, Act iii, sc. 3:—

"Non più riposo no, non più poltrire,
In palazzo, in palazzo."

Gelli observes: "*Poltro* is an old word in *our* [the Tuscan] language, and signifies 'a bed': from it is derived *poltrone*, which means, literally, 'one who likes to lie in bed': thence the verb *impoltronire* comes to be used metaphorically, in the sense of letting oneself so sink into *accidie* and sloth that he who thus indulges becomes a useless man and of little consideration; and *spoltronire* is the contrary of this, signifying 'to shake off sloth and idleness.'" Compare Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, iii, 5:—

"La strada so, ma convien ch' uom si spoltri."

† *sedendo in piuma In fama non si vien:* Compare *Dittamondo*, iv, 4:—

"Lettor, tu déi pensar, che senza ardire,
Senza affanno soffrir l' uomo non puote
Fama acquistar, nè gran cose fornire."

And Petrarch, Part iv (*Sopra Vari Argomenti*), Son. i:—

"La gola e 'l senno e l' oziose piume
Hanno del mondo ogni vertù sbandita."

Di Siena remarks how throughout his poem Dante shows what value he attaches to the hope of leaving behind him a renowned name, and how, when enjoined by Cacciaguida to give a true report of all that he had said to censure the Florentines, Dante fears on the one hand the hostility of the persons so censured if he repeats Cacciaguida's words, and on the other hand fears to lose renown if he flinches from speaking the truth. See *Par.* xvi, 116-120:—

"Ho io appreso quel che, s' io ridico,
A molti fia sapor di forte agrume;

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Senza la qual chi sua vita consuma,
Cotal vestigio in terra di sè lascia, 50
Qual fummo * in aer ed in acqua la schiuma:
E però leva su, vinci l' ambascia †
Con l' animo che vince ogni battaglia,
Se col suo grave corpo non s' accascia ‡

E s' io al vero son timido amico,
Temo di perder viver tra coloro
Che questo tempo chiameranno antico."

Well may we say of Dante, what he said of Virgil in *Inf.* ii, 59, 60:—

"Di cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura,
E durerà quanto il moto lontana."

**fummo* (for *fumo*): Compare *Wisdom* v, 14: "For the hope of the ungodly is like dust that is blown away with the wind; like a thin froth that is driven away with the storm; like as the smoke that is dispersed here and there with a tempest, and passeth away as the remembrance of a gust that tarrieth but a day."

† *ambascia*: The word in its primary sense signifies the difficulty of breathing that arises from excessive fatigue (Latin *anhelatio*, Greek δύσπνοια). Hence it comes to take the metaphorical signification of "fatigue, toil, annoyance." See *Inf.* xxxiii, 96; *Purg.* xvi, 39; *Par.* xxvi, 133.

‡ *s' accascia*: Lord Vernon (*Inferno*, Vol. i) in a note on this passage observes: "We say *accasciarsi* of anything, when, being unable from its great weight to hold it up, we let it go, and it falls down. Here it has the moral signification 'provided that the spirit does not allow itself to be overcome by the body,' or, in other words, Reason by temptation." *Accasciarsi* distinctly has the sense of a failure of the will to employ further resistance. Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) interprets: "se laisser accabler"; Scartazzini: "lascia andar giù"; Gelli: "pon giù e abbandonasi." Compare Horace ii, *Sat.* ii, 77-79:—

"Corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una,
Atque affigit humo divinae particulam aurae."

Dante makes Virgil repeat these very words of his almost exactly in *Æn.* vi, 730-732.

"Igneus est ollis vigor et coelestis origo
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant,
Terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaque membra."

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Più lunga scala convien che si saglia: 55
Non basta da costoro esser partito:
Se tu m' intendi,* or fa sì che ti vaglia."

"Now thou must needs thus shake off all sloth," said the Master, "for neither by reclining upon down, nor under coverlets, does one come to fame, without which, whoever consumes his life, leaves of himself the same trace on earth as smoke in air and foam on water: and therefore rise up, conquer thy exhaustion (*lit.* panting) with that spirit which wins every battle, if it does not allow itself to be overcome by its heavy body. A longer stairway has yet to be climbed: to have departed from these (*i.e.* the Hypocrites) is not enough: if thou understandest me, now act so that it may profit thee."

Dante's journey will not have been accomplished when he reaches the extreme depths of Hell. Benvenuto says that after the Hypocrites, who walk so slow, Dante will next have to visit the Thieves, who prowl about at night, gliding in the dark over the ground as lightly as serpents.

Dante is completely reanimated by Virgil's admonition, and professes himself refreshed as well as ready to follow his leader.

Leva' mi allor, mostrandomi fornito
Meglio di lena ch' io non mi sentia;
E dissi:—"Va' ch' io son forte ed ardito."—† 60

---

* *Se tu m' intendi:* Virgil here gives Dante a gentle hint that Beatrice is well worth the exertion Dante will make to reach her.

† *son forte ed ardito:* Amplified this would mean: "*son forte* a sostenere la fatica del cammino, *ed ardito* ad intrapenderla." Biagioli says this is an idiom that includes the strength of the body and the boldness of the soul. Dante uses the expression here for a toilsome ascent: and in Canto xvii, 79-82, he puts

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Then I arose, letting myself seem better provided with breath than I really felt; and said: "Go on, for I am stout and fearless."

Benvenuto remarks that the hope of reward is in itself an alleviation of toil.

Division II.—The Poets pursue their course.

Su per lo scoglio prendemmo la via,
Ch' era ronchioso, stretto e malagevole,
Ed erto più assai che quel di pria.

Upward we took our way upon the rocky bridge, which was rugged, narrow and difficult, and much steeper than the preceding one.

Scartazzini observes that this confirms what he established when commenting on *Inf.* xviii, 16, namely, that from the encircling cliffs of *Malebolge* there ran, not one, but several systems of bridge-ways, each of which crossed the *Bolge*. The present passage shows that they were not all of equal level. He says that the comparison is between one bridge-way and another (*fra scoglio e scoglio*); and by *scoglio* he does not understand one single bridge over one single *Bolgia*, but a bridgeway, or system of bridges, crossing all the ten *Bolge*. Of these systems there were several, like the spokes in a wheel. Some MSS. and editions read *quei di pria* instead of *quel di pria*, which all the more confirms Scartazzini's explanation.

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nearly the same words in the mouth of Virgil when they are about to face the perils of the descent into *Malebolge* on the back of Geryon:—

"Trovai lo Duca mio ch' era salito
Già in sulla groppa del fiero animale,
E disse a me: 'Or sii forte ed ardito.
Omai si scende per sì fatte scale.'"

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As the Poets are climbing up the ascent of the arch, they hear, at some distance ahead of them, an angry voice uttering sounds which they cannot interpret.

> Parlando andava per non parer fievole,*
> Onde una voce uscío dall' altro fosso, 65
> A parole formar disconvenevole.†
> Non so che disse, ancor che sopra il dosso
> Fossi dell' arco già che varca quivi;
> Ma chi parlava ad ira parea mosso.

I walked on talking so as not to seem weak, whereupon a voice too inarticulate to form words issued from the next fosse (*i.e.* the Seventh *Bolgia*). I know not what it said, although I was already upon the crown of the arch that crosses here; but he who was speaking seemed moved to anger.

Dante stoops over the edge of the bridge, and strains his eyes downwards, but they are unable to penetrate the deep gloom of the bottom of the *Bolgia*, whereupon he entreats his leader to descend the bridge to the lower cliff, which seems to be about one-third lower than the other. Virgil consents.

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* *fievole:* "FIEVOLE It., Sp. Prov. *feble*, Portg. *febre*, French *foible*, O. Fr. *floible floibe*, Engl. feeble; from *flebilis*, the first *l* being dropped." (Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*). As used in the present passage it means "weak, infirm, faint."

† *voce . . . disconvenevole:* Gelli understands by *voce*, spontaneous sounds, and by *parole*, the deliberately articulated expression of the conceptions of man. This, he says, was the teaching of Boëthius in his Comments upon Aristotle. He entirely disagrees with the interpretation adopted by Benvenuto: "*voce . . . a formar parole disconvenevole*, idest, inhonesta, qualia decent virum infamen, qualis erat iste." Giambullari follows Benvenuto.

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Io era vôlto in giù; ma gli occhi vivi * 70
Non potean ire al fondo per l' oscuro:
Perch' io: "Maestro, fa che tu arrivi
Dall' altro cinghio,† e dismontiam lo muro;
Chè com' i' odo quinci e non intendo,
Così giù veggio, e niente affiguro."— ‡ 75
—"Altra risposta,"—disse,—"non ti rendo,
Se non lo far: chè la domanda onesta
Si dee seguir coll' opera tacendo."

I had bent downwards; but my living eyes were not able to reach the bottom through the darkness: wherefore I: "Master, contrive to get on to the next rampart (*i.e.* the one between the Seventh and Eighth *Bolge*), and let us descend the wall (from the bridge to the causeway); for as from this spot I hear and yet do not understand, so I am looking down, and nothing can I discern." "No other reply," said he, "do I give thee than by the doing (what thou askest): be-

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* *gli occhi vivi:* Compare *Inf.* xviii, 109-111:—
"Lo fondo è cupo sì, che non ci basta
Loco a veder senza montare al dosso
Dell' arco, ove lo scoglio più soprasta."
Some understand *vivi* in the sense of "penetrating," as in xxix, 52-55:—
"Noi discendemmo in sull' ultima riva
Del lungo scoglio, pur da man sinistra,
Ed allor fu la mia vista più viva
Giù vêr lo fondo."

† *Dall' altro cinghio:* Here *da* is "on to," not "from." Trissino, in his *Parafrasi*, interprets the passage thus: "Maestro, procura di arrivare *all'* altro circolar argine." Compare *Inf.* xxii, 145-147:—
"Barbariccia, con gli altri suoi dolente,
Quattro ne fe' volar dall' altra costa
Con tutti i raffi."

‡ *veggio . . . affiguro:* Di Siena points out that there is a notable difference between *udire* and *intendere;* as also between *vedere* and *affigurare.* Compare *Inf.* xviii, 42, 43:—
"'Di già veder costui non son digiuno.'
Perciò a figurarlo i piedi affissi."

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cause the becoming request must be followed by its performance in silence."

The summary of what has been taking place and is to follow is lucidly described in the Commentary of Di Siena: "Wonderfully depicted is the toilsome passage from the bottom of the Sixth *Bolgia*, in which are the Hypocrites, to the Eighth Rampart (*argine*), which lies between the fosse of the Thieves and that of the Fraudulent Counsellors. The Poets first clamber up by the ruins of the broken-down bridge (xxiv, 19-45): after a short rest there, they take their way up the steep ascent of the arch of the bridge (61-63): by this they reach the crown of the arch (67, 68): here Dante hears from the depths of the Seventh *Bolgia* the sound of a voice, the words of which, up at that height, he is unable to distinguish, and as the darkness is moreover too great for his human eye to pierce it, he begs Virgil to allow him to get down the lower cliff at the point where the lower end of the bridge they are descending joins on to it (70-75): but [here is the important point] when they reach the lower cliff, they do not go down into the bottom of the *Bolgia* * which is swarming with poisonous serpents, but they seem to have gone a little way down the side of the cliff by the aid of certain projecting rocks which were under the head of the bridge and formed a kind of rude stairway, up which (xxvi, 13-15) they afterwards re-ascend and resume their journey."

* That they do not go down to the bottom of the *Bolgia* we have distinct proof, for in Canto xxv, 35, Dante tells us that three spirits came *below* the spot where he and Virgil were standing:—

"E tre spiriti venner *sotto noi.*"

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On one point only I am not inclined to accept the view of Di Siena. I rather imagine that it was from the *top* of the lower Rampart that the Poets looked down on the Thieves and serpents, and I picture to myself that the causeway of the bridge ran across the Rampart not at the same, but at a higher level; and that the Poets, after crossing the bridge, climbed down the side of the causeway (xxiv, 79) on to the Rampart, and consequently would be forced, when (xxvi, 13) they resumed their journey, to climb up again from the Rampart to the causeway between the bridges.

From this point Dante is able to see the terrible punishment of the Thieves, who are pursued and bitten by serpents.*

Noi discendemmo il ponte dalla testa,
Dove s' aggiunge coll' ottava ripa, 80
E poi mi fu la bolgia manifesta:
E vidivi entro terribile stipa †

---

* Benvenuto remarks how appropriate this punishment is to the crime of a thief: first, because the serpent is the most subtle of all animals, as the thief is among men; the serpent winds itself under stones and the hiding-places of the earth; and the thief in like manner, slips under the money-changers' tables, burrows under ground, climbs in through windows or trap-doors, and seeks for dens and lurking-holes; and in the case of the serpent when seen, or the thief when discovered, all men immediately start off in pursuit; and, as the serpent hides in the grass, so does the thief ply his trade in the dark night.

† *terribile stipa:* Compare *Inf.* xi, 3:—

"Venimmo sopra più crudele stipa."

In *Inf.* xxxi, 36, Dante speaking of the air condensing the vapour, says: "Ciò che cela il vapor che l' aere stipa" [*i.e.* crowds together, thickens]. Brunone Bianchi says that *stipa* in the present passage is *moltitudine ammucchiata*, Bargigi calls it *moltitudine di serpenti stipati e chiusi dentro.*

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Di serpenti, e di sì diversa mena,*
Che la memoria il sangue ancor mi scipa.†
Più non si vanti Libia con sua rena;‡ 85
Chè, se chelidri,§ jaculi e faree
Produce, e cencri con amfisibena,

---

* *mena* = *sorte, specie.* Compare *Inf.* xvii, 39:—
"... Va, e vedi la lor mena."

† *scipa:* Compare *Inf.* vii, 21:—
"E perchè nostra colpa sì ne scipa?"
"*Scipare* è *guastare, attritare.*" (Boccaccio). Fraticelli, Brunone Bianchi and others think *scipare* is the same as *sciupare.* Di Siena says that in the Calabrian vernacular, they still use the verb *ascippare* for *sradicare* [to root up], *sterpare, spiantare;* and that *ascippa* is the hole that is dug to plant the vine in it, destroying and extirpating every other plant or preceding vine roots. Lombardi interprets the present passage: "Mi guasta il sangue, me lo fa agghiacciar di spavento." Volpi: "*Scipare* = lacerare, malmenare, straziare."

‡ *Libia con sua rena:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 238) says on this passage: "Dante has borrowed the various species of serpents in the seventh *Bolgia*, surpassing, as he says, those produced in Libya, from Lucan's description of the plagues of Libya in *Phars.* ix, 700-721. The five names given here by Dante all occur in Lucan, as well as many others." "By Libya here is meant the Roman province of Africa, which lay to the west of Egypt; this name is assigned to that district by Dante's geographical authorities, Solimus and Orosius, and by the Hereford map, which represents the mediæval views on that subject." (Tozer, *Engl. Com. on the D.C.*). Compare Lucan, *Phars.* i, 367, 368:—
"Duc age per Scythiae populos, per inhospita Syrtis
Litora, per calidas Libyae sitientis harenas."

§ *chelidri*, etc.: Compare especially in Lucan's long description in *Phars.* ix, ll. 711, 712:—
"Tractique via fumante Chelydri:
Et semper recto lapsurus limite Cenchris."
And ll. 719-721:—
"Et gravis in geminum surgens caput Amphisbaena:
Et Natrix, violator aquae, Jaculique volucres,
Et contentus iter cauda sulcare Pareas."
Compare also Milton, *Par. Lost*, x, 519-528:—
"... for now were all transform'd
Alike, to serpents all, as accessories
To his bold riot. Dreadful was the din

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Nè tante pestilenzie nè sì ree
Mostrò giammai con tutta l' Etiopia,
Nè con ciò che di sopra il Mar Rosso èe. 90

We descended the bridge (*i.e.* climbed down the side of the bridgeway) at its head (just at the bridge-head), where it joins on with the Eighth Rampart, and then the *Bolgia* was disclosed to me: and I saw within it a fearful swarm of serpents, and of such variety of species, that the recollection of them even now makes my blood run cold. No more let Libya boast of her sands; for though she brings forth Chelydri, Jaculi and Phareae, and Cenchri with Amphisbaena, not even did she ever display so many or such ghastly plagues, with all Ethiopia, nor with that (region) which lies upon the Red Sea (*i.e.* Arabia).

In this last line Dante evidently wishes to refer to the three great deserts by which Egypt is surrounded; namely, Libya on the left bank of the Nile, Ethiopia to the South of Egypt, and Arabia to the right on the other side of the Red Sea (*di sopra il Mar Rosso*).

Benvenuto remarks that Dante is here alluding to the retreat under Cato of a Roman army into the Libyan deserts, and in *Inf.* xiv, 13-15, has done so before. After speaking of the great sufferings the soldiers underwent from wind, dust, sand, heat and thirst, Benvenuto adds that the worst part of their troubles was from the multitudes of serpents of various kinds to which they were exposed. The description of these serpents is given at great length,

---

Of hissing through the hall, thick swarming now
With complicated monsters head and tail,
Scorpion, and Asp, and Amphisbaena dire,
Cerastes horn'd, Hydrus, and Elops drear,
And Dipsas; (not so thick swarm'd once the soil
Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the isle
Ophiusa)."

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the shapes, the habits, and the anecdotes of the different species being mentioned, with fabulous details which represent the ignorance of natural history prevalent in Benvenuto's time; and yet are so quaint and original, that one regrets not being able to afford space for their insertion here. Benvenuto seems to be conscious of his prolixity, for he concludes: "Marvel not then if I have said so much about this sand, that you may see what great analogy it has with this *Bolgia*, for sand is sterile and bears no fruit; and so it is with the abode of thieves. Secondly, because in this sand there are an immense quantity of serpents which give many and various kinds of death, and the like in this *Bolgia*."

The shades of the Thieves in torment are now mentioned.

> Tra questa cruda e tristissima copia
> Correvan genti nude e spaventate,
> Senza sperar pertugio o elitropia.*

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* *elitropia:* This was supposed to be a precious stone, a chalcedony, which when worn on the person had the power of rendering the bearer invisible. Pietro di Dante describes it as a green, red, or perse-coloured stone, which when bathed in the juice of the plant *quem dicimus mirasolem*, renders invisible whosoever carries it. In the *Decameron*, Giorn. viii, Nov. 3, Boccaccio relates how Calandrino, searching after such a stone, is informed by Maso, who is hoaxing him, that the *Elitropia* renders a man invisible *in the place where he does not happen to be!* He says: "L'altra si è una pietra, la quale noi altri lapidarj appelliamo Elitropia, pietra di troppo gran virtù, perciò che qualunque persona la porta sopra di sè, mentre la tiene, non è da alcuna altra persona veduto, *dove non è*." The author of the *Chiose Anonime* (ed. Selmi) curiously confuses *Etiopia* with *elitropia*. On l. 89 he says: "con tutta *l' Etiopia;* you must know that *Etiopia* is a precious stone, the which, whoever has it about him, is invisible to all men; and that is why Dante says that the shades in this *Bolgia* are without any hope of hiding themselves."

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Con serpi le man dietro avean legate: *
Quelle ficcavan per le ren la coda 95
E il capo, ed eran dinanzi aggroppate.

Amid this fell and most dismal swarm (of serpents) people were running, naked and panic-stricken, without hope of lurking-hole or heliotrope. They had their hands bound behind with serpents: and these through their loins thrust their tail and their head, and in front were twisted up in knots.

Benvenuto reads *ed eran di retro aggroppate*, but thinks, whichever reading be adopted, that the serpents were armed with clawed feet with which they seized the sinners either from behind or in front.

Division III.—The Poets are now spectators of the awful penalty of Vanni Fucci, a sacrilegious thief, who, being attacked and bitten by a serpent, immediately catches fire and is reduced to ashes. The ashes are instantaneously whirled up together by an invisible power, and reform themselves into the semblance of the thief as before. Benvenuto thinks the meaning is that certain men are not thieves by their nature, but only by their evil associations, and therefore only at certain intervals are they smitten by the serpent, that is, by the sudden desire of thieving. By this desire their nature gets for the time so utterly corrupted, that it is consumed by the sin, and they are led on to commit the theft; but when the crime has been perpetrated, and they discontinue

* *Con serpi le man . . . legate:* In Virgil, *Æneid*, ii, 212-222, in the description of the destruction by serpents of Laocoon and his two sons, his hands are said to be bound in knots by the serpents:—

"Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos."

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their thieving for the time, then they resume their natural forms, habits and ways.

Ed ecco ad un, ch' era da nostra proda,
S' avventò un serpente, che il trafisse
Là dove il collo alle spalle s' annoda.
Nè O sì tosto mai, nè I si scrisse,* 100
Com' ei s' accese ed arse, e cener tutto
Convenne † che cascando divenisse:
E poi che fu a terra sì distrutto,
La polver si raccolse per sè stessa,
E in quel medesmo ‡ ritornò di butto: § 105
Così per li gran savi || si confessa
Che la Fenice ¶ more e poi rinasce,
Quando al cinquecentesimo anno appressa.

---

* *Nè O sì tosto mai, nè I si scrisse:* No two letters of the alphabet are more quickly written, each with one stroke of the pen. "Queste due lettere O et I si scrivono più velocemente che l' altre, che con più tratti di penna è dato loro forma." (*Anonimo Fiorentino*). It is very evident that Dante made his "I's" with a single stroke.

† *Convenne*, et seq.: *Convenire* here expresses the inevitable necessity it was for the shade of the thief, having caught fire, to fall down, converted into a heap of ashes. As a matter of course he did so. It was his fate.

‡ *in quel medesmo:* Compare Virg. *Georg.* iv, 440-444:—

". . . Ille [Proteus] suae contra non immemor artis,
Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,
Ignemque, horribilemque feram, fluviumque liquentem.
Verum, ubi nulla fugam reperit pellacia, victus
In sese redit, atque hominis tandem ore locutus."

§ *di butto* or *di botto.* See *Gran Dizionario*, letter D, pp. 142, 143, under *Di Botto*, and *Di Butto. Dibotto* is sometimes written as one word, and the expression *in un dibotto* sometimes occurs. The signification is "in an instant of time." The word in both its forms is used frequently by Dante.

|| *per li gran savi:* "Lasciando stare i poeti, trattarono della Fenice Pomponio, Tacito, Plinio, Solino, etc. Povera *saviezza umana!*" (Andreoli).

¶ *Fenice:* The references to this fabulous bird are very

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Erba nè biado in sua vita non pasce,
Ma sol d' incenso lagrime ed amomo ;* 110
E nardo e mirra son l' ultime fasce.

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numerous in ancient poetry. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* xv, 392-402 :—

"Una est quae reparet, seque ipsa reseminet, ales.
Assyrii Phoenica vocant. Non fruge, neque herbis,
Sed thuris lacrymis et succo vivit amomi.
Haec ubi quinque suae complevit saecula vitae,
Ilicis in ramis, tremulaeque cacumina palmae,
Unguibus et pando nidum sibi construit ore.
Quo simul ac casias, et nardi lenis aristas,
Quassaque cum fulva substravit cinnama myrrha ;
Se super imponit : finitque in odoribus oevum.
Inde ferunt, totidem qui vivere debeat annos
Corpore de patrio parvum Phoenica renasci."

Space forbids my quoting Petrarch, Part I, *Canz.* xiv, st. 1 ; or Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, ll. 1697-1707; but the account of the Phoenix by Brunetto Latini (*Tresor*, Livre i, 164) is so graphic, that I give it in full : "Fenix est uns oisiaus en Arrabe dont il n'a plus que un sol en trestout le monde; et est bien si granz comme i. aigle; mais il a creste souz la maissele d'une part et d'autre, et la plume de son col enqui entor est reluisanz comme fin or arabien ; mais en aval jusqu'à la coe est de color de porpre, et la coe rose, selonc ce que li Arabien tesmoignent qui maintes foiz l'ont veu. Et dient aucun que il vit .Vc. et .lx. anz, et li autre dient que sa vie dura bien .m. anz et plus ; mais li plusor dient que il enveillit en .Vc. ans, et quant il a vescu usque là, sa nature le semont et atise à sa mort, ce est por avoir vie ; car il s'en va à .i. bon arbre savourous et de bone odor, et il en fait .i. Moncel où il fait le feu esprendre, et puis entre dedans tout droit contre le soleil levant. Et quant il est ars, en celui jor, de sa cendre sort une vermine qui a vie l'autre jor. Au secont jor de sa naissance est faiz li oiselez comme petiz poucins ; au tierc jor est toz grans et parcreuz tant comme il doit, et vole maintenant et s'en va à son leu là où s'abitacions est."

* *ed amomo :* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 222) says : "In *Inf.* xxiv, 110, we have two readings :—

D' incenso lagrime ed amomo

and

. . . . e d' amomo.

This is a point of distinction in which the MSS. are of no help

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And lo! upon one, who was on our side (of the *Bolgia*), darted a serpent that transfixed him there, where the neck is knotted to the shoulders. Never was an "O" or an "I" so quickly written, as he took fire and burned, and it was his doom to fall down and turn all to ashes. And after that he lay thus destroyed upon the ground, the dust drew together of itself, and in an instant returned into (*i.e.* reassumed the form of) that same spirit. So by great sages it is affirmed that the Phœnix dies and then comes to life again, when it approaches its five hundredth year. Nor on herb nor grain feeds it during its life, but only tears of frankincense and amomum; and nard and myrrh are its last winding-sheet.

According to Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, Lib. xii, cap. 13, § 28, the amomum is a kind of wild vine; and Gelli thinks that by *l' ultime sue fasce* Dante refers to the tradition that when the Phœnix had reached its five hundredth year it built up its nest with branches, roots, or leaves, of the spikenard and myrrh trees, and covering itself up with these, just as babies are enclosed in swathing bands, it turned to the rays of the Sun, and flapped its wings with such velocity, that it kindled the pyre, and was consumed within it.

Dante now compares the demeanour of the resuscitated Thief to the confused manner, either of one possessed by a devil, or of one recovering from a stroke of epilepsy.

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to us, but the former reading is certainly made more probable by a comparison with Ovid, *Met* xv, 394:—

'Sed turis lacrimis et succo vivit amomi,'

where *lacrimis* belongs to *turis* only, to which, as Scartazzini observes (note *h.l.*), it could only properly apply. The whole passage shows other features of resemblance with Ovid *l.c.*"

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E qual è quei che cade, e non sa como,*
Per forza di demon ch' a terra il tira,
O d' altra oppilazion † che lega l' uomo,
Quando si leva, che intorno si mira 115
Tutto smarrito dalla grande angoscia
Ch' egli ha sofferta, e guardando sospira;
Tal era il peccator levato poscia.
O potenzia di Dio quant' è severa,‡
Che cotai colpi per vendetta croscia! § 120

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* *como:* Used by old Italian writers in prose as well as in verse. It is practically the contraction of the Latin *quomodo* into *quomo* and hence *como.* In Provençal *quo* and *com* are the words for *come* and *siccome.* See Donkin, *Etymological Dictionary*, and Di Siena's note on the word. Compare *Purg.* xxiii, 34-36:—

"Chi crederebbe che l' odor d' un pomo
Sì governasse, generando brama,
E quel d' un acqua, non sapendo como?"

† *oppilazion:* "*Oppilare* è uno verbo latino, che significa serrare e chiudere. Laonde son chiamati dai medici quegli che hanno di sorte chiuse e serrate per esser ripiene di vapori grossi, le vene, che gli spiriti e la virtù nutritiva non posson passare e andare per le parti del corpo dove fa di bisogno loro. E se si fa per sorte tale oppilazione in quelle vie che hanno a passare gli spiriti che venno da 'l cuore al cervello, l' uomo cade subitamente senza sentirsi in terra; e da questo nasce il mal caduco e le sincope, chiamate da noi *venirsi meno*, e altri accidenti simili." (Gelli).

‡ *O potenzia di Dio quant' è severa:* Witte reads *quanto* se' vera! I confess I do not understand how this can be followed by *croscia* in the third person singular. One would rather expect *crosci.* Either let us read:—

quanto se' vera!
Che cotai colpi per vendetta crosci.

or

quanto è severa,
Che cotai colpi per vendetta croscia.

Others read *giustizia* for *potenzia;* but, as Scartazzini observes, the sudden transformation of the sinner demonstrates, not only the justice of God, but much more His Omnipotence. His Justice is already apparent in all the other penalties of Hell.

§ *croscia:* Daniello says that *crosciare* signifies "con impeto percuotere." Gelli thinks it is a metaphor taken from torrents

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And as is he who falls, and knows not how—either by some demoniac power that drags him to the ground, or by some other obstruction (of the vital powers) that fetters a man—who, when he rises up, stares around him all bewildered by the great suffering he has undergone, and as he looks, sighs; such was this sinner after he had risen. Oh power of God, how stern it is, that showers down such strokes for vengeance!

Division IV.—As soon as the shade of the thief has recovered himself, Virgil addresses him, and learns that he was Vanni Fucci of Pistoja.

Lo Duca il domandò poi chi egli era;
Perch' ei rispose: "Io piovvi * di Toscana
Poco tempo è,† in questa gola fera.
Vita bestial mi piacque, e non umana,

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of rain or from any falling waters, "che si dicono *crosciare*, quando piovono e si versono abbondantissimamente."

* *piovvi: Piovere, piovuto* is used more than once by Dante to describe the shades of the lost being cast headlong down to their doom. Compare *Inf.* viii, 82, 83, where of the Fiends at the gates of Dis Dante says:—

"Io vidi più di mille in sulle porte
Da' ciel piovuti."

Also *Inf.* xxx, 94, 95, where the coiner, Maestro Adamo of Brescia, says of the two other shades:—

"Qui li trovai, e poi volta non dierno,
. . . quand' io piovvi in questo greppo."

Compare too Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, Canto ii, st. 31:—

"Io voglio andar a scoprir quell' avello,
Là dove e' par che quella voce s' oda;
. . . . . .
. . . Scuopri, se vi fussi dentro
Quanti ne piovvon mai dal ciel nel centro."

And Frezzi, *Il Quadriregio*, lib. iv, cap. 5:—

"Li maladetti piovuti da cielo."

† *Poco tempo è:* Vanni Fucci is said to have died in 1293.

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Sì come a mul ch' io fui;* son Vanni Fucci,† 125
Bestia,‡ e Pistoja mi fu degna tana."—

My Leader then asked him who he was: whereupon he answered: "I rained (*i.e.* was cast headlong) down from Tuscany a short time ago into this cruel gullet. A bestial life, and not human, pleased me, like the mule (*i.e.* bastard) that I was. I am Vanni Fucci, brute beast, and Pistoja was for me a fitting den."

Vanni Fucci, who was probably running away from the serpents, stops on hearing Dante speak of him to

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* *mul ch' io fui:* Meaning that he was a bastard. "Et nota, quod iste fuit mulus naturaliter et moraliter, quia fuit spurius, natus de spurio. Mulus enim nascitur ex damnato coitu, scilicet ex equa et asino; et plus sequitur asinum, quam equam, licet vocaverit se nepotem equi coram leone: est animal durum, aptum laboribus et verberibus, retrogradum, pertinax; et talis erat ille fur obstinatus. Mulus est irrationabilis et incorrigibilis, de quo dicit propheta in Psalmis; *nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, in quibus non est intellectus.*" (Benvenuto).

† Vanni Fucci was the illegitimate son of Messer Fucci de' Lazzari, of a noble family of Pistoja. Landino says he was a man of cruel, tyrannical and brutish ways. Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiani*, vol. vi, part ii, pp. 88, 89) thinks that Dante's introduction of him in this passage is not so much from the wish to brand him with infamy as the thief who robbed "the Sacristy of the Fair Ornaments," as to vilify the Black Guelph, the "man of blood and wrath," the hated citizen of that Pistoja which was a worthy den (*tana*) of such a wild beast (*bestia*), wherein were generated those two factions and names (*Neri* and *Bianchi*), which were to move the soul of the exile to so much indignation, and resuscitate in it such bitter memories. In the *Istorie Pistolesi*, pp. 6-19, a number of his murderous crimes are recounted. Referring to these, Bartoli concludes: "Well can we understand then why Dante puts into the mouth of such a man the words *Vita bestial mi piacque, e non umana;* and well can we understand that it is with grim satisfaction that on that detested brow he has stamped the mark of the thief."

‡ *Bestia:* "Et perchè egli era bestiale fu chiamato Vanni bestia." (*Anonimo Fiorentino*). "Beast Vanni" appears therefore to have been his popular designation.

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Virgil as a man formerly known to him for his evil reputation. He then relates his sacrilegious crime, for which he is in Hell.

Ed io al Duca :—" Digli che non mucci,*
E domanda qual colpa quaggiù † il pinse :
Ch' io il vidi uomo di sangue e di crucci."—
E il peccator, che intese, non s' infinse, 130
Ma drizzò verso me l' animo e il volto,
E di trista vergogna si dipinse : ‡

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* *mucci* from *mucciare*, which Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says is a word of uncertain origin, probably meaning "to depart." Gelli (who has a duplicate lecture on this part of the Canto) at p. 448 says that *mucciare* means to run away, now in this direction now in that, so as not to be captured. At p. 463 he repeats : "*che non mucci*, that is, not to run away, for this is the signification of *mucciare*, a word much in use in those times (1300), but now-a-days (1560) entirely fallen into disuse." Scartazzini quotes from Vincenzo Buonanni (*Discorso sopra la prima Cantica del divinissimo theologo Dante d'Alighieri de Bello*, Firenze, 1572), who explains that *smucciare* is said of anything that from its slipperiness escapes from the hand and cannot be held tight; in fact, the more one squeezes it, the more it slips out of the hand. In Sicilian *ammucciari* is a *v.a.* signifying "to hide." (See Biundi, *Dizionario Siciliano-Italiano*, Palermo, 1857).

Compare *Fra Jacopone da Todi*, iii, 6, 39 :—

"Venitel a pigliare,
Che non ne può mucciare."

† *quaggiù :* Dante is either surprised, or pretends to be so, at seeing Vanni Fucci so low down in Hell as the *Bolgia* of the Thieves. He says : "I knew him as a man of blood and wrath," as though hinting that he might rather have expected to find him in the river of blood for his homicidal propensities, or in the swamp of the Styx for his rage and fury. For the word *quaggiù*, compare also the beautiful passage in *Inf.* iv, 19-21, where Virgil tells Dante that the depth of pity he feels for the souls of the lost is the cause of his pallor :—

". . . L' angoscia delle genti
Che son quaggiù, nel viso mi dipigne
Quella pietà che tu per tema senti."

‡ *si dipinse :* Compare *Purg.* ii, 82 :—

"Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinsi."

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Poi disse:—" Più mi duol che tu m' hai colto
Nella miseria dove tu mi vedi,
Che quando fui dell' altra vita tolto. 135
Io non posso negar quel che tu chiedi;
In giù son messo tanto, perch' io fui
Ladro alla sacrestia de' belli arredi; *
E falsamente già fu apposto altrui.

And I to my Leader: "Tell him not to slip away, and ask him what crime thrust him down here: for I knew him by sight as a man of blood and wrath." And the sinner, who heard, made no false pretence, but turned full upon me his attention and his face, and crimsoned with ignominious shame. Then he said: "It grieves me more that thou hast surprised me in the misery wherein thou seest me, than when I was taken from the other life (by a disgraceful death). I may not refuse what thou askest; I am put so far down, because I was the thief in the Sacristy of the Fair Ornaments; and accusation was falsely laid to another.

Landino thus relates the story of the robbery, and the false imputation of it to an innocent man: "It chanced about this time, that one evening many of the citizens of Pistoja had a supper, and when they rose from table, they went singing through the streets of the city (*cantarono per la terra*), with lutes and instruments of music, and in due course reached the

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* *sacrestia de' belli arredi:* Blanc (*Saggio*) asks: "Are we to construct this, *ladro de' belli arredi alla sacrestia*, or to join *sacrestia* with *de' belli arredi?*" (The second appears to us the more natural and probable of the two, for the reason that the Cathedral of San Giacomo at Pistoja was universally celebrated for its wealth, and was called "il Tesoro.") Scartazzini thinks the *sacrestia de' belli arredi* was a poetical paraphrase of the name *Tesoro* which had been given to the Sacristry of San Giacomo at Pistoja. See also *Lettere di* Sebastiano Ciampi *sopra la interpretazione d' un verso di Dante nella Cantica* [*sic*] xxiv, *dell' Inferno*, Pisa, 1814.

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house of Ser Vanni della Nona, a notary of excellent reputation and of upright ways, and who was himself present as one of the company. Here they stopped and gave a serenade, because the wife of Vanni della Nona was a lady of great worth and very beautiful withal. Meanwhile Vanni Fucci, every thought of whose heart was to do evil, with two companions walked towards the Bishop's palace, which was very near the house of Ser Vanni. Here, it is said by some, they chanced to find the door of the Church and Sacristy of San Giacomo standing open, perhaps by the negligence of the priests, who, because it was carnival time, had, according to their custom, gone out that night to amuse themselves. Others say that the thieves opened the door with pick-locks and skeleton-keys (*con ingegni e grimaldegli apersero*), and then robbed the Sacristy of all the silver and gems of the altar of San Jacopo, which were of immense value. With this booty they rejoined their companions. These, although they severely reproved them for their crime, came notwithstanding to an agreement with the culprits, that the stolen goods should be concealed in the house of Ser Vanni; first, because it was the nearest place, and secondly, because they calculated that no one would ever think of searching the house of a man with so excellent a reputation. The next morning the Canons discovered the robbery, and gave notice of it to the Podestà. He at once set to work with the greatest activity, and examined and put to the torture every one who was known to have a bad name. In this way it came about, that many who were innocent of this particular

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crime, in the agony of the torture confessed to other delinquencies of which they were guilty, and so were justly condemned to death. At last they arrested Messer Rampino, son of Messer Francesco Foresi, a noble citizen, and although he did not confess to this crime, of which he was really innocent, yet as he was a very bad character, the Podestà was so incensed against him, that he determined to put him to death unless within a certain limit of time he disclosed where the stolen property was hidden. On hearing this Messer Francesco [his father], in utter despair, had plotted with his kinsmen and friends that on the night preceding the last day of grace, they should make a rush upon the palace of the Podestà, set it on fire, and forcibly rescue his son. But Vanni Fucci, who had taken refuge at Monte Caregli in the territory of Florence, having a great affection for Rampino, advised Messer Francesco to get Ser Vanni [della Nona] arrested. This was effected one morning in Lent, when he was in the Church of the Minor Friars listening to a sermon, and he was taken to prison to the great indignation of the people, who believed him to be a man of great virtue. Vanni della Nona then admitted that the stolen property was all in his house, and that although he had often attempted to convey it out of the city, every time that he approached the gate it seemed to him to see the officers coming to search for it. For this he was hung, and Rampino was set at liberty." That is why the real robber, Vanni Fucci, tells Dante *falsamente già fu apposto altrui* alluding to the unfortunate Vanni della Nona.

Now Vanni Fucci, writhing with malignant rage at

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the thought that Dante, who is not only a Tuscan, but also one of the detested faction of the *Bianchi*, should have seen him in such degradation and misery, by way of vindictively embittering any delight that Dante may feel, prophesies to him the impending discomforture of the Whites. Blanc remarks that this prediction is by no means so intelligible as those of Ciacco and Farinata, which are confirmed by subsequent history. The present prediction is very ambiguous and vague, but the following seems to be a fair summary of the events in question as narrated by Dino Campagni (cap. xii); Villani (lib. viii); Blanc (Saggio); Di Siena; Bartoli and Scartazzini.

In A.D. 1301 the *Bianchi* of Pistoja, with the help of the *Bianchi* of Florence, drove the *Neri* out of the city. The latter took refuge at Florence, and making common cause with the *Neri* there, effected a complete reversion of power. In the autumn of 1301 Charles de Valois entered Florence, and from that moment began the triumph of the *Neri* with merciless reprisals against the *Bianchi*. In 1302 the *Neri* of Florence and Lucca together laid siege to Pistoja, the only great stronghold remaining to the *Bianchi*, but without success. It was probably during this campaign, and before their combined forces captured Pistoja in 1306, that the battle was fought which Dante describes as occurring in the *Campo Piceno*. The allied forces of Florence and Lucca were then commanded by Moröello Malaspina,* Marchese di

* *Moröello Malaspina:* Bartoli (*op. cit.* Vol. vi, in the Appendix, pp. 280, 281) says that this personage was the grandson of Conrad I, Marchese Malaspina, by his third son Manfredi,

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Giovagallo in the Val di Magra, and he laid siege to the then important castle of Serravalle, a fortress (the ruins of which may still be seen) which defended the narrow gorge between Pistoja and Pescia, and through which the Pisa-Lucca-Pistoja railway now runs. The Pistojese gathered all the strength they could muster, and attacked the forces under Moröello, but being defeated with great loss, the stronghold of Serravalle fell into the hands of the *Neri.* Poletto (*Dizionario Dantesco*) thinks that the *Campo Piceno* is part of the wide plain of Pescia between Serravalle and Montecatini.

Vanni Fucci's malevolent words conclude the Canto.

Ma perchè di tal vista tu non godi, 140
Se mai sarai di fuor de' lochi bui,
Apri gli orecchi al mio annunzio, ed odi:
Pistoja in pria di Negri si dimagra,
Poi Fiorenza rinnuova genti * e modi.†

---

who became the independent Marchese di Giovagallo. This Conrad I was usually styled *l' antico.* The Conrad whom Dante meets in the Happy Valley of the great Princes in Purgatory (*Purg.* viii), was Conrad II, also a grandson of Conrad I, by his second son Federigo, and therefore first cousin of the Moröello we are discussing. In *Purg.* viii, 118, 119, Conrad II thus pointedly distinguishes between himself and Conrad I:—

"Chiamato fui Corrado Malaspina:
Non son l' antico, ma di lui discesi."

* *rinnuova genti:* After the entrance of Charles de Valois into Florence in November, 1301, Corso de Donati, with many of his followers among the *Neri*, was recalled from banishment, and entered the city. In the following April (1302) the *Bianchi* were expelled from Florence.

† *modi:* Nearly all the Commentators explain this as meaning *modi di governare.* Before the coming of Charles de Valois, the Signoria of Florence was in the hands of the *Bianchi;* but after his arrival it passed into those of the *Neri.* "Cessata la

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Tragge Marte vapor di val di Magra * 145
Ch' è di torbidi muvoli involuto,
E con tempesta impetuosa ed agra †
Sopra campo Picen fia combattuto:
Ond' ei repente spezzerà la nebbia,
Sì ch' ogni Bianco ne sarà feruto: 150
E detto l' ho, perchè dolor ti debbia."

But that thou mayest not exult over this sight (of me), if ever thou shalt be out of these abodes of gloom, open thine eyes to my announcement, and hearken: first Pistoja is stripped of the *Neri*, then Florence must renew herself and her ways (of governing). Mars (*i.e.* war) evokes a storm-cloud from Val di Magra (*i.e.* Moröello Malaspina) which is enveloped in turbulent clouds (*i.e.* the undisciplined soldiery of the *Neri*), and with an impetuous and cruel tempest there shall be fought a battle on the Pescian plain: whereupon it shall suddenly rend the mist, in such wise that every *Bianco* shall be wounded by it. And I have told this in order that it may distress thee."

Vanni Fucci did not make these predictions, as Tommaséo and others contend, because Dante was a Guelph, for Dante was not by any means a Guelph at that time. He had only been so in his early

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detta ruina e incendio messere Carlo col suo consiglio riformaron la signoria del priorato di popolani [*the middle class*] di parte Nera." (G. Villani, lib. viii, cap. 49).

* *val di Magra:* Compare *Purg.* viii, 115-117:—

". . . Se novella vera
Di Valdimacra o di parte vicina
Sai, dilla a me, che già grande là era."

† *agra:* "Cruel, ferocious, barbarous." Villani (viii, cap. 82) relates that while the Florentines and the Lucchese were besieging Pistoja, they prevented the inhabitants from leaving the city, and cut off a foot from every male, and the nose of every female whom they captured.

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youth from family tradition, not from conviction. In 1300 he was a *Bianco*, with a strong tendency to Ghibellinism. Di Siena remarks that it is certainly not as a Guelph that Dante, in the first Canto, relates his terror of the she-wolf, and his longing expectation of the *Veltro*, who is to drive the wolf from city to city until he finally expels her from Italy.

END OF CANTO XXIV.

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CANTO XXV.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE SEVENTH *BOLGIA* (CONTINUED): THE THIEVES AND SERPENTS (CONTINUED)—CACUS—AGNELLO DE' BRUNELLESCHI—BUOSO DEGLI ABATI—PUCCIO SCIANCATO DE' GALIGAI—CIANFA DE' DONATI—GUERCIO DE' CAVALCANTI.

THERE is no break or change of scene between the conclusion of the last Canto and the opening of the present one, as is so often the case in the *Inferno.* The interview with Vanni Fucci is carried on without interruption.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.*

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante describes the brutish and impotent rage with which Vanni Fucci blasphemes God, and the well-deserved punishment that follows.

In *Division* II, from ver. 34 to ver. 78, Dante witnesses the torments of three nobles of Florence, who are of the second category of Thieves, that is, though confirmed and habitual criminals, yet having some compunction as regards the property of their own friends.

* Though I have followed the divisions of Benvenuto, I do not feel that in this Canto they are satisfactory.

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In *Division* III, from ver. 79 to ver. 102, Benvenuto thinks Dante is speaking of a third class of Thieves, whose nature is so depraved that they become transformed from men into serpents.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 103 to ver. 151, two of the shades, one of whom had retained his human form, and the other had been transformed into a serpent, interchange their shapes.

Division I.—As soon as Vanni Fucci has concluded his malignant prediction about the evils that will befall the White faction in Florence, a prediction uttered solely for the purpose of distressing Dante, he turns his bestial and impious fury into blaspheming against God. Tradition says that in the city of Prato there existed a statute, which imposed a penalty of ten lire, or a public whipping, on whomsoever should venture to make the opprobrious sign of *le fiche*, or to turn the buttocks towards Heaven, or towards any image either of God or of the Virgin Mary. Benvenuto asks why Dante should have drawn a picture of such incredible turpitude, and answers his own question by explaining that it is done "the better to exhibit the diabolical nature of the man, who, besides having been a violent robber and a fraudulent thief, was exceedingly arrogant, wrathful and blasphemous, and had moreover this antiquated mode in his way of sinning, that whenever he got irritated at the slightest thing, he would immediately break out into blasphemies against God, as some accursed persons always do, who fear no God whatever."

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Al fine delle sue parole il ladro
Le mani alzò con ambedue le fiche,*

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* *le fiche:* The expression *far le fiche* is a sign of gross insult very common among all southern nations in Europe, and throughout the East. It is made by thrusting the thumbs through the fore and middle fingers of the closed fist, with the idea of imitating what is an object of shame. Gelli relates the legend, told also by others, of how during the year 1162, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa besieged and captured the city of Milan, which, during his absence in Germany, had revolted against his authority. His indignation was especially aroused by the gross contumely to which one of his daughters had been subjected. The citizens, after sacking and burning his palaces, placed the maiden upon a she-mule with her face to the tail, which they constrained her to hold as a bridle, and then drove her out of the city. When Milan capitulated, the Emperor resolved to spare the people for their revolt, but to take fierce vengeance on those who had insulted his daughter, and accordingly he took a hundred of the most notable among the citizens, and condemned them to be burnt alive, but with this proviso, that pardon would be granted to any of them who consented to remove a fig with their mouths from the secret parts of a she-mule publicly in the principal square of the city. Which thing was done (except in the case of some few who preferred to be burned) by all of them; and for some time afterwards Frederick's satellites, by way of jeering at them, would thrust their hands into their faces with this ignoble sign, exclaiming: "Now come and pull this out!" meaning with their thumbs to indicate the fig projecting out of the she-mule. \G. Villani, lib. vi, cap. 5, relates that in 1228 the Florentines, making war in the territory of Pistoja, captured the castle of Carmignano. Upon the keep of this castle the Pistojese had formerly erected a tower 70 ells in height, on the top of which were two huge arms made of marble, the hands of which were making the sign of *le fiche* in the direction of Florence. This tower had long been an object of intense irritation to the Florentines, and when once they had got possession of it, they razed it to the ground.

A curious parallel to this is to be found at Basle, which is divided into Great Basle on the left bank of the Rhine, and Little Basle on the right. In the Münster, underneath the Conciliumsaal, is the Chapel of St. Nicholas, where is preserved the Lällerkönig, a head which was brought there in 1839 from a window of the tower at the end of the bridge, and which was made to put out its tongue and roll its eyes in derision of the inhabitants of Klein Basel. These, in revenge,

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Gridando:—"Togli,* Iddio, chè a te le squadro."—†

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put up on their side a figure making an indecent gesture of contempt.

* *Togli:* Nannucci (*Analisi Critica dei Verbi*, p. 110) says that a similar expression is found in Buonarroti (the younger) *Tancia*, Act i, sc. 1:—

"Un cittadin la Tancia? olà, toli!"

Toli is for *tolè* (*i.e.* from *tolire* from *tolere*). Nannucci says that the exclamation *toli* is supposed to be accompanied by the insulting sign of *le fiche*, the action denoting what thing one is asked to take. Petrarch, Part iv, sonnet 16, attributing to the endowments of Constantine the wickedness of the Papal Court of his time, addresses it thus:—

"Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira,
Scola d' errori, e tempio d' eresia;
Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria,
Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira:
O fucina d' inganni, o prigion dira,
Ove 'l ben more, e 'l mal si nutre e cria;
Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia
Se Cristo teco al fine non s' adira.
Fondata in casta ed umil povertate,
Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
Putta sfacciata: e dov' hai posto spene?
Negli adulteri tuoi, nelle mal nate
Richezze tante? or Costantin non torna;
Ma *tolga* il mondo tristo che 'l sostene."

The Poet Leopardi in the edition of Petrarch commented by him, Florence, *Le Monnier*, 1854, says of these last two lines, that they had been the despair of all Commentators until a learned man of Florence gave them an interpretation which he (Leopardi) neither dares to accept or to reject. This scholar compared the passage in Petrarch to this very passage in Dante, and considered that the *tolga* in Petrarch had the same signification as the *togli* in Dante, and that the words *tolga il mondo*, where *tolga* does not govern any expressed case, must be taken to signify *il mondo tolga le fiche*, that is, let the world which has to endure so much wickedness, receive the contumely due to it. Nannucci (*op. cit.*) also quotes the last line of the passage in Petrarch as an instance of the insult covertly conveyed in the word *tolga*. The Provençaux say *Tenetz;* the Venetians, *Tolè;* and the Calabrians, *Te';* all implying the same insult.

† *a te le squadro:* The verb *squadrare* is properly to adjust, to level, to measure with a square, and here means "I adjust,

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At the end of his words the thief upraised both his hands with the obscene signs, yelling: "Take that, God, for at Thee do I level them."

Benvenuto considers that Vanni Fucci's explosion of rage was because he had been obliged to confess his hitherto unrevealed crime to a living Tuscan, who would recount the true story among his kinsfolk: and hence his shame and fury.

His blasphemy is scarcely uttered when swift retribution comes upon him.

Da indi in qua mi fur le serpi amiche,
Perch' una gli s' avvolse allora all collo, 5
Come dicesse:—"Io non vo' che più diche:"—
Ed un' altra alle braccia, e rilegollo,
Ribadendo* sè stessa sì dinanzi,
Che non potea con esse dare un crollo.

I direct, I point them at Thee!" But, as Biagioli remarks, it is by no means easy to render the full force of the word as used in this passage.

* *Ribadendo:* Some read *ribattendo*, but Blanc (*Saggio*) says there is no doubt of *ribadendo* being the more Tuscan expression of the two, and the variant was probably due to copyists who did not know the word *ribadendo*. *Ribadire* is the regular word in Tuscany which means to clinch the point of a nail. The theory held by some modern Commentators that the serpents pierced right through the body behind and clinched themselves in front, is, I think, wholly unnecessary. The serpents coiled round the arms of the thief, and then passing their tails between his legs, got that purchase in front, which all serpents do, holding on with their tails to trees and such like, when crushing their prey. Buti explains it thus in very plain simple language: "*Ribadendo sè stessa sì d' inanzi;* però dice d' inanzi, imperò che le mani erano legate di retro con le serpe, et avvolta era poi d' inanzi molto stretta," etc. In the illustration of the scene by Botticelli, all the six feet of the dragon are represented exactly as in the text, and the tail, passing between the legs, runs up the back to get its proper purchase.

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From that time forth the serpents were my good friends, for one of them forthwith coiled itself about his neck, as though it would say: "I will not have thee utter more:" and another (serpent coiled) about his arms, and bound him over again, clinching itself so tightly in front, that he could not even give a shake with them.

Vanni Fucci had blasphemed God both by voice and by the action of his hands. Thereupon one serpent coils about his throat, compressing it so tightly as to stop all power of utterance, and the other pinions his arms, thus rendering it impossible for them again to perform the impious gesture described above. And not only does the serpent pinion his arms, but it *re*pinions them (*rilegollo*), for in l. 94 of the last Canto we read that all the Thieves had got their hands bound with serpents. We may remember that Vanni Fucci had been bitten by a serpent, and reduced to ashes; it would seem then that when he reappeared in his human form, he had enjoyed a temporary respite from the coils about his hands, and, as he at once abused that liberty by his impious gesture, the ministers of vengeance bind him in tighter bonds than before.

Dante cannot restrain himself from declaiming against the birth-place of a being so odious.

Ahi Pistoia, Pistoia,* chè non stanzi 10

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* *Ahi Pistoia, Pistoia:* This fierce utterance against Pistoja is not unlike that which Dante speaks against Pisa (*Inf.* xxxiii, 79-84) for having permitted the cruel death of Count Ugolino and his family to take place within its walls:—

"Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti
Del bel paese là, dove il *Sì* suona;
Poi che i vicini a te punir son lenti,

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D' incenerarti, sì che più non duri,
Poi che in mal far lo seme tuo * avanzi.

Movasi la Caprara e la Gorgona,
E facciàn siepe ad Arno in sulla foce,
Sì ch'egli anneghi in te ogni persona."

See also *Ibid.* ll. 151-153, Dante's denunciation of the Genoese:—

"Ahi Genovesi, uomini diversi
D' ogni costume, e pien d' ogni magagna,
Perchè non siete voi del mondo spersi?"

Florence is alluded to all through Dante's works both of poetry and prose in terms of intense love for the place, and bitter hatred against its inhabitants. The instances are too numerous to quote, but in *Inf.* xv, 61, 62, he calls the Florentines *quell' ingrato popolo maligno, Che discese di Fiesole ab antico;* and *ibid.* l. 68, *gente avara, invidiosa e superba*, etc. Siena is reviled for its vanity in *Inf.* xxix, 121, 122; the inhabitants of the Valley of the Arno in *Purg.* xiv, and those of Romagna in the same Canto; while the whole body of the States of Italy are held up to general reprobation in *Purg.* vi.

* *lo seme tuo:* According to old tradition, Pistoia was founded by the escaped remnant of Catiline's defeated soldiers, but Benvenuto thinks this must be false, for not only did the city exist long before the time of Catiline, but moreover if Sallust, an illustrious and truthful citizen, is to be believed, there was no remnant of the rebellious forces of Catiline left, and they were destroyed nearly to a man. Gelli thinks Pistoja was gradually colonised on account of its convenient position at the foot of the Apennines, and from its being much used by travellers passing backwards and forwards between Tuscany and Lombardy; since the valley of the river Reno, which flows down from the watershed of the Apennines to Bologna, is the most convenient highway in the whole chain of those mountains. Gelli observes that two or three hundred years before his time the road over the Apennines was much frequented, because many hospitals or refuges had been built all along it for wayfarers going to Rome for the jubilee, by the Countess Matelda. But as Florence increased in importance, travellers to Rome preferred going that way, and consequently the road through the Valley of the Reno fell into disuse, and in process of time was gradually broken down by the annual floods of the river. The author of the *Chiose Anonime* (ed. Selmi) thinks the Romans defeated Catiline on the ground where Pistoja stands, and that the city was built by those who remained wounded and mutilated on the field of battle, and that the name Pistoja was another word for *pestilenzia* ("pestilence").

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Per tutti i cerchi dell' inferno oscuri
Non vidi spirto in Dio tanto superbo,
Non quel che cadde a Tebe * giù da muri. 15

Ah Pistoja, Pistoja, why dost thou not decree to reduce thyself to ashes, so that thou exist no longer, since in deeds of evil thou outdoest thy progenitors (*lit.* seed). Through all the dark circles of Hell saw I no spirit so arrogant against God, not even that one (Capaneus) who fell down from the walls at Thebes.

Benvenuto argues that if the arrogance of Capaneus was such, that he was struck down by a thunderbolt from Heaven, and if, as we are now told, Vanni Fucci was even more arrogant than Capaneus, it follows that Vanni Fucci must have been the most arrogant spirit in all Hell.

His pride is humbled, he makes a hasty retreat, and we see no more of him. A new form takes his place in the shape of Cacus, called by Dante a Centaur, probably because Virgil speaks of him as half a man. His vocation in Hell seems to be partly that of a punished sinner, and partly that of a minister of punishment, for he comes in hot pursuit of the fugitive Vanni Fucci, who had very likely fled on seeing him approach, and yet at the same time Cacus is himself so overloaded with serpents as to form a conspicuous object even in that serpent-thronged pit.

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* *quel che cadde a Tebe:* This refers to Capaneus. See *Inf.* xiv, 46-72, and especially ll. 63-66:—

"O Capaneo, in ciò che non s' ammorza
La tua superbia, se' tu più punito:
Nullo martirio, fuor che la tua rabbia,
Sarebbe al tuo furor dolor compito."

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Ei si fuggì, che non parlò più verbo:
Ed io vidi un Centauro * pien di rabbia
Venir chiamando:—"Ov' è', ov' è l' acerbo?"—†
Maremma ‡ non cred' io che tante n' abbia,
Quante bisce egli avea su per la groppa, 20

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* *Centauro:* The curious blunder by which Dante describes Cacus as a Centaur is probably due to the recollection of a misunderstood expression in Virgil (*Æn.* viii, 194):—

Semihominis Caci facies.

Cacus was a semi-human and semi-brutish savage, who dwelt in a cave under Mount Aventine. Hercules, having brought the herds of Geryon from Spain, was being entertained by Evander, who had built a new town on the Palatine. Cacus took this opportunity to steal some of the oxen, and dragged them backwards by their tails into his cave, so that their footmarks pointed the opposite way, and Hercules could not at first discover them; but when their lowing had revealed their position, he took prompt vengeance upon the thief.

† *acerbo* here is equivalent to *indomabile* and *superbo* in a metaphorical sense. Compare Virg. *Æn.* v, 461, 462:—

"Tum pater Æneas procedere longius iras,
Et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis."

In *Par.* xix, 46-48 Dante speaks of Lucifer falling *acerbo* for *acerbamente*, "immature," *i.e.* before he had attained his fullest perfection:—

"E ciò fa certo che il primo superbo,
Che fu la somma d' ogni creatura,
Per non aspettar lume, cadde acerbo."

‡ *Maremma:* This word would, generally speaking, signify a region near the sea, being a corruption of *maritima*, whence *maritma*, *maretma*, and finally *maremma*. The allusion here is of course made to the low-lying lands of Tuscany, which are best known as the Maremma, that fatal region extending (see *Inf.* xiii, 9) between the river Cecina near Leghorn, and Corneto, a village in the former Papal States. Partly from the heat, partly from the wild and deserted state of the country, partly from the pestilential climate, large quantities of serpents are to be found there. Buti speaks of the Maremma as a district in the Pisan territory near the sea, and infested by such an abundance of serpents, that at Vada there was an exceedingly beautiful monastery which is said to have become uninhabited from the vast number of serpents that made human life in it impossible. See Forsyth's *Italy*, vol. i, p. 137.

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Infin dove comincia nostra labbia.*
Sopra le spalle, dietro dalla coppa,
Con l' ali aperte gli giacea un draco,†

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* *nostra labbia:* Although *labbia* is generally used to signify the face, expression, as in Latin *Os* was used for *vultus*, the part being taken by the figure *Synecdoche* to express the whole, Gelli, Di Siena, Casini, and Scartazzini feel convinced that in this passage *labbia* must be taken to mean the human part of Cacus's two-fold formation. "Questa voce *labbia* (says Gelli), se bene ella significa nel numero del più e nel genere femminino le labbra, *significa nel numero singolare o del meno, pur medesimamente nel genere femminino, la sembianza e la effigie umana;* non perch' ella derivi dalle labbra umane per quella specie della *synnedoche* che pone la parte pel tutto, come dicono alcuni espositori; ma per avere deliberato e confermato così l' uso. È in questo significato l' usa qui il Poeta, dicendo, ch' egli aveva piena di serpi la groppa *insino a dov' ei cominciava avere sembianza ed effigie umana*, perchè non si può intendere insino alle *labbra*. Gelli quotes in illustration Petrarch, *Trionfo dell' Amore*, iv, 157-159:—

"In così tenebrosa e stretta gabbia
Rinchiusi fummo; ove le penne usate
Mutai per tempo e la mia prima labbia."

Compare also *Inf.* vii, 7, where Plutus is spoken of as

". . . quell' enfiata labbia [*that bloated countenance*]."

Botticelli, who understood his Dante far better than most modern translators, in his illustrations of the *D. C.* represents Cacus with a dragon on the nape of his neck, and a thick cluster of serpents all huddled up together upon his *equine* croup. His *human* back below the shoulders is unoccupied.

† *draco:* "Now here note (says Benvenuto), that according to some writers, there are certain species of dragons that fly through the air breathing flames out of their mouths, but Albertus Magnus does not think this can be true; but rather that there are certain ignited vapours that really do seem to fly, now ascending, now descending, so that inexperienced persons may have imagined that they were flying dragons. But however that may be, Dante has pictured his dragon here as something emitting flame, because this same Cacus was an open incendiary, who set fire to houses, and slew everybody he came across. Well therefore has Virgil represented Cacus as the son of Vulcan the god of fire, vomiting smoke and flame from his mouth. And therefore in this passage you must please understand the dragon to signify the venomous rage which Cacus poured forth upon all men, and from the heat of his wrath he almost seemed to dart forth lightnings."

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E quello affoca * qualunque s' intoppa.

He (Vanni Fucci), who did not utter another word, fled: and I saw a Centaur full of rage come shouting: "Where is he, where is the hardened wretch?" I do not believe that Maremma contains as many snakes as he had upon his (*equine*) croup, to where our (*human*) figure begins. Upon his shoulders, close behind the nape of the neck, a dragon with outspread wings was couching upon him, and that kind sets on fire whomsoever it encounters.

Virgil now tells the story of Cacus, and Benvenuto says that he does so from the threefold point of view, first, of his violence; secondly, of his deceit; and thirdly, of his ignominious death.

Lo mio Maestro disse:—"Quegli è Caco, 25
Che sotto il sasso † di monte Aventino
Di sangue fece spesse volte laco.
Non va co' suoi fratei per un cammino,
Per lo furar che frodolente fece
Del grande armento ‡ ch' egli ebbe a vicino: 30

---

* *quello affoca*, etc.: Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 175-6, says that this is suggested by *Æn.* viii, 252-255:—

"Faucibus ingentem fumum, mirabile dictu!
Evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca,
Prospectum eripiens oculis; glomeratque sub antro
Fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris."

† *sotto il sasso*, etc.: In *Æn.* viii, 190-197, Virgil gives a description of the cavern of Cacus:—

"Jam primum saxis suspensam hanc adspice rupem;
Disjectae procul ut moles, desertaque montis
Stat domus, et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
Hic spelunca fuit, vasto submota recessu;
Semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat,
Solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
Caede tepebat humus; foribusque adfixa superbis
Ora virûm tristi pendebant pallida tabo."

‡ *lo furar . . . frodolente . . . Del grande armento:* In *Æn. l.c.* 207-211, the theft is thus described:—

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Onde cessâr le sue opere biece
Sotto la mazza d' Ercole,* che forse
Gliene diè cento, † e non sentì le diece."—

My Master said: "That is Cacus, who below the rock of Mount Aventine many a time made a lake of blood. He goes not on the same road with his brethren (*i.e.* the Centaurs who guard the boiling river of blood), by reason of the fraudulent theft he made of the great herd that he had in his

---

"Quatuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
Avertit, totidem forma superante juvencas.
Atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
Cauda in speluncam tractos, versisque viarum
Indiciis raptos, saxo occultabat opaco."

Ovid (*Fasti*, i, 547-558) also describes it:—

"Mane erat: excussus somno Tirynthius hospes
De numero tauros sentit abesse duos.
Nulla videt taciti quaerens vestigia furti:
Traxerat aversos Cacus in antra feros;
Cacus, Aventinae timor atque infamia silvae,
Non leve finitimis hospitibusque malum.
Dira viro facies; vires pro corpore; corpus
Grande: pater monstri Mulciber hujus erat.
Proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens,
Abdita, vix ipsis invenienda feris.
Ora super postes affixaque brachia pendent,
Squalidaque humanis ossibus albet humus."

* *Sòtto la mazza d' Ercole:* Ovid (*l.c.* 575-578) relates the death of Cacus:—

"Occupat Alcides, adductaque clava trinodis
Ter quater adversi sedit in ore viri.
Ille cadit, mixtosque vomit cum sanguine fumos,
Et lato moriens pectore plangit humum."

† *Gliene diè cento:* Understand *mazzate* = "club-strokes." Benvenuto, the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, Gelli, Lubin, Scartazzini and Camerini agree that this means that Cacus died before the tenth blow, possibly the first few blows stunned him, and that Hercules in his frenzy of rage went on striking him after he was dead (*Tante gliene diede, preso com' era d' ira*). Di Siena remarks: "Per manco di dieci mazzate Caco era già finito: Ercole nondimeno nella grande ira seguita a dargliene molte altre."

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neighbourhood: for which his felon deeds came to an end under the club-strokes of Hercules, who perchance dealt him a hundred of them, and he (Cacus) felt not ten (becoming unconscious after the first few blows)."

Benvenuto remarks that Virgil, in the above lines of the text, had answered the following tacit question, which Dante would in all probability put to him: "If Cacus shed floods of gore, why is he not punished with the other Violent in the first round of the Seventh Circle?" and Virgil's reply is: "No, he does not go with the other Centaurs there, because he has been guilty of the additional crime of fraudulent theft, contriving it so that the stolen cattle left deceptive footprints to make his pursuers think they had gone the other way." Benvenuto after observing that Catiline was also violent and fraudulent in a similar way, for when he retreated from the Hill of Fiesole, he had his horses shod with their shoes turned the reverse way, concludes the passage thus: "And lastly note this, that if Roderick, Archbishop of Toledo, has written the truth in his Chronicle *De gestis Hispaniae*, this Cacus was a Spaniard whom Hercules drove from a high mountain in Spain; but in his flight his destiny led him into Italy, so that he could not after all evade the club of Hercules."

Division II.—Although it has taken some time to describe the arrival of Cacus and his general appearance, yet the Poets' vision of him could have been but momentary, for the Centaur, with his human nature incensed against Vanni Fucci, and his equine nature tormented by the serpents, would seem to have gal-

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loped up at great speed, and to have passed like the flash of a meteor in pursuit of Fucci, the sacrilegious thief, and presumptuous blasphemer. He is gone before the indignant words (*Ov' è, ov' è l' acerbo?*) are well out of his mouth. Virgil is recounting to Dante the legends respecting him, when a new group comes upon the scene. It consists of three shades of the second class of Thieves, namely, those who are addicted to habitual theft, and yet are under the restraint of a certain vestige of human sympathy which they still retain.

In the confused scenes which now follow, it is difficult to always distinguish the identity of the principal actors. Mr. Butler begs us to observe that there are three distinct forms of punishment by means of the serpents. Vanni Fucci is burnt up by the bite of a serpent, and comes into his own shape again; Agnello blends with a serpent; and in l. 70 *et seq.*, we shall find man and serpent exchanging shapes.

Mentre che sì parlava, ed ei trascorse,
E tre spiriti * venner sotto noi, 35

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* *E tre spiriti: E* in this passage must be taken, not as conjunction, but as an interjection having the sense of *ecco* "lo! behold!" Blanc (*Voc. Dant.* s.v. *e*) observes that sometimes, when united to *ecco*, and at other times without *ecco*, *e* announces an unforeseen circumstance at the instant of its occurrence . . . as in *Inf.* xxv, 50:—

"Ed un serpente con sei piè si lancia."

And *Purg.* viii, 94, 95:—

"Com' ei parlava, *e* Sordello a sè il trasse
Dicendo: 'Vedi là il nostro avversaro.'"

Compare also *Inf.* xix, 3; *e voi rapaci*, and my note upon that passage, containing extract from Dr. Moore's *Textual Criticism*, pp. 323-325.

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Dei quai nè io nè il Duca mio s' accorse.*
Se non quando gridâr :—" Chi siete voi ? "—
Per che nostra novella si ristette,
Ed intendemmo pure ad essi poi. †
Io non gli conoscea ; ma ei seguette,‡ 40
Come suol seguitar per alcun caso,
Che l' un nomare un altro convenette,
Dicendo :—" Cianfa dove fia § rimaso ? "—
Perch' io, acciocchè il Duca stesse attento,
Mi posi il dito su dal mento al naso. 45

---

* *s' accorse :* Dante and Virgil had their attention so rivetted upon Cacus that they had not perceived the three shades creeping through the gloom (the *Anonimo Fiorentino* says like thieves in the night), and coming close underneath the spot on which the Poets were standing.

† *Ed intendemmo pure ad essi poi :* Compare *Inf.* xxii, 16 :—
" Pure alla pegola era la mia intesa."

‡ *ei seguette :* Nannucci (*Analisi Critica dei Verbi*, p. 172, § ix) remarks : " From the Latin *timuit* we have seen . . . that by leaving out the *u* and changing *i* into *e*, we obtained the third person singular *temè*. But the old Italians preserved the final *t*, and the word became *temet*, and then by protraction of pronunciation *temette*. So we get *fuggette* for *fugì ; uscette* for *uscì ; finette* for *finì ; odette* for *udì*, and *seguette* for *seguì*." Compare *Purg.* xxii, 82-84 :—
" Vennermi poi parendo tanto santi,
Che, quando Domizian li perseguette,
Senza mio lagrimar non fur lor pianti."
The same remarks may be made about *ristette* in l. 38, and *convenette* in l. 42.

§ *Cianfa dove fia ? :* Nannucci (*op. cit.* p. 464, § xiv) says : " *Fia, fie, fiemo, fieno*, for *sarò, sarà, saremo, saranno*. The reason why the above words were ascribed to the verb *essere* is clear. Among the Latins *fio* (from the Greek φύω) was a verb substantive like *sum*. And therefore we Italians, from *fiam, fiet, fiemus, fient*, have taken *fia, fie, fiemo, fieno*. . . . I answer the objections of Mastrofini by declaring that *fia* and *fiano* (substituted for *fie* and *fieno*) are *not* derived from the conjunctive forms *fiat* and *fiant*, but from the future *fiet* and *fient*, and the only reason why people did not say *fie* and *fieno* was because *fia* and *fiano* were more in unison with the generally adopted terminations of the future, *amerà, amerano ; temerà, temerano ; udirà, udirano*." Compare *Par.* xvii, 68, 69 :—

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> While he (Virgil) was thus speaking, and he (Cacus) had sped away, lo! there came below us three spirits, of whom neither I nor my Leader was aware, until they cried out: "Who are ye?" Whereupon our story broke off, and we turned our attention solely to them. I did not know them: but it happened as will oftentimes happen by some chance, that one of them had occasion to name another, saying: "Where can Cianfa have stopped?" Whereupon I, in order that my Leader might listen attentively, laid my finger upwards from the chin to the nose.

Dante gave the common Italian sign for silence. Di Siena remarks that there now opens before us a scene of marvellous transformations, in which Dante, for novelty of invention, appropriateness and perspicuity of diction, natural vividness of imagination, and for the utility of moral effect, has no reason to envy either Lucan or Ovid in the endless *metamorphoses* that flow from his rich and inexhaustible vein. For the better intelligence of the text, let the reader distinguish the five Florentines.

Three of them appear in human form, and the other two as serpents.

(1) Agnolo de' Brunelleschi is attacked by a six-footed serpent or dragon, which is in reality the shade of Cianfa, and the two get blended together, and move away as one form (ll. 49-78).

(2) Buoso degli Abati is bitten in the navel by

"Sì che a te fia bello
Averti fatta parte per te stesso."

In that passage *fia bello* means "it will be good for thee," etc. The *Chiose Anonime* (ed. Selmi) says: "Cianfa fu cavaliere de' Donati, e fu gran ladro di bestiame, e rompia botteghe e votare [*sic*] le cassette."

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a small fiery serpent, which is Guercio de' Cavalcanti. The two transform their natures at once. Buoso changes into a serpent, and glides hissing away; while the little serpent gradually changes into Guercio de' Cavalcanti, who exults that Buoso should have taken his place, and should have to glide along on his belly in the dust (ll. 79-141).

(3) Puccio Sciancato de' Galigai is the only one of the five who undergoes no change (ll. 145-151).

(4) Cianfa de' Donati appears in the form of the six-footed serpent or dragon mentioned in (1), of whom Benvenuto says: *statim videbis quod ipse faciet alium serpentem.*

(5) Guercio de' Cavalcanti appears in the form of the little serpent mentioned in (2). (See l. 151, where his identity is established).

Dante is now about to relate the extraordinary phenomenon of the blending into one hybrid form of two bodies, of a man and a serpent, but before doing so he prefaces his remarks with a rhetorical artifice which calls forth the admiration both of Gelli and Di Siena. He tells his readers that he can hardly expect them to believe what he is about to tell them, for though he witnessed the occurrence, he can hardly believe it himself.

Se tu sei or, Lettore, a creder lento
Ciò ch' io dirò, non sarà maraviglia,
Chè io che il vidi appena il mi consento.*

---

* *appena il mi consento:* Compare *Convito* iii, in the Canzone *Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona* (ll. 51-53):—

"E puossi dir che il suo aspetto giova
A consentir ciò che par maraviglia:
Onde la fede nostra è aiutata."

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If now, Reader, thou art slow to credit that which I am going to tell, it will be no marvel, for I who saw it can scarcely admit it to myself.

The three shades have no sooner arrived below where the Poets are standing, than a dragon rushes upon one of them. In the Album of Botticelli's Illustrations (*Zeichnungen von Botticelli zu Dantes Komoedie*, Berlin, 1887), the *serpente con sei piedi* (l. 50) is represented to all intents and purposes in the conventional form of a dragon. These are probably the oldest illustrations of the *Commedia* existing, and the faithfulness with which Botticelli has followed the text compares favourably with the methods of all modern illustrators.

Com' io tenea levate in lor le ciglia,
Ed un serpente con sei piè si lancia, 50
Dinanzi all' uno, e tutto a lui s' appiglia.
Coi piè di mezzo gli avvinse la pancia,
E con gli anterïor le braccia prese;
Poi gli addentò e l' una e l' altra guancia.*
Gli diretani alle cosce distese, 55
E miseli la coda tr' ambedue,
E dietro per le ren su la ritese.

While I was keeping my eyebrows raised towards them, behold a serpent with six feet darts in front of one (of them), and fastens upon him all over. With its mid-feet it clasped his belly, and with its fore-feet it gripped his arms; then it fixed its fangs in both his cheeks. The hinder feet it spread out over his thighs, and inserted its tail between the two (thighs), and stretched it upwards over the loins behind.

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* *gli addentò e l' una e l' altra guancia:* Tommaséo says that the mouth of the dragon was so large that it was able to take in both of Agnolo's cheeks at one bite. Botticelli's illustration depicts this action of the dragon exactly.

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Dante, in three successive similes, first compares the tenacity of the dragon to that of ivy clinging to a tree; but Benvenuto points out that whereas the ivy or the vine can be torn from the tree piece-meal, there is no such possibility of getting rid of the dragon's hold. Dante next goes on to describe the way the dragon and the man became incorporated together, by comparing them to two pieces of soft wax that can easily be moulded into one shape. Lastly, the change of form is compared to the gradual alteration in the colour of a piece of burning paper, which from white turns first brown and then black.

Ellera * abbarbicata mai non fue
Ad arbor sì, come l' orribil fiera
Per l' altrui membra avviticchiò † le sue: 60
Poi s' appiccâr, come di calda cera
Fossero stati, e mischiâr lor colore;

---

* *Ellera:* Compare Horace, *Epod.* xv, 5-10:—
"Arctius atque hedera procera astringitur ilex,
Lentis adhaerens brachiis;
Dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
Turbaret hybernum mare,
Intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos,
Fore hunc amorem mutuum."
And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* vii, st. 29:—
"Non così strettamente edera preme
Pianta ove intorno abbarbicato s' abbia,
Come si stringon li du' amanti insieme."
And Euripides, *Hecuba*, 398:—
"*ὁποῖα κισσὸς δρυὸς ὅπως τῆσδ' ἕξομαι.*"

† *avviticchiò:* The *Gran Dizionario* says of *avviticchiare:* "Propriamente dicesi di quelle piante provvedute di viticci [*tendrils, suckers*], coi quali si attaccano ai corpi vicini. . . . *Per simil.* Avvinghiare, Cingere intorno alla guisa che fanno i viticci." Compare Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* Canto xx, st. 99:—
"Come olmo a cui la pampinosa pianta
Cupida s' avviticchi e si marite."

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Nè l' un nè l' altro già parea quel ch' era:
Come procede innanzi dall' ardore
Per lo papiro * suso un color bruno,† 65
Che non è nero ancora, e il bianco more.

Never did ivy get so rooted to a tree, as this horrible reptile entwined its own round the other's limbs. Then they stuck close together, as though they had been of heated wax, and mingled their hues; neither the one nor the other seemed now

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**papiro:* There has been great difference of opinion among the Commentators as to whether by *papiro* one is to understand paper made from papyrus (*charta bombycina*), or the pith of the papyrus as used in lamps in the time of Dante, and for the composition of which into wicks there were very stringent regulations laid down in the Florentine statutes. Buti, the *Ottimo*, Landino, Lombardi, Tommaséo and Scartazzini hold the latter view. But Blanc (*Saggio*) points out that Dante particularly speaks of the consuming of the paper as running *upwards*, whereas in a lamp it would burn downwards. Di Siena, Biagioli, Cesari, Bianchi, and the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, take *papiro* to mean paper; and I follow them. Gelli also unhesitatingly adopts the same interpretation: "E per mostrarci come si facessi questo mescolamento de' loro colori, dice ch' egli avvenne propiamente, come quando ei si arde il *papiro*, cioè la carta e il foglio, chiamato già anticamente *papiro*, perchè si faceva del midollo di una specie di giunchi che si chiamano *papiri*, ma oggi *carta* o foglio, perchè non si fanno più di detti giunchi, ma si fanno di pezzi di panno lino vecchio. Quando si abbrucia adunque un pezzo di detta carta, va sempre così un pochetto inanzi al fuoco e a la fiamma che la arde, un certo color bruno, che non è ancor nero, e nientedimanco la bianchezza naturale del foglio muore e manca; nella qual maniera ei dice che andò mutandosi il colore di questo serpente in quel dello spirito."

†*color bruno:* The *Gran Dizionario* (§ 1) gives the primary meaning of *bruno* as "Di color nereggiante;" and § 2 "Per nero semplicemente." The great *Vocabolario della Crusca*, the same. Trissino thus paraphrases the passage in the text: "Come *un color nereggiante* cammina, prima che si accenda ed alzi la fiamma su per lo papiro, conciossiachè non è ancora negro del tutto, ed il bianco va a poco a poco mancando." See my note on *Inf.* ii, 1, *l' aer bruno* = "the darkening air." The proper word for "brown" in Tuscan Italian is *marrone*.

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what it had been: just as in front of the flame there runs up over the paper a darkening tint, which is not yet black, and the white colour dies away.

The other two shades have been silent spectators of the attack upon their comrade, but on perceiving the change coming over him, both break out into an exclamation of pity. Two things in their demeanour do not seem quite intelligible. It is not usual in Dante's Hell for the souls of the damned to manifest any humane feelings; and in the next place, would they now be witnessing such a scene for the first time? If not, whence their astonishment? It may be, that according to the routine of the *Bolgia*, they would know that their turn would very soon follow, and in that case their emotion would be one of horror, and fear for themselves.

Gli altri due riguardavano, e ciascuno
Gridava:—"O me, Agnèl,* come ti muti!
Vedi che già non sei nè due nè uno."—†

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* *Agnèl:* The author of the *Chiose Anonime* (ed. Selmi) says of him: "This Agnello was one of the Brunelleschi family of Florence; and from his earliest childhood he would empty his father's or his mother's purse, and after that the tills in the shops, and was wholly given up to thieving. Later on, when he grew up, he would get into other peoples houses; he would disguise himself as a poor man, and he would fashion himself an old man's beard. That is why Dante represents him transformed by the bite of that serpent, because he used thus to transform himself for the purpose of thieving." He is also called Agnolello, but more often Agnolo.

† *nè due nè uno:* "Not two, because it was one single body; nor one, because it no longer had the form or the individuality of a serpent alone, or of a man alone." (Di Siena). Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 213) says that this transformation scene has many points of resemblance with the passage in Ovid, *Met.* iv. Compare *non sei nè due nè uno* in l. 69 and *due e nessun*

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Già eran li due capi un divenuti 70
Quando n' apparver due figure miste
In una faccia,* ov' eran due perduti.
Fêrsi le braccia due di quattro liste;
Le cosce con le gambe, il ventre e il casso
Divenner membra che non fur mai viste. 75
Ogni primaio aspetto ivi era casso:
Due e nessun † l' imagine perversa
Parea, e tal sen gía con lento passo.

The other two were looking on, and each of them cried: "Alas! Agnolo, how thou art changing! Behold! thou art already neither two nor one!" By this time the two heads had become one, when there appeared to us two countenances mixed up in one face, wherein the two (individualities) were lost. The two arms formed themselves out of four streaks (*i.e.* out of the two arms of Agnolo and the two fore-legs of the dragon); the thighs with the legs, the belly and the chest turned into such members as never were seen before. Each original aspect there was erased: the distorted image seemed two and (yet) none, and in such (transformed) condition it went off with slow step.

Scartazzini, discussing the classification of the Thieves most generally adopted by the old Commentators, remarks that Roman Jurisprudence dis-

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in l. 77, with Ovid, *Met.* iv, ll. 378, 379 (where the formation of the Hermaphrodite is described):—

"Nec duo sunt et forma duplex, nec femina dici
Nec puer ut possint; neutrumque et utrumque videntur."

* *due figure miste In una faccia:* Compare Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 373, 374:—

". . . . Nam mista duorum
Corpora junguntur, faciesque inducitur illis
Una."

† *Due e nessun:* "The image seemed man and serpent together; and yet it did not seem either the one or the other." (Di Siena).

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tinguishes theft into three species: it *primarily* establishes the difference between things human and things divine, and it next subdivides things human into things public and things private (*Summa rerum divisio in duos articulos deducitur; nam aliae sunt divini juris, aliae humani. . . . Quaedam naturali jure communia sunt omnium, quaedam universitatis, quaedam nullius pleraque singulorum*). Dante seems to have had in his mind this triple partition. Vanni Fucci was the thief who robbed holy things from the Sacristy. Cianfa and Agnolo probably filled public offices at Florence, and in these may have committed defalcations, that is, were thieves of public property. The other Florentines mentioned in this Canto seem to have been thieves of private property. Hence the diversity of their punishment. Vanni Fucci at the bite of the serpent takes fire, is reduced to ashes, and then gets his human form back again, only for the purpose of being once more reduced to ashes. His penalty is a sort of eternal holocaust, but a holocaust without expiation. Cianfa and Agnolo embrace one another, unite, and become, as it were, one person. These would be the public functionaries who combine together to embezzle public property. But their very union is just their torment, their hell. The others rob each other of all that remains to them, namely, their shape. These would be the robbers of private property, who steal, wherever, whenever, and whatever they are able.

Division III.—The second of the three shades is the next to suffer. This is Buoso degli Abati, of

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whom but little is known. He is attacked by a small serpent, which is afterwards found to be Guercio de' Cavalcanti.

The serpent that darts upon Buoso is compared from the lightning-like rapidity of its movements, to the large-sized lizards, that flit about from hedge to hedge during the mid-day heats of the hottest period of the Italian summer.

Come il ramarro,* sotto la gran fersa †

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* *ramarro:* There can be no doubt that the animal here referred to is not the ordinary little lizard (*lucertola*), with which one is so familiar in the south of Europe, but a much larger and rarer species, which I have seen two or three times at Mentone and Cannes. Lubin says: "It is exactly like the lizard in shape and colour, but three or four times as large as the largest-sized lizards." Gelli says: "It [the serpent] was coming with such velocity, that Dante likens it to a *ramarro,* a very well-known animal, like the lizard, but much larger, much greener in colour, and far more beautiful, having its skin dotted over with certain spots that shine so that they seem like little stars (*stelloline*); for which reason the Latins call it *stellio.* It is exceedingly swift in its movements, and more especially so in seasons of heat, so that the hotter is the season, the stronger it [the animal] gets, and the more swiftly it runs." Fanfani (*Vocabolario*) writes: "*ramarro* è un lucertolone (*i.e.* a large-sized lizard)." Lana gives the following quaint description: "*Ramarro* è una spezie di ferucole velenose, e sono appellate *magrassi* ovvero *ligùri* [nel dialetto Lombardo], li quali al tempo del gran caldo appariscono nelle strade, e sono molto paurosi animali, che come vegiono l'uomo, e gettanseli addosso, e quello che in bocca è mai non lassano, o elli fuggano come folgore, cioè velocissimamente." The *Chiose Sinchrone* in the *Codice Cassinese* say: "Similis lacertae salve quod est viridissimus. Et dicitur *ramarrus* a ramo sepium, quia ascendit de uno ramo in allio." I have seen in the Reptile House at the Zoological Gardens certain lizards, four or five times the size of the ordinary kind, with their backs covered with eye-like spots. These were from the south of France and were called "eyed-lizards." My impression of the few large-sized lizards that I have seen in a wild state, is that they were of a much more brilliant green than what I saw at the Zoological Gardens. I note that some Commentators

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De' dì canicular cangiando siepe, 80
Folgore par, se la via attraversa:
Così parea, venendo verso l' epe ‡
Degli altri due, un serpentello acceso, §
Livido e nero come gran di pepe.
E quella parte, donde prima è preso 85
Nostro alimento, all' un di lor trafisse;
Poi cadde giuso innanzi lui disteso.
Lo trafitto il mirò, ma nulla disse:
Anzi coi piè fermati sbadigliava, ||

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would seem to refer to the *Grand Lézard vert ocellé* of Cuvier (*Lacerta Ocellata*, the eyed-lizard), while others unmistakably allude to the *Stellion Comun* of Cuvier (*stellio vulgaris*, the stellion).

Some friends of mine, residing at Florence, told me that during the month of August, 1891, they saw two lizards of large size, answering to the description given above, that had been caught in the *Cascine*, exhibited close by the Piazza della Signoria, and they heard them called both *ramarro* and *lucertolone*, more frequently the latter.

† *la gran fersa:* Benvenuto's interpretation is: "sub magno calore sive magna calura." Lana simply says: "*fersa* cioè calura." Some read *ferza*, others *sferza*, a scourge. Brun. Bianchi derives *fersa* from *ferveo*, and gives it the signification of "intense heat." Scartazzini, "*sotto la gran fersa:* sotto i cocenti raggi del sole in estate."

‡ *l' epe:* This is the plural of *epa*, and signifies "the bellies." The word only occurs in this one passage in the plural, and twice in the singular in *Inf.* xxx, namely, l. 102:—

"Col pugno gli percosse l' epa croia."

And l. 119:—

"Rispose quel ch' avea enfiata l' epa."

Di Siena thinks that in all three passages it is used as a term of contempt.

§ *acceso:* Many Commentators, and among them Benvenuto and Scartazzini, take this to mean *acceso d' ira, infuriato;* but I have preferred to follow Gelli (as I see Prof. Norton does), who interprets *acceso:* "che gittava fuoco." The context in ll. 92, 93, shows that the serpent was on fire, and that its fire passed into the other spirit.

|| *sbadigliava:* Scartazzini quotes Asson, *Intorno le conoscenze biologiche e mediche di Dante*, in the *Atti dell' Imp. Reg. Veneto di Scienze*, tom. vi, ser. iii, pp. 854, 855, as showing that

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Pur come sonno o febbre l' assalisse. 90
Egli il serpente, e quei lui riguardava:
L' un per la piaga, e l' altro per la bocca
Fumavan forte, e il fummo si scontrava.

As the eyed-lizard beneath the fiercest heat of the dog-days, when changing (*i.e.* flitting) from hedge to hedge looks like a lightning-flash if it cross the road; so did there appear, coming towards the bellies of the other two, a little fiery serpent, livid and black as a pepper corn. And in one of them it transpierced that part (the navel) from which is first drawn our nourishment (before birth); then fell down stretched out before him. He that was pierced gazed at it, but said nothing; on the contrary standing motionless on his feet he yawned, just as though drowsiness or fever were attacking him. He stared at the serpent, and it at him: the one (Buoso) emitted thick smoke from the wound, and the other (the serpent) from the mouth, and their smoke commingled.

Before relating the transformation that takes place between the man (Buoso degli Abati) and the little serpent (Guercio de' Cavalcanti), Dante assures his readers that he yields in nothing to the poets of antiquity in their descriptions of transformations, since none of them have ever attempted to depict a complete inter-transformation between two beings.

Taccia Lucano omai, là dove tocca
Del misero Sabello * e di Nassidio † 95
Ed attenda ad udir quel ch' or si scocca.

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the bite of the asp produces just exactly the comatose symptoms that Dante depicts here.

* *Sabello:* Sabellus was a Roman soldier serving in Cato's army in Africa. Lucan (*Phars.* ix, 763-782) relates of him that being bitten by a small but extremely venomous serpent called a "seps" while crossing the Libyan desert, his body so putrified as to become a mass of liquid corruption.

† *Nassidio:* Nassidius was a fellow-soldier of Sabellus. Lucan

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Taccia di Cadmo * e d' Aretusa † Ovidio:
Chè se quello in serpente, e quella in fonte
Converte poetando, io non l' invidio:
Chè due nature mai a fronte a fronte 100
Non trasmutò, sì ch' ambedue le forme
A cambiar lor materia fosser pronte.

Henceforth let Lucan be silent, there where he tells of the ill-fated Sabellus and Nassidius, and let him wait to hear that which will now be revealed (*lit.* let fly). Let Ovid be silent about Cad-

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(*l.c.* 790-797) relates that he was bitten by a venomous serpent called a "prester," the effect of which was to make his body swell to such an enormous size, that his corselet burst, and he died changed into a headless, formless heap. See Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary* for both these names, as also for the two that follow.

* *Cadmo:* When flying from Thebes through Libya, Cadmus and his wife Harmodia were changed into serpents. (See Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 570-588.)

† *Aretusa:* The Nymph Arethusa, one of the Nereïds, was at her own request changed by Diana into a fountain to escape the pursuit of the river-god Alpheus, just when he was on the point of seizing her. (See Ovid, *Metam.* v, 572 *et seq.*) Compare Shelley, *Arethusa*, ll. 1-18:—

"Arethusa arose
From her couch of snows
In the Acroceraunian mountains,—
From cloud and from crag,
With many a jag,
Shepherding her bright fountains.
She leapt down the rocks,
With her rainbow locks,
Streaming among the streams;—
Her steps paved with green
The downward ravine
Which slopes to the western gleams:
And gliding and springing
She went, ever singing,
In murmurs as soft as sleep;
The Earth seemed to love her,
And Heaven smiled above her,
As she lingered towards the deep."

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> mus and Arethusa: for if in his poësy he converts him into a serpent and her into a fountain, I grudge it not to him: for never did he transmute two natures face to face in such wise, that both persons were ready to exchange their matter.*

Ovid only related the change of a human being into something else. Dante relates a double change, namely, that of a man into a serpent, and that of a serpent into a man.

Gelli remarks that all writers who had up to then written about transmutations, whether true or fabulous, had simply related the bare facts, but without demonstrating the process by which such changes were effectuated. The transformations recounted in Holy Writ, such as Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, or the rod of Moses into a serpent, are different, because the cause of these changes is very distinctly defined, in that they were effected by the Virtue of God, to the which no other power is able to offer any resistance. But such writers as Pliny, Lucan, Ovid and Claudian, while perfectly able to describe the effect, namely, that a man should be changed into an animal, or a girl into a fountain, are however unable to understand how such change should be brought about by a gradual and natural process, and not in an instant of time.

Benvenuto believes that Dante did not make this boast so much for the purpose of praising himself, as

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* *persons . . . matter:* Mr. Tozer (*English Commentary to the D. C.*) renders *forme* "persons," and *materia* "substance," and observes that in the language of the Schoolmen *forma* is the essential element which distinguishes a species; hence it is used of the essence or personality of living beings (*Par.* iv, 54), while *materia* signifies the bodies in which they reside.

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to arrest the attention of the reader to the account of the marvellous and unheard of spectacle witnessed by himself and Virgil.

Division IV.—Benvenuto observes that the lines that follow should be read with the closest attention, for the passage is intricate in the extreme.

The first transmutation is that of the legs of the man and the tail of the serpent.

Insieme si riposero a tai norme,
Che il serpente la coda in forca fesse,
E il feruto * ristrinse insieme l' orme. 105
Le gambe con le cosce seco stesse
S' appiccâr sì, che in poco la giuntura
Non facea segno alcun che si paresse.
Togliea la coda fessa la figura
Che si perdeva là, e la sua pelle 110
Si facea molle, e quella di là dura.

They corresponded one to another under such conditions, that the serpent clave his tail into a fork (to become human legs), and the wounded one contracted his feet together (to form the serpent's tail). The legs and the very thighs with them so fastened themselves together, that in a brief space the juncture made no mark that was apparent. The divided tail was (gradually) assuming the form that the other was losing, and its (serpent) skin was softening (into human skin), and the other hardening.

Dante next proceeds in regular sequence from the legs and tail, to describe the inter-transformation of the belly and the arms of the human form, into the trunk and the fore-feet of the serpent, the long human

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* *feruto:* Another form of *ferito*, past participle of *ferire*. Used elsewhere by Dante in *Inf.* xxi, 87; *Inf.* xxiv, 150; etc.

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arms shortening into serpent's feet, and the short fore-feet of the serpent lengthening into human arms. Moreover the exhalation in which they are wreathed changes their respective colours. It gives the man the colour of a serpent, and the serpent that of a man.

Io vidi entrar le braccia per l' ascelle,
E i due piè della fiera, ch' eran corti,
Tanto allungar quanto accorciavan quelle.*
Poscia li piè diretro, insieme attorti, 115
Diventaron lo membro che l' uom cela,
E il misero del suo n' avea due pôrti.
Mentre che il fummo l' uno e l' altro vela
Di color nuovo, e genera il pel suso
Per l' una parte, e dall' altra il dipela, 120
L' un si levò, e l' altro cadde giuso,
Non torcendo però le lucerne † empie,
Sotto le quai ciascun cambiava muso.‡

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* *quelle* refers to the human arms. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* v, 455-458:—

"Combibit os maculas, et, qua modo brachia gessit,
Crura gerit. Cauda est mutatis addita membris:
Inque brevem formam, ne sit vis magna nocendi,
Contrahitur, parvaque minor mensura lacerta est."

† *lucerne:* All the old Commentators understand this to mean the eyes. Compare *Matt.* vi, 22 in the *Vulgate:* "Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus."

‡ *muso:* Some translators here make use of the word "muzzle," by way of giving a contemptuous interpretation to *muso.* I do not feel disposed to agree that Dante specially intended to convey any contempt in the expression. He is describing two faces, the man's and the serpent's, utterly unlike each other. Benvenuto, both here and in l. 130 translates *muso* as "*os*," and of *cambiava muso,* writes: "mutabat os, et bene dicit: quia mutatio oris fiebat sub oculis, quia bucca naturaliter in animali est infra oculos, nisi esset monstrum." Lamennais translates "le visage"; Pollock "the face"; and Carlyle (the version which I have adopted in l. 130) "sharpened visage." Gelli also takes it in this latter sense: "*il muso innanzi*

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I saw the arms drawn inward through the armpits, and the two feet of the reptile, which were short, lengthening out to the same proportions as these (the human arms) were shortening. Then the hinder feet (of the serpent) twisting up together became the member that man conceals, and the wretched being from his had put forth two (serpent's hinder feet). While the smoke covers each of them with a new (*i.e.* gradually changing) colour, and generates the hair on the surface on the one side (*i.e.* of the serpent becoming man), and removes it from the other (*i.e.* the man becoming serpent), the former rose up, and the latter sank to the ground, not however turning away (from one another) their cruel eyes (*lit.* lamps), under which each was changing his visage.

The two were glaring at each other with a fixity of hate which may be thought to be an evidence of the innate wickedness of their souls. The interchange of the two faces is then depicted in language of which the lucidity and precision it would be impossible to surpass.

In the passage that follows (ll. 124-135) the first six lines describe the transformation of the serpent into the man, and the last six lines that of the man into the serpent.

Quel ch' era dritto, il trasse vêr le tempie,
E di troppa materia che in là venne, 125
Uscir gli orecchi delle gote scempie: *

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caccia (l. 130), cioè lo spinge e fa aguzzo, perchè era prima schiacciato, essendo viso umano." See also the *Anonimo Fiorentino:* "La faccia dell' uomo divenia muso di serpente, e 'l muso del serpente divenia faccia d' uomo."

* *scempie:* Bargigi interprets *gote scempie;* "che prima non avevano orecchi alcune." Venturi: "Lisce o sceme, mancanti." Tommaséo and Scartazzini: "Senza orecchi."

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Ciò che non corse in dietro e si ritenne,
Di quel soperchio fe' naso alla faccia,
E le labbra ingrossò quanto convenne.
Quel che giacea, il muso innanzi caccia, 130
E gli orecchi ritira per la testa,
Come face* le corna la lumaccia:
E la lingua, che avea unita e presta
Prima a parlar, si fende, e la forcuta
Nell' altro si richiude, e il fummo resta. 135

He that was (now) upright (*i.e.* the serpent turning into man) contracted it (his visage) towards the temples, and out of the superfluity of material which came thither (to the temples), there issued the ears from the vacant cheeks: that which did not run backward (to the temples) and which was retained (in front), of that excess formed a nose for the (human) face, and enlarged the lips as much as was needful. He that lay grovelling (*i.e.* Buoso) thrusts forward the (serpent's) pointed snout, and draws his ears back within the head, even as a snail does its horns: and his tongue, which before was entire and fit for speech, is cleft, (whereas) in the other one the forked tongue closes up, and the vapour ceases.

By the smoke or vapour ceasing, Benvenuto says we are to understand that the transformation has been completed; the serpent having transfused its whole spirit into the man, and *vice-versâ*, so that the whole transformation would seem to have been made by the virtue of the smoke of either party—Dante probably saw in the whole thing one conclusion alone, namely, that a thief of this description will ever be liable to lose his nature and become a ser-

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**face* for *fa*, from *facere* old form of *fare*. See Nannucci, *Analisi Critica dei Verbi*, p. 605 *et seq.*

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pent, and consequently is one of the worst species of all. For if Vanni Fucci was reduced to ashes, he was quickly born again; if Agnolo appeared incorporated with a serpent, he did not all the same entirely lose his human nature, which he still retained simultaneously [with the serpent nature] in the same body, though confusedly and indistinctly. But Buoso underwent his transformation far more unhappily than the others, for he was entirely stripped of his human nature. Buoso then from a man became a serpent, and Guercio from a serpent became a man, when he spontaneously laid aside his thievish purposes. For these particular thieves were not always in the mind for thieving, but only on certain occasions according to circumstances. When therefore they are in their thievish bent, they assume the serpent form and lay aside the human; and when they reassume the human, they lay aside the serpentine, becoming more reasonable, and so they are at one time serpents, and at another men.*

To show how complete the transformation had been, Dante describes the shade of Buoso gliding off hissing as a serpent, and the re-instated form of Guercio following him with two of a man's attributes, namely, talking and spitting.

L' anima ch' era fiera divenuta

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* Gelli quotes Giambullari as saying that this transformation has not been pictured by Dante from mere chance, but that it is a true story, poetically coloured by him; because it is a fact that the persuasions and the example of Messer Francesco Guercio de' Cavalcanti were the cause that induced Messer Buoso to become a thief.

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Si sfuggì sufolando * per la valle,
E l' altro dietro a lui parlando sputa.†
Poscia gli volse le novelle spalle,
E disse all' altro :—" Io vo' che Buoso ‡ corra, 140
Com' ho fatt' io, carpon, per questo calle."—

The soul that had become a reptile fled along the valley hissing, and after him the other spitting as he talked. Then he (Guercio) turned his newly-formed shoulders upon him (Buoso), and said to the other (*i.e.* Puccio Sciancato, the third shade): "I will have Buoso run, as I have been doing, on his belly along the path."

Both Benvenuto and Gelli observe that Dante brings the Canto to a conclusion in true rhetorical form by adding a peroration and an epilogue to the

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* *sufolando:* This means "hissing," or "whistling." Scartazzini thinks the word an appropriate one for thieves, who are in the habit of whistling to each other by way of signal.

† *parlando sputa:* Several translators render this "sputters as he speaks," implying the process of imperfect speech before the habit is formed. I do not think the word requires so much explanation. It has ever been the habit of the nations of Southern Europe to spit in every direction, and the first use Buoso makes of his resuscitation as a Florentine citizen in his human form is to exercise this customary privilege! "Questi sono atti propi dell' uomo: niuno altro animale parla e sputa se non l' uomo, come nium altro animale sufola se non lo serpente." (Buti).

‡ *Buoso:* By some of the old Commentators he is called Buoso degli Abati, and by others the Buoso Donati who is mentioned in *Inf.* xxx, 44, in connection with the fraudulent will in which Gianni Schicchi acted as his accomplice. The anecdote is related by the *Anonimo Fiorentino:* "Ora questo Messer Buoso Donati, et in ufficio et altrove, avendo fatto dell' altrui suo, non possendo più adoperare, o forse compiuto l' ufficio, misse in suo luogo (non però che coll' animo non fosse sempre bene disposto; ma, come è detto, non toccando più a lui) misse in suo luogo Messer Francesco, chiamato Guercio, de' Cavalcanti, dal quale, essendo fatto serpente, fu morso, come nel testo si dirà."

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subject he has treated (*Nunc autor breviter epilogat quae dicta sunt, et concludit materiam istius fraudis furti*). Gelli adds that as Dante had not mentioned by name either Puccio Galigai (*Sciancato*), or Francesco Guercio Cavalcanti, he now does so, in order not to leave his readers in any doubt as to their identity.

Così vid' io la settima zavorra *
Mutare e trasmutare; e qui mi scusi
La novità,† se fior ‡ la penna abborra.§

**zavorra:* This properly signifies any kind of merchandise put into a ship to fill up the hold and of no particular value. It may mean either sand, gravel, stones, lead, iron, or any material used as ballast. But Scartazzini observes: "Yet it seems to me that the Poet is not alluding, as some think, to the substance of the *Bolgia* itself, so much as to the people in it; (1) because the *Bolgia* does not change and re-change, (*non muta e trasmuta*), but the people in it do so; and (2) because the metaphor is taken from ships; and therefore if *zavorra* signifies the worthless material placed in the hold of a ship, it follows that *Bolgia* is put in comparison with *nave*, and the worthless crew in the *Bolgia* to the rubbish placed in the hold of a ship."

†*La novità:* Compare Dante's Sonnet xxvii (p. 172 in the *Oxford Dante*):—

"Dagli occhi della mia Donna si muove
Un lume sì gentil che dove appare,
Si vedon cose, ch' uom non può ritrare
Per loro altezza e per loro esser nuove."

‡*fior* is here an adverb, and signifies "a little," "somewhat." It is so used in *Inf.* xxxiv, 26:—

"Pensa oramai per te, s' hai fior d' ingegno."

And *Purg.* iii, 133-135:—

"Per lor maledizion sì non si perde
Che non possa tornar l' eterno amore,
Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde."

§*abborra:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says of *abborrare* that it is a word of uncertain signification. Compare *Inf.* xxxi, 24:—

"Avvien che poi nel 'maginare aborri,"

in which passage there can be no doubt that *abborrare* is to be

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Ed avvegnachè gli occhi miei confusi 145
Fossero alquanto, e l' animo smagato,*
Non potêr quei fuggirsi tanto chiusi,
Ch' io non scorgessi ben Puccio Sciancato:
Ed era quei che sol, de' tre compagni
Che venner prima, non era mutato: 150
L' altro era quel che tu, Gaville, piagni.

Thus saw I the worthless rubbish of the Seventh Circle (*lit.* seventh ballast) change and re-change; and here let the novelty (of the thing) be my excuse, if my pen goes a little astray. And although my eyes were somewhat confused, and my soul bewildered, they (Buoso and Guercio) were not able to escape so secretly, but that I well discerned Puccio Sciancato: and he it was who alone, of the three companions that came first, was not changed: the other was he (Francesco Guercio Cavalcanti) for whom thou, Gaville, mournest.

Gelli explains the nick-name *Sciancato* by which Puccio de' Galigai was known: "that means . . .

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taken with the signification of the Latin *aberrare*, "to deceive oneself, to stray away from the truth." Gherardini (*Voci e maniere di dire*, i, 116) thinks *aborrare*, with one *b*, is the correct spelling of the word. Scartazzini and some others would derive *abborrare* from *borra*, "stuffing" with the signification "to add superfluity of words," but Blanc wholly disagrees with such an interpretation. Lord Vernon, who was nearly always guided by Nannucci in matters of philology, takes *aborrare* for *aberrare* as *prosumere* for *presumere*; *imprenta* for *impronta*, etc.

* *smagato* is in Provençal *esmagatz* from *esmagar*, to disturb, trouble, alarm, surprise; in O. French, *esmaier*; Portuguese, *esmaiar*. Tommaséo states that *smagare* is still in use in Tuscany with the sense of *disperdere*, to disperse, but that signification would not very well agree with the use of the word by old writers. In Spain *desmayado* means "bewildered, confused, lost." Compare *Vita Nuova*, § xxiii, in the Canzone beginning *Donna pietosa e di novella etade*, st. 3:—

"Ed eran sì smagati
Gli spirti miei."

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'the dislocated,' and in our [the Florentine] tongue is used to describe those who halt from the hips, and not from the legs." After speaking of Gaville as "a town in our country-side," Gelli concludes the chapter, and alas! at this point his consecutive commentary breaks off. There remains only a short fragment on the next Canto; the exposition of one passage in the *Purgatorio;* and of one in the *Paradiso.* His lectures and those of Boccaccio are the most thoroughly Tuscan of all the Commentaries of the *Divina Commedia*, and the words "*chiamandosi così nella nostra lingua*," etc., recurring continually throughout the lectures, remind one of the vast difference that their fellow-countrymen even to this day attach to the interpretation of Dante by Tuscans, as opposed to that of other Italians, who are seldom acquainted with the graceful *vezzi e fiori di lingua* which so charm the ear in Tuscany.

Di Siena remarks that the Canto winds up with a very natural rhetorical turn. Guercio was put to death at Gaville, a town in the upper Val d' Arno; his family revenged his death by killing a good many of the inhabitants; and hence it came about that Gaville had to weep after paying the penalty for the death of the robber with the lives of the population.

END OF CANTO XXV.

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CANTO XXVI.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE EIGHTH *BOLGIA* (CONTINUED): FRAUDULENT COUNSELLORS—THE WALKING FLAMES—ULYSSES AND DIOMEDE.

IN this Canto, as well as in the one that follows, the Poets witness the punishment of Fraudulent Counsellors.

Benvenuto divides it into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 12, Dante upbraids Florence for being the mother of so many thieves.

In *Division* II, from ver. 13 to ver. 42, he relates how he and Virgil quitted the Seventh *Bolgia*, and how, on their reaching the brink of the Eighth, they saw the extraordinary spectacle of the penalty of the Fraudulent Counsellors.

In *Division* III, from ver. 43 to ver. 84, Virgil points out to Dante the shades of Ulysses and Diomede, and asks the former of them what were the circumstances of his death.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 85 to ver. 142, Ulysses gives a long narration of his last voyage, shipwreck and death.

Division I.—Benvenuto remarks that in this Canto Dante displays consummate art, and yet has not veiled it in the same obscurity as in the last

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Canto; for he commences the present one with three figures of speech, namely, apostrophe, invective and irony. Gelli (in the last fragments that he wrote on the *Inferno*, and which seem to have been broken off short by the infirmity that preceded his death) observes that Dante was very wrath on finding in Hell, among the Thieves, five noble knights of Florence, and thereupon apostrophized his native city with biting sarcasm, crying shame upon her; and not only did he do so in this passage of his poem, but we may also read in his letter to Can Grande della Scala, that he styles himself *Dantes Alagherius, Florentinus patria sed non moribus.* Gelli adds that the evil lives and habits of the citizens of Florence are fully attested by Lionardo d' Arezzo, as well as by Giovanni Villani in the eighth book of his *Cronica,* and that from their lawlessness, their feuds and their evil deeds, Florence would rather deserve to be styled a congregation of malefactors than a congregation of citizens.

Godi, Fiorenza,* poi che sei sì grande

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* *Godi, Fiorenza,* et seq.: Fra Guittone d' Arezzo, better known as an Italian poet—of whose prose letters Nannucci (*Manuale*) remarks: "*formano testo di lingua, e sono il più antico esempio che v' abbia di lettere scritte nel linguaggio italiano*"—in Letter xiv, apostrophizes Florence in a similar manner: "Infatuati miseri Fiorentini . . . vedete voi se vostra terra è città, e se voi cittadini uomini siete. E dovete savere che non città fan già palagi nè rughe [*i.e.* strade] belle, nè uomo persona bella nè drappi ricchi [fanno], ma legge naturale, ordinata giustizia e pace e gaudio intendo che fa la Città; e uomo ragione e sapienzia e costumi onesti e retti bene. Oh che non più sembrasse vostra terra deserto, che città sembra, e voi dragoni e orsi che cittadini! Certo siccome voi non rimaso è che membra e fazione d' uomo, chè tutto l' altro è bestiale e ragion fallita, non è a vostra terra che figura di città e case; giustizia violata e pace. Chè, come da uomo e

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Che per mare e per terra batti l' ali,*
E per l' inferno il tuo nome si spande.
Tra li ladron † trovai cinque cotali ‡
Tuoi cittadini, onde mi vien vergogna, 5
E tu in grande onranza non ne sali.

---

bestia non è già che ragione e sapienzia, non da città a bosco [è altra differenza] che giustizia e pace. Come città si può dire, ove ladroni fanno legge, e più pubbrichi [*i.e. usurers as distinguished from honest traders*] istanno, che mercatanti? ove signoreggiano micidiali, e non pena, ma merto ricevono de 'micidj? ove sono uomini divorati e denudati e morti in diserto?" (*Manuale*, Vol. ii., pp. 138, 139). Guittone was usually spoken of as Fra Guittone, not, Nannucci observes, because he was a real friar, but because he belonged to the semi-religious Order of the Frati Gaudenti. He died at Florence in 1294. Petrarch had great admiration for his genius, and besides imitating him in several passages, in his *Trionfo d' Amore*, iv, st. 11, he couples him with Dante:—

"Ecco Dante e Beatrice; ecco Selvaggia;
Ecco Cin da Pistoja; Guitton d' Arezzo,
Che di non esser primo par ch' ira aggia."

* *batti l' ali:* "Erano allora i Fiorentini sparti molto fuor di Fiorenza per diverse parti del mondo, et erano in mare et in terra, di che forse i Fiorentini si gloriavano." (Buti).

† *Tra li ladron:* Compare *Jer.* xlviii, 27: "For was not Israel a derision unto thee? was he found among thieves? for since thou spakest of him, thou skippedst for joy."

‡ *cotali:* Di Siena observes that although this word often has the simple meaning of *tali* "such," it more frequently has the signification of something great or distinguished, and he agrees with the comment of Venturi, that Dante intended to say that these five thieves were "non mica plebei, ma primari barbassori [*personages of the first importance*] della Republica." Compare Petrarch, Part iv, *Son.* xii (in some editions *Son.* 83):—

"Credete voi che Cesare o Marcello
O Paolo od African fossin cotali
Per incude giammai nè per martello?"

[Here *cotali* stands for *uomini di fama immortale.*]

The witty Alessandro Tassoni, the author of *La Secchia Rapita*, wrote the following humorous note on the above passage of Petrarch: "Non erano *cotali* questi valentuomini: ma questi versi li *cotaleggiano* bene."

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> Exult, Florence, since thou art so great, that thou spreadest thy wings over sea and land, and that (even) through Hell thy name extends. Among the Thieves I found five of thy citizens of such distinction (*i.e.* of illustrious birth), whereat shame came upon me (a Florentine), and thou dost not rise to great honour therefrom.

Benvenuto thinks that Dante's shame arose from the general reason that the five were his countrymen, and from the special reason that they were noble, as was Dante himself,* and this made them even more deserving of censure, for, as Juvenal says, the more exalted is a man's position, the greater his responsibility for wrong-doing.†

Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi, part ii, p. 90) remarks that in the above terrible verses Dante's hatred for Florence seems to have reached its culminating point. The prophecy of the evils that Prato and others (whether persons or cities) wish to befall her, and the wrathful and melancholy words that follow, clearly demonstrate the feeling of the Poet towards his native city.

Dante goes on to state his sure conviction that speedy retribution will come upon Florence, but the lines in question have given rise to great diversity of opinion among the Commentators. I follow the opinion of Buti, Blanc, Lamennais, Scartazzini and many others, that Dante, wishing to predict, as events that would come to pass after 1300, what

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* Note Benvenuto's attestation of Dante's noble birth, which some sceptics are disposed to deny, *e.g.* Scartazzini.

† Compare Juvenal, *Sat.* viii, 140, 141 :—

> "Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
> Crimen habet, quanto major, qui, peccat, habetur."

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were really already past occurrences when he wrote the *Inferno*, pictures himself as having dreamt them at that period of the night towards dawn, when dreams, according to popular belief, were supposed to come true.

Ma se presso al mattin del ver si sogna,*
Tu sentirai di qua da picciol tempo
Di quel che Prato,† non ch' altri, t' agogna. ‡

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* *se presso al mattin del ver si sogna:* Among the ancients great efficacy was attributed to dreams of the early morning, as may be seen in Ovid, *Heroides*, xix, 195, 196:—

"Namque sub Aurora, jam dormitante lucerna,
Somnia quo cerni tempora vera solent."

Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, ii, 265, 266) says that "the hour before sunrise is marked in each of the three days in Purgatory by a dream in which some truth is revealed or embodied. On the first day, Dante has the vision of the eagle carrying him off in the air like Ganymede, which corresponded with his actual transportation in his sleep by Santa Lucia to the Gate of Purgatory (see ix, 13 *et seq.*). On the second day before sunrise occurs that dream in which the false allurements and true vileness of the Siren's temptations are exposed, which I have already referred to (xix, 1-34); on the third day before dawn there is the beautiful vision of Leah, the accepted symbol of the Active Life (as contrasted with the Contemplative Life assigned to Rachel), gathering flowers in a flowery plain [*landa*], a foretaste of the Earthly Paradise on which he was immediately to enter (xxvii, 94-108). This was the hour when, according to the belief of the ancient poets, dreams were true."

Di Siena remarks that Dante could not in better language speak to the understanding of the multitudes who were still under the influence of that ancient prejudice.

† *Di quel che Prato . . . t' agogna:* Dante, in predicting the calamities that will befall Florence, *a vaticinium post eventum*, imagines that her nearest neighbour, Prato, will rejoice at her well-deserved humiliation, not to mention many other cities in the country round, which had all suffered more or less from her arrogance and oppression. Others suppose that by Prato is meant the Cardinal da Prato, of whom more anon.

‡ *t' agogna:* Dr. Moore believes that *agogna* is a transliteration of the Greek ἀγωνιᾷν, "to desire anxiously." See Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary*. Compare *Purg.* xiii, 66:—

"Ma per la vista che non meno agogna."

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E se già fosse, non saria per tempo.* 10
Così foss' ei, da che pure esser dee; †
Chè più mi graverà, com' più m' attempo.

But if when near the dawn one dreams the truth, in a short time from now thou shalt feel what Prato — not to speak of others — is craving for thee. And had it already taken place, it would not have been too soon. Would that it had, since it certainly must be; for the more will it grieve me, the more I get advanced in years (to see retribution fall upon thee).

There seems to be a general consensus of opinion —I am quoting principally from Benvenuto—that

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* *per tempo:* This is the equivalent of the Latin *primo mane*, and of the Greek πρωί. Compare Petrarch, *Canzone* xvii (39), st. 2:—

"Chè dubbioso è il tardar, come tu sai;
E 'l cominciar non fia per tempo omai."

Boccaccio (*Decam.* Giorn. v, Nov. 3) uses the expression in the superlative: "Pietro una mattina per tempissimo levatosi," where, according to the *Voc. della Crusca*, *per tempissimo*, signifies *a buonissima ora*, Latin, *summo mane*. Compare also *Inf.* xv, 58:—

"E s' io non fossi sì per tempo morto," etc.

† *Così foss' ei, da che pure esser dee:* Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act i, sc. 7:—

"If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
It were done quickly."

Also *John* xiii, 27:—

"That thou doest, do quickly."

And Petrarch, Part i, *Canzone* xvi, st. 7:—

"Aspett' io pur che scocchi
L' ultimo colpo che mi diede il primo:
E fia, s' io dritto estimo,
Un modo di pietate occider tosto
Non essend' ei disposto
A far altro di me che quel che soglia;
Chè ben mor chi morendo esce di doglia."

And Seneca, *De Benef.* ii, cap. 5: "Misericordiae est cito occidere." See also Sir Walter Scott, *Black Dwarf*, ch. xii *ad finem:* "No! but trouble for trouble, I had rather it came to-morrow, as your country folks say, better soon than syne—it will never find me younger."

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about the time of Dante being exiled from Florence, a number of terrible calamities befell the city. In 1303 [? 1304] Pope Benedict XI, who had so recently succeeded "that magnificent Pope Boniface VIII," wishing to pacify the discords of the Florentines, sent as his Legate to Florence Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, a shrewd and intelligent man. The Cardinal, finding his endeavours to effect a *modus vivendi* between the rival factions of the *Bianchi* and *Neri* perfectly fruitless, said: *Ex quo non vultis benedictionem, remanete cum maledictione*, and pronounced an interdict upon the city. About that time the ward of San Frediano determined to offer to the Cardinal a fête, in which should be given a representation of Hell and the torments of the damned. They proclaimed publicly that all who wished to know wondrous things about another world were invited to assemble upon the Ponte alla Carraja upon the first of May. Stages were prepared upon boats on the river, and by artificial fires of different colours a picture of Hell was supposed to be displayed; men disguised as demons were represented casting sinners into the flames, and inflicting upon them other torments. The bridge was thronged with a vast concourse of spectators. Screams and yells of simulated agony made a din horrible to hear. Just when the excitement was at its highest, the bridge, which was built of wood, from the unusual and excessive load upon it, suddenly gave way, and fell into the Arno with all the people that were on it. The destruction of life was enormous; and "many who were looking down upon a simulated Hell went to a real Hell, and

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were brought within the terms of the proclamation which had been made, for they soon *did* know wondrous things of another world (*et sciverunt nova de alio mundo, et juxta proclamationem banni facti sunt*), and all the acted cries of suffering were converted into cries of stern reality." Soon after this a great disaster befell the city itself: for while the *Bianchi* and the *Neri* were fighting against each other, and the *Bianchi*, for the time, had the upper hand—Corso Donati not being just then at the head of the *Neri*, partly because afflicted with gout, and partly because he was in disagreement with the other chiefs of the *Neri*—a terrible fire broke out in the city. The author of it was a priest, one Neri Abati, the Prior of San Piero Scheraggio, a man both dissolute and wicked. He set fire to the houses of his own party (*consortium suorum*) near Or' San Michele, and so furious was the conflagration, that fanned by a south wind it consumed nearly 2,200 houses of the most distinguished families in Florence. The loss of property was incalculable, for the valuables which were not burnt were carried off by robbers. Many prosperous and opulent families were reduced to penury, the principal sufferers by the calamity being the Cavalcanti and the Gherardini. From all these circumstances Benvenuto thinks one may well say that great evils speedily came upon Florence in accordance with what he of Prato had wished to happen to it. He says that Dante acts with prudence in not stating the time too definitely, and in only speaking conditionally as to the accuracy of his presentiments or dreams. The *Ottimo*, Lombardi, Blanc and others

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think Dante probably reckons his own exile among the above-mentioned calamities, and therefore says (ll. 11, 12) that as it has got to come, he trusts it will rather befall him while he is comparatively young, when a man can endure adversity better than he can in later years.

Division II.—There is some difficulty in determining the exact position of the Poets at this time. In Canto xxiv, 61-63, we read that as they ascended the arch of the bridge that stood over the *Bolgia* of the Thieves, they found it *ronchioso, stretto e malagevole, ed erto più assai che quel di pria.* We saw further on, that Dante's eyes being unable to penetrate the gloom, and to see the persons whom he could hear in the *Bolgia* below, he entreated Virgil (l. 72, *et seq.*) to contrive to reach that other rampart, and to let them descend the wall-like incline of that exceptionally steep bridge. We decided that we should take this incline to be that of the bridge, and that the point they reached was that where the bridge-head joins the rampart that surrounds the Eighth *Bolgia*, and that as this was at a considerably lower level than the rampart they quitted when they crossed the bridge, they would not have found it necessary to descend into the Seventh *Bolgia* among the serpents. Moreover Dante (l. 80) says that when they got there, *poi mi fu la Bolgia manifesta*, and in Canto xxv, 35, he speaks of three spirits being directly underneath where he and Virgil were standing. Therefore we may now consider that the appalling scene, of the spirits in serpent form devouring

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others in human form, has been witnessed by the Poets standing at the point where the steep descent of the bridge has run down to the lower rampart, and be it remembered that each time they cross a bridge, they emerge from it upon a much lower level, since the *Bolge* incline more and more towards the Pozzo or Central Pit. The difficulty I now find in the passage we are about to discuss is to determine what are the *scalee* (l. 13) and the *borni* (l. 14) by which they had descended before, and by which they now remount. Blanc (*Saggio*) thinks that the Poets here find themselves in the same place on the rampart, and to go forward they must reascend the bridge. The only explanation that seems satisfactory to me is, either that they pursued their way by commencing the ascent of the *next* bridge by the *scalee che n' avean fatte i borni a scender pria*, or that the continuous line of bridges ran across the line of *Bolge* and over the intervening banks, as a viaduct does, at a higher level, and that at no place did the lowest spot of the bridge correspond with the line of the rampart. Were this so, the Poets would in the first instance have climbed down the rocky side of the causeway to the level of the rampart, and now, to resume their progress, must climb back again on to the so-called road on the bridgeway.

Noi ci partimmo, e su per le scalee,
Che n' avean fatte i borni * a scender pria,
Rimontò il mio Maestro, e trasse mee. 15

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* *borni:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) observes that some ancient Commentators misunderstood this passage, and rendered *borni* as "blind, or squint-eyed persons" from the adjective *bornio*

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E proseguendo la solinga via
Tra le schegge e tra' rocchi dello scoglio,
Lo piè senza la man non si spedia.*

We departed hence, and, up by the stairs which the projecting rocks had afforded us as means of descent before, did my Leader mount up again, and drew me (up also). And pursuing our lonely way among the fragments and stones of the rocky bridge, the foot sped not without (aid from) the hand.

We may infer that Dante now gets his first clear view of the Eighth *Bolgia*, and he seems to know that in it are punished the Fraudulent Counsellors. He ruminates upon their fate, and the melancholy reflection crosses his mind, how these shades of great men were in their life-time endowed with large mental powers, with prudence, character and courage. Those gifts they turned to bad uses, employing them, as they thought, to the detriment of others, though in reality to their own perdition. Dante, conscious of possessing in a high degree the same noble faculties, and of the danger he would incur should he misuse them, looks down upon the torments of the valley below as an admonition from Heaven to put a curb upon his intellect.

(French *borgne*), but that the right meaning here is the projecting stones by which the Poets had been previously enabled to descend from the bridgeway above them. Donkin (*op. cit.*) gives *borne* as "a boundary stone," Old French *bodne*; Modern French *borne*. *Borni* (Diez, p. 258) are spur-stones projecting from the angle of a house just above the ground, to ward off the blows of wheels.

* *Lo piè senza la man non si spedia:* Compare *Purg.* iv, 31-33 :—

"Noi salavam per entro il sasso rotto,
E d' ogni lato ne stringea lo stremo,
E piedi e man voleva il suol di sotto."

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Allor mi dolsi, ed ora mi ridoglio,
Quand' io drizzo la mente a ciò ch' io vidi; 20
E più lo ingegno * affreno ch' io non soglio,
Perchè non corra che virtù nol guidi;
Sì che se stella buona, o miglior cosa
M' ha dato il ben, ch' io † stesso nol m' invidi.‡

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* *ingegno:* Blanc (*Saggio*) remarks that this is not the only occasion in which Dante expresses a somewhat exalted opinion of his own genius. Compare *Inf*, x, 58-60:—

"... Se per questo cieco
Carcere vai per altezza d' ingegno,
Mio figlio ov' è, perchè non è teco?"

† *Sì che se stella buona . . . M' ha dato il ben, ch' io*, etc.: Di Siena observes that the repetition of the *che* in these two lines is a pleonasm very common among old Italian writers, and has the effect of preventing the reader from losing the thread of the sentence, the connection of which would otherwise seem to have been disturbed by the interposition of an accessory phrase between the two clauses that link it together. Lapo Gianni, a contemporary poet, and friend of both Dante and of Guido Cavalcanti, in the *Canzone* beginning *Amore, io prego la tua nobiltate*, has the following passage:—

"E non m' avviso che alcuno amadore,
Sia quanto vuol di gentile intelletto,
Che abbia rinchiuso dentro del suo petto,
Tant' allegrezza ch' appo me non muoia."

Here at the beginning of the third line is repeated the *che* that has already occurred in the first line. See also *Convito* I, i, ll. 135-138: "Li quali priego tutti, che se il Convito non fosse tanto splendido quanto conviene alla sua grida, che non al mio volere, ma alla mia facultate imputino ogni difetto." On these two passages, Nannucci commenting on the first, and Fraticelli on the second, confirm, nearly word for word, the remarks of Di Siena upon the use of pleonasms and their purpose. Nannucci, moreover, cites the passage we are discussing, as illustrating that from Lapo Gianni. Compare *Inf.* xv, 55-57:—

"Ed egli a me: 'Se tu segui tua stella,
Non puoi fallire al glorïoso porto,
Se ben m' accorsi nella vita bella.'"

See also *Purg.* xxx, 109-117:—

"Non pur per opra delle rote magne,
Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine
Secondo che le stelle son compagne;

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Then I sorrowed, and even now do I sorrow again,
when I direct my memory to what I saw; and I

Ma per larghezza di grazie divine,
Che sì alti vapori hanno a lor piova,
Che nostre viste là non van vicine,
Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova
Virtualmente, ch' ogni abito destro
Fatto averebbe in lui mirabil prova."

And *Par.* xxii, 112-114:—

"O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno
Di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco
Tutto, qual che si sia, lo mio ingegno."

‡ *m' invidi:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 84) observes that the old Commentators seem unanimous in explaining *invidi* by *privare* or *togliere*. The *Gran Dizionario* (s.v. *invidiare*, § 4) says: "Invidiare una cosa ad alcuno vale *Toglierglielа, scemargliela;* e si dice di chi non permette o non soffre che altri goda un bene." And *ibid*, § 5: "Dicesi pure *Invidiare una cosa a se stesso*, nel senso medesimo. Latinismo." The present passage *Ch' io stesso nol m' invidi* is then interpreted thus: "Non me lo tolga abusandone." Compare Virg. *Æn.* viii, 508, 509:—

"Sed mihi tarda gelu saeclisque effeta senectus
Invidet imperium."

And Horace, iv, *Carm.* ii, 22-24:—

"Vires animumque moresque
Aureos educit in astra, nigroque
Invidet Orco."

See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 82-83. Compare also Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* vii, st. 15:—

"Onde al buon vecchio dice: 'O fortunato
Ch' un tempo conoscesti il male a prova,
Se non t' invidii il Ciel sì dolce stato,
Delle miserie mie pietà ti mova.'"

And *ibid.* xvi, st. 60:—

"Chiudesti i lumi, Armida: il Cielo avaro
Invidiò il conforto ai tuoi martiri."

It has been usual to quote from *Ecclus.* xiv, 6, "Qui sibi invidet nihil est illo nequius," in illustration of the passage in Dante. But Dr. Moore (*l.c.*) thinks the resemblance is but superficial. Dante, conscious of more than average intellectual gifts, grieves to think of the punishment which the misuse of such gifts had brought upon the Evil Counsellors, and the recollection of their punishment makes him doubly cautious how he uses such talents. The text in *Ecclus.* is denouncing a man too

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rein in my intelligence more than I am wont, that it travel not unless Virtue guide it; so that if a fortunate star, or something better (*i.e.* the Grace of God) has bestowed upon me the good (*i.e.* an elevated mind), I may not deprive myself of it (through my own fault).

Dante now describes his first view of the punishment of the Evil Counsellors, each of whom has to run along the Valley so completely enveloped in the flame of his own torment as to be hidden from view. As his eye scans them from the commanding height of the bridge, the moving lights dotted about in the gloom remind him of fire-flies on a hill-side in a summer night, a familiar spectacle to all who have lived in Italy.

Quante * il villan, ch' al poggio si riposa, 25
Nel tempo che colui che il mondo schiara
La faccia sua a noi tien meno ascosa,
Come la mosca cede alla zenzara,
Vede lucciole giù per la vallea,
Forse colà dove vendemmia † ed ara: 30

---

niggardly to enjoy the good gifts of fortune. He *grudges* them to himself, and thus deprives himself of them.

* *Quante:* This reading is supported by overwhelming MS. authority, and Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 337, 338) remarks: "This is an instructive instance of corruption of the text arising from a long construction, and is a case very similar to that in xviii, 12, but the construction here is a good deal longer, since *quante* is not supplied with the substantive *lucciole*, with which it agrees, till the fourth line below. The construction here is emphasised by *Di tante fiamme* in l. 31. The text therefore can be decisively settled here, and the *prima facie* easier readings, *Quale*, *Quando*, *Come*, etc., may be unhesitatingly rejected.

† *dove vendemmia* means, in his vineyards, *dove ara*, in his plough-land.

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Di tante fiamme tutta risplendea *
L' ottava bolgia, sì com' io m' accorsi
Tosto ch' io fui là 've il fondo parea.

As many fire-flies as the peasant, who is resting on the hill-side—at the season when he who illumines the world (*i.e.* the Sun) keeps his face least hid from us (*i.e.* in summer), just when (at night-fall) the fly gives place to the mosquito—sees below him along the valley, there perchance where he makes his vintage and ploughs (his land): with as many flames was the Eighth *Bolgia* glittering throughout, as I perceived, so soon as I was at that spot where its depth was exposed to view.

He means that he had reached the centre of the bridge that crossed the chasm. From this point it

* *risplendea:* It seems quite unnecessary to have to explain that *risplendere* means simply "to shine, to glitter," etc., the reduplication *ri* being merely an accrescitive, and in nowise expressing iteration. In fact *risplendere* cannot mean "to re-shine, to re-glow." I mention this because a reviewer in a literary journal criticised my version of *risplende* in *Par.* i, 2, contending I ought to have translated it "re-glows." Knowing the utter absurdity of such a rendering, I wrote to Professors Villari, D' Ovidio, and Scherillo, all of whom took my translation as a matter of course, Professor Villari remarking: "In your rendering of *risplende*, you of course are right, and your critic wrong." I wrote a letter to the journal in question, but the Editor declined to publish it. This is how grave mistakes in translation get stereotyped. Dr. Moore, who has read this note, writes to me emphatically agreeing with it, and notices that the same inaccuracy occurs in the Temple Classics Edition of the *Paradiso* at Canto, i, 2, where *risplende* is translated "regloweth," a version which no Italian will endorse! Compare *Æn.* xi, 203-209, where Virgil describes how the whole countryside was lighted up by the funeral pyres on which were being consumed the bodies of the Latin warriors slain in battle:—

"Nec minus et miseri diversa in parte Latini
Innumeras struxere pyras, et corpora partim
Multa virum terrae infodiunt, avectaque partim
Finitimos tollunt in agros, urbique remittunt;
Cetera, confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum
Nec numero nec honore, cremant; tunc undique vasti
Certatim crebris collucent ignibus agri."

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is that he has discerned innumerable flames. In each of these a sinner is concealed, the fire alone being visible. The moving flames suggest to Dante's mind the simile that follows, namely, that when Elijah was caught up to Heaven in a chariot of fire, Elisha, who stood gazing upwards, his eye following his beloved master ascending higher and higher and lessening in the sky, gradually lost the power of distinguishing the shapes of the chariot of fire, the horses of fire, and the form of Elijah himself, a distant flame alone remaining visible to his eye.

E qual colui che si vengiò con gli orsi,*
Vide il carro d' Elia † al dipartire, 35
Quando i cavalli al cielo erti levôrsi, ‡

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* *si vengiò con gli orsi:* See 2 *Kings* ii, 23, 24: "And he [Elisha] went up from thence unto Bethel: and as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children [in Revised Version "young lads"] out of the city, and mocked him and said unto him, Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head. And he turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the Lord. And there came forth two she bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them."

† *carro d' Elia:* Compare 2 *Kings* ii, 11, 12: "And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof."

‡ *levôrsi* for *levorosi:* Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, pp. 188 and 192) observes that in old Italian the third persons plural were subject to divers terminations, and in verbs of the first conjugation this might be either in *arono, âro,* as *amarono, amâro;* or in *orono, ôro,* as *amorono, amôro, levorono, levôro,* etc. Compare Il Beato Jacopone (a poet contemporary with Dante), lib. iii, *Od.* viii, 29, 30:—

"Inginocchiorsi in quella
Davanti alla polzella."

And *ibid.* lib. v, *Canz.* xxxiv, 26:—

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Chè nol potea sì con gli occhi seguire
Ch' ei vedesse altro che la fiamma sola,
Sì come nuvoletta, in su salire:
Tal si movea ciascuna per la gola 40
Del fosso, chè nessuna mostra il furto,*
Ed ogni fiamma un peccatore invola.†

And as he (Elisha), who by means of the bears avenged himself, beheld the chariot of Elijah at its departure (from earth), when the horses uplifted themselves erect to Heaven—because he could not so follow it with his eyes as to see more than the flame alone soaring on high even as a light cloud—in such wise was moving each (of those flames) along the gorge of the fosse (below us), for not one of them discloses its theft (*i.e.* concealed prey), and every flame steals away (*i.e.* hides) a sinner.

"Già tirorno quattro venti
Che turborno la mia mente."

And *Dittamondo*, lib. iii, cap. 5:—

"Similemente stati tra coloro
Che in sulla Parma con gran riverenza
Alcuna volta festeggiorno il toro."

And Dante in *Inf.* xxxiii, 59, 60:—

"Ed ei, pensando ch' io 'l fessi per voglia
Di manicar, di subito levôrsi," etc.

Nannucci draws special attention to the fact that *levôrsi* is a syncope of *levorosi, si levôro* (the old Italian form), and not of *levoronsi*.

**furto:* The word is used here metaphorically to signify the thing concealed. Compare Racine, *Athalie*, Act i, sc. 2, where the High Priest Jehoiada (*Joad*) tells Jehosheba (*Josabet*) that the time is come to reveal the existence of the young King Joash, whom she has so fortunately hidden away from the vengeance of Athaliah. He speaks of the king as her "happy theft":—

"Les temps sont accomplis, Princesse, il faut parler,
Et votre heureux *larçin* ne peut plus se cacher."

† *ogni fiamma un peccatore invola:* Compare *James* iii, 6:—"And the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell."

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In his usual quaint style, Benvenuto points out how completely is the comparison in harmony with the fact; for as Elisha (*Eliseus*) could discern nought else but the flame, and was totally unable to distinguish Elijah veiled in it, so Dante, a second Elisha (*alter Eliseus*), seeing that he was descended from the Elisei (*de Eliseis*), as has been said elsewhere and will be repeated later on, could simply see flames glancing about, though he could not perceive the souls that were veiled within them.

Division II.—As Dante, standing dangerously near the edge of the bridge, gazes down on the lurid scene below him, musing on the fate of the shades, and wondering who they might have been in life, his eye is attracted by one of the flames that is divided into a two-fold forked crest, and he asks his Master what shade is confined within it. It reminds him of the legend of the rival brothers Eteocles and Polynices, who were so inveterately hostile to each other in life, that on their funeral pyre their very ashes parted asunder, and from it there ascended a flame with a two-fold head.

Io stava sopra il ponte a veder surto,*
Sì che, s' io non avessi un ronchion preso,
Caduto sarei giù senza esser urto. 45

* *surto:* Many of the Commentators and Translators seem to agree that the word, as used here, signifies something more than merely standing upright. Buti seems to give the meaning best, namely, that it is impossible for a man to continue to stand for an indefinite period of time, in an attitude perfectly erect, so motionless as not to move hand or foot. Were he to attempt to do so, he would fall down if he did not lean upon something; because, if the body is abandoned by the activity of the mind within it, it loses its power, as happens if a man falls asleep or

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E il Duca, che mi vide tanto atteso,
Disse :—" Dentro da' fochi son gli spirti :
Ciascun si fascia * di quel ch' egli è inceso."—
—" Maestro mio,"—rispos' io,—" per udirti †
Son io più certo ; ma già m' era avviso ‡ 50

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dies. Dante had probably been climbing up the rocky heights of the bridge on his hands and knees ; but, having reached the summit, started up on his feet on perceiving the weird spectacle in the chasm below ; a position exceedingly dangerous had he not steadied himself against a rock as he stooped forward to look down.

* *si fascia :* Biagioli remarks upon the appropriateness of this torment to the Fraudulent Counsellors, whose artifice in life had been to work their insidious machinations in paths hidden from mortal eyes. See Canto xxvii, 76-78, where Guido da Montefeltro says of himself :—

" Gli accorgimenti e le coperte vie
Io seppi tutte ; e sì menai lor arte,
Ch' al fine della terra il suono uscie."

In Hell these sinners, by being externally concealed from view in a burning flame, are for ever reminded of the cause of their suffering.

† *per udirti :* Compare *Purg.* xxvi, 92, 93 :—

" Son Guido Guinizelli, e già mi purgo
Per ben dolermi prima ch' all' estremo."

See also *Inf.* iv, 25, 26 :—

" Quivi, secondo che per ascoltare,
Non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri," etc.

‡ *m' era avviso :* Equivalent to the Latin *mihi visum erat*, it seemed to me, I believed. Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xi, st. 11 :—

" E circa il vespro, poi che rinfrescossi,
E le fu avviso esser posata assai."

And Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*, part ii, *terz.* 14 :—

" Com' io mi volsi, il buon Pirro ebbi scorto,
E 'l buon re Massinissa : e gli era avviso
D' esser senza i Roman, ricever torto."

On the use of the impersonal verb *avvisarsi* in the sense of *sembrare*, Nannucci (*Manuale*, vol. i, p. 454) refers to an example in the *Tesoretto* of Brunetto Latini :—

" Di negghienza m' avvisa [*mi sembra*]
Che nasce convotisa."

And Dante da Maiano, a contemporary and friend of Dante, in one of his *Canzoni* (in Nannucci's *Manuale*, vol. i, p. 325) :—

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Che così fusse, e già voleva dirti:
Chi è in quel foco, che vien sì diviso *
Di sopra, che par surger della pira,
Ov' Eteòcle col fratel fu miso?"—

I was standing upon the bridge to look, so erect, that had I not laid hold on a rock, I should have fallen down without being pushed. And the Leader, who saw me so absorbed, said: "Within those fires are the spirits: each one is swathed by that with which he is enkindled." "O my Master," said I, "from hearing thee I feel more assured (of the fact); but I had already surmised that it might be so, and already was wishing to say to thee: "Who is in that fire which is approaching, so divided at the top, that it seems as if it ascended from the pyre on which Eteocles was laid with his brother?"

Virgil tells Dante what he wants to know.

Risposemi:—"Là entro si martira 55
Ulisse e Diomede, e così insieme
Alla vendetta vanno come all' ira:

"Nè cosa altra gradita
Alla vostra beltate
Manca, donna (sacciate)
Che pietà: ciò m' avvissa [*mi sembra*]."

* *foco, che vien sì diviso,* et seq.: On this Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 248) remarks: "This comparison of the divided flame containing the spirits of Ulysses and Diomede to that which arose from the funeral pyre of Eteocles and Polynices, is clearly suggested by Statius, *Theb.* xii, 429-432:—

'Ecce iterum fratres: primos ut contigit artus
Ignis edax, tremuere rogi, et novus advena bustis
Pellitur: exundant diviso vertice flammae,
Alternosque apices abrupta luce coruscant.'

Especially compare the words *exundant diviso vertice flammae* with these quoted above." Compare also Lucan, *Phars.* i, 549-552:—

"Vestali raptus ab ara
Ignis, et ostendens confectas flamma Latinas
Scinditur in partes, geminoque cacumine surgit,
Thebanos imitata rogos."

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E dentro dalla lor fiamme si geme
L' aguato del caval * che fe' la porta
Ond' uscì de' Romani il gentil seme.† 60
Piangevisi entro l' arte per che morta
Deidamía ancor si duol ‡ d' Achille,
E del Palladio § pena vi si porta."—

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* *L' aguato del caval:* Compare Virg. *Æn.* ii, 195-198:—

"Talibus insidiis perjurique arte Sinonis
Credita res, captique dolis lacrymisque coactis,
Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissaeus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae."

In *Inf.* xxx, the punishment of Sinon among the Falsifiers in the Tenth *Bolgia* is described; and (ll. 118-120) the coiner Adamo da Brescia thus taunts him with his contrivance of the wooden horse:—

"'Ricorditi, spergiuro, del cavallo,'
Rispose quel ch' avea enfiata l' epa;
'E siati reo che tutto il mondo sallo.'"

† *il gentil seme:* Compare Virg. *Æn.* i, 286:—

"Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Caesar."

And *ibid.* 19-22:—

"Progeniem sed enim Trojano a sanguine duci
Audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
Hinc populum, late regem, belloque superbum,
Venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas."

‡ *l' arte per che morta Deidamía ancor si duol:* An oracle having declared that Troy never could be taken without Achilles, Ulysses and Diomede contrived to separate him from his wife, or reputed wife, Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, King of Scyros, but concealed from Achilles the fact that it had been decreed by the same oracle that he should die before Troy.

§ *Palladio:* The statue of Pallas, preserved in the citadel of Troy, on the safe custody on which the safety of the city was believed to depend. Ulysses and Diomede carried it off by craft. The story is related at length by Statius in his *Achilleis*, i and ii. See also Virg. *Æn.* ii, 163-168:—

". . . Impius ex quo
Tydides sed enim, scelerumque inventor Ulysses,
Fatale aggressi sacrato avellere templo
Palladium, caesis summae custodibus arcis,
Corripuere sacram effigiem, manibusque cruentis
Virgineas ausi Divae contingere vittas."

Dr. Paget Toynbee in his *Dante Dictionary* (s.v. *Diomede*) says that Dante's chief authority for the incidents of the Trojan

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He answered me: "There within are being tormented Ulysses and Diomede, and thus speed they along together in punishment (*lit.* to vengeance) as (formerly) in their wrath (against the Trojans): and within their flame they have to groan for the ambush of the horse, which made the door (of entrance) from out of which issued the noble seed of the Romans (*i.e. Æneas*). Therein have they to weep for the artifice, on account of which Deidamia, though dead, still mourns for Achilles, and therein is being paid the penalty for the Palladium."

Benvenuto remarks that these two shades had in life wrought many deeds which one could not have performed without the other; Ulysses was the head and brain to devise; Diomede the strong arm to execute. Of the bravery of Diomede, Homer has written many noteworthy instances in the *Iliad;* and of the prudence of Ulysses many things told in the *Iliad* are wonderful, while those related in the *Odyssey* are incredible.

Dante, on hearing what great spirits there are near him, is inspired with the keenest interest, and most earnestly petitions Virgil to grant his prayer,

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war was Dictys Cretensis, who (*De Bello Trojano*, v, 5, 8) describes the betrayal and surrender of the Palladium to the Greeks as having been the Act of Antenor, who was also the treacherous betrayer of Troy: "Duces nostri cognoscunt ab Antenore editum quondam oraculum Trojanis maximo exitio civitati fore si Palladium, quod in templo Minervae esset, extra moenia tolleretur . . . eadem nocte Antenor clam in templum Minervae venit, ubi multis precibus vi mixtis Theano, quae ei templo sacerdos erat, persuasit, uti Palladium sibi traderet, habituram namque magna ejus rei praemia. Ita perfecto negotio ad nostros venit, hisque promissum offert: verum id Graeci obvolutum bene, quo ne intelligi quoquam posset, vehiculo ad tentorium Ulyssis per necessarios fidosque suos remittunt."

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and, as he hints without saying so, give him leave to converse with them.

—"S' ei posson dentro da quelle faville*
Parlar,"—diss' io—"Maestro, assai ten prego 65
E riprego, che il prego† vaglia mille,
Che non mi facci dell' attender nego,‡
Finchè la fiamma cornuta qua vegna:
Vedi che dal disio vêr lei mi piego."—

"If they from within those sparkling flames can speak," said I, "Master, much I pray thee, and re-pray, that my prayer may count for a thousand, that thou wilt not deny my waiting until the flame with (two) horns comes this way: see how with desire I bend me towards it."

Virgil commends Dante's request, but there are few passages in all the *Divina Commedia* containing more difficulties and apparently more inconsistencies than Virgil's answer. It is not only in the lines that now follow that the interpretation must be sought, but also in ll. 19-33 of the next Canto, where Guido da Montefeltro notices, that in dis-

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**faville:* Tommaséo interprets this "vampe sfavillanti," *i.e.* "flames emitting sparks." Compare Claudian, *Liber De Bello Getico*, l. 24:—

"Et juga taurorum rapidis ambusta favillis."

† *ten prego E riprego, che il prego*, etc.: On the frequency of Dante's use of such-like plays on words, which Blanc (*Saggio*, pp. 126-128) thinks he neither sought out nor avoided, see note on *Inf.* xiii, 25, where the subject is discussed at length with reference to the words:—

"Io credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse," etc.

‡ *nego* stands here for *negativa*. According to Di Siena the first person of the verb is used as a substantive; just as *il prego* in the preceding line stands for *preghiera*. So in the early writers we find *il desidero* for *il desiderio; il dubito* for *il dubbio* or *il dubitare*.

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missing the shade of Ulysses, Virgil had spoken in the Lombard dialect. Immediately afterwards Virgil commands Dante to speak to Guido, because *he* (Virgil lays stress on the *he*) is Latin, *i.e.* Italian.

Let us consider these two passages as a whole. Virgil understands that Dante wants to address the two ancient Greek spirits, and to obtain from Ulysses the true story of how he perished, a circumstance much debated in Dante's time. Virgil practically says to Dante: "Yes, you shall obtain the information you seek, but it is I who must address them, because they were Greeks, and will probably shrink from conversing with you (*sarebbero schivi . . . forse del tuo detto*)." What does *detto* signify? Does it mean the thoughts Dante would express, or the language in which they would be uttered? If Virgil meant that Ulysses and Diomede would not understand Dante, and *would* understand him, how comes it that we find Guido (xxvii, 20, 21) remarking that Virgil has been speaking in the Lombard dialect? Would the shades of ancient Greece understand Lombard any better than they could understand Tuscan? And, if they could only converse in Greek, then we may ask, in what language was the unseemly squabble carried on that is recorded in Canto xxx, between the ancient Greek Sinon (surnamed) of Troy, and the modern Italian coiner Adamo da Brescia?

None of the Commentators except Castelvetro have addressed themselves in earnest to decipher the real meaning of these two passages.

The more common interpretation is that by *Greci*,

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Virgil meant *superbi, altieri,** and that these Greeks, having been great personages in their own time, would disdain to speak with Dante, who was not yet known to fame. It is certain that Virgil appeals to them as having some title to address them; and it is maintained by some Commentators, that the fact of his having written about their achievements in the *Æneid* may have been thought to constitute a reason for the right he claims. Against this it may be urged, that although Virgil did write about them, he did not represent them at all in a favourable light. Whenever he mentions them, he shows that all his sympathies are with the Trojans, and not with the Greeks; and he does not hesitate to speak with severe censure of the craft and deceit to which these two had resorted. On the other hand, it is argued that although Virgil's sympathies were not shown to be with the Greeks in the *Æneid*, and although he characterises the artifices of Ulysses and Diomede as having been fraudulent and treacherous, yet he celebrated these very deeds as the deeds of great men, even though he did not take their part.

Tasso propounded the extraordinary theory that Virgil wished to delude Ulysses into thinking he was Homer! But Homer would certainly not have addressed two of the heroes of his own poem in the modern Lombard dialect!

Another argument is that in *Inf.* xv, Dante claims to have been descended from the ancient Romans,

* Tacitus (*Annal.* ii, 88) speaking of the Greeks, says:—
"Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur."

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who in their turn were supposed to take origin from the Trojans under *Æneas*. Virgil was a Mantuan. Mantua was founded by Manto, who in her wanderings before she settled down on the site of Mantua was accompanied by a retinue of Grecian adventurers, from one of whom Virgil may have been descended. Hence, according to this argument, Ulysses and Diomede might be supposed to be averse from speaking with Dante, a descendant of the Trojans, but to have no such repugnance to Virgil, as sprung from an ancient Greek stock.

Castelvetro, after using many of the above arguments, concludes thus: "All the same, I fancy that Dante did not term Ulysses and Diomede Greeks by reason of their nationality, but on account of their antiquity, since the dominion and prosperity of the Greeks was long before that of the Romans, and that by 'Greeks' he means 'ancients'; seeing that in his journey through Hell Dante never enters into any conversation with any ancient personages, either Greek, Roman, or of any other nationality, but only with moderns; and perhaps when (in Canto xxvii, 33) Virgil said to Dante about Count Guido da Montefeltro, *Parla tu, questi è latino*, he meant to say: 'This is a man of modern times.' And the reason may be also, that Dante does not profess to know ancient history nor ancient teaching, as Virgil did."

Ed egli a me:—"La tua preghiera è degna 70
Di molta lode, ed io però l' accetto;*

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* *l' accetto:* In the *Gran Vocabolario della Crusca*, s.v. *accettare*, § 1, I find: "Acconsentire a ciò che ne vien proposto o diman-

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Ma fa che la tua lingua si sostegna.
Lascia parlare a me: ch' io ho concetto
Ciò che tu vuoi; ch' ei sarebbero schivi,
Perch' ei fur Greci, forse del tuo detto."— 75

And he to me: "Thy prayer is worthy of much commendation, and therefore I grant it; but take heed that thy tongue restrain itself. Leave it to me to speak: inasmuch as I have conceived what thou wishest; for they, because they were Greeks, might perchance be disdainful of thy words."

Virgil, having undertaken to be the spokesman, watches his time very carefully, both as to the most favourable moment for the shades to hear him, and also for a convenient spot for their flame to pause, so that he and Dante may be able to hear them. He claims their consideration on account of his poetry about them, and Tommaséo remarks that Virgil did not in every instance represent them in an odious light, and certainly had immortalized them.

Poichè la fiamma fu venuta quivi,
Dove parve al mio Duca tempo e loco
In questa forma * lui parlare audivi: †

---

dato"; and the present passage is quoted in illustration. Also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxvi, 94:—

"Eppur non vuol seco accettar l' impresa;
Tanto l' assedio del suo re gli pesa."

* *In questa forma:* Equivalent to *in questa guisa.* Compare Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* xii, st. 69:—

"E la man nuda e fredda alzando verso
Il cavaliero, in vece di parole,
Gli dà pegno di pace. In questa forma
Passa la bella donna, e par che dorma."

† *audivi* (for *udii*): Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* pp. 161) says that in verbs of the third conjugation the first person singular of the perfect tense, among all old Italian writers, used to be made to terminate in *ivi* as in Latin. Compare *Purg.* xii, 69:—

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—"O voi, che siete due dentro ad un foco,
S' io meritai di voi * mentre ch' io vissi, 80
S' io meritai di voi assai o poco,
Quando nel mondo gli alti versi † scrissi,
Non vi movete; ma l' un di voi dica ‡
Dove per lui perduto a morir gissi."— §

As soon as the flame had come to that point where time and place seemed fitting to my Leader, I heard him speak after this manner: "O ye, who are two within one fire, if while I lived I deserved aught of

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"Quant' io calcai fin che chinato givi"

Nannucci quotes the following from early Italian poets. From Dante da Maiano:—

"Di ciò ch' audivi dir primieramente."

Again:—

"Non come audivi il trovo certamente."

Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, cap. i:—

"Ch' audivi dir che tene
Ogn' uom, ch' al mondo vene."

And Ruggerone da Palermo, *Canzone*:—

"O Deo! come fui matto,
Quando mi dipartivi
Là ov' era stato in tanta dignitate."

And Giacomo Pugliesi:—

"Allotta ch' io mi partivi
E dissi: a Dio v' accomando."

* *S' io meritai di voi:* Dante seems to have imitated this very common Latin idiom from Virgil, *Æn.* iv, 316-319, where Dido, imploring *Æneas* not to desert her, says to him:—

"Per connubia nostra, per inceptos Hymenaeos;
Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam
Dulce meum: miserere domûs labentis, et istam,
Oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem."

† *gli alti versi:* In *Inf.* xx, 113, Virgil speaks of the *Æneid* as "l' alta mia Tragedía."

‡ *l' un di voi dica*, etc.: Virgil knows very well that Ulysses alone is the object of Dante's curiosity.

§ *per lui . . . gissi* is the same as *egli se n' andò.* It is an idiomatic expression. Compare Virgil, *Æn.* iv, 151:—

"Postquam altos ventum in montes, atque invia lustra."

And Horace, 1 *Sat.* ix, 35:—

"Ventum erat ad Vestae."

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you, if I deserved of you much or little, when in the world I wrote my lofty verses, move not away; but let one of you tell, whither, being lost, he went to die."

As Castelvetro (pp. 348-350) points out, it is always Virgil who talks with the shades of the ancient personages the Poets encounter; Dante only speaks to the modern, with the sole exception of the occasion when he was admitted into the circle of the great Poets presided over by Homer. Dante says that he was the sixth amid so much learning, and speaking on matters of which it was well to be silent on earth, even as it was well to speak on them there, in *Limbo.* In Canto xiii it is Virgil who addresses the Centaurs, and it is he who in Canto xiv reproves Capaneus for his rebellious arrogance.

Division IV.—The remainder of the Canto is taken up by the answer of the shade of Ulysses to Virgil, in which he gives a thrilling account of his last voyage and death. Mr. Butler observes that the source from whence Dante derived the idea of the end of Ulysses remains obscure, but that in Dante's time there were clearly old translations, now lost, of Greek works, to which he had access. Di Siena remarks that it was a fundamental part of the creed of ancient times that no one could travel beyond the Pillars of Hercules and live. As Dante elected to describe Ulysses as sailing beyond those limits, he was bound either to make him perish at sea or to represent him as the discoverer of a new world. The fiction becomes more plausible when one remembers that the Germans are said by Tacitus (*De moribus Germanorum*, ch. 3) to have held

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in olden times the belief that Ulysses did penetrate to some land across the sea, and founded Acisburgum (now Asberg, a small town near Moers in Prussia); though Strabo believes it was Lisbon, originally called Ulysbona.*

Lo maggior corno della fiamma antica 85
Cominciò a crollarsi mormorando,†
Pur come quella cui vento affatica.‡
Indi la cima qua e là menando,
Come fosse la lingua che parlasse,§
Gittò voce di fuori, e disse:—"Quando 90
Mi diparti' da Circe,|| che sottrasse ¶

---

* Claudian (*In Ruffinum*, i, 123-125) speaks of an island in the Ocean, inhabited by the spirits of the dead, at which Ulysses touched during his voyage:—

"Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia littus,
Oceani praetentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulixes
Sanguine libato populum movisse silentem."

† *Cominciò a crollarsi mormorando:* Compare *Inf.* xxvii, 5, 6:—

"Ne fece volger gli occhi alla sua cima,
Per un confuso suon che fuor n' uscia."

‡ *affatica* has the force of the Latin *fatigat, laborat*, "to weary, to keep in exercise, to agitate, to excite, to disturb, to smite." Compare Horace, 2 *Carm.* ix, 5-8:—

". . . Stat glacies iners
Menses per omnes; aut Aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani laborant
Et foliis viduantur orni."

§ *la lingua che parlasse:* Compare *Inf.* xxvii, 16-18:—

"Ma poscia ch' ebber colto lor viaggio
Su per la punta, dandole quel guizzo
Che dato avea la lingua in lor passaggio."

|| *Circe:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 216) thinks Dante probably derived his tradition—although the story was a well-known one—from Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. It struck Dr. Moore as curious that Dante should make Ulysses say (ll. 91, 92) that he was detained by Circe for more than a year; but after referring to possible sources, he (Dr. Moore) met with a similar statement in *Metam.* xiv, 308:—

"*Annua* nos illic *tenuit* mora."

Line 93 in particular seems distinctly derived from Virgil's brief reference to the same story in *Æn.* vii, 10-20.

¶ *sottrasse:* Trissino in his paraphrase renders this *nascose*

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Me più d' un anno là presso a Gaeta,*
Prima che sì Enea la nominasse ;
Nè dolcezza di figlio,† nè la pieta
Del vecchio padre, nè il debito amore, 95
Lo qual dovea Penelope far lieta,
Vincer potêr dentro da me l' ardore
Ch' i' ebbi a divenir del mondo esperto,
E degli vizi umani e del valore : ‡

---

me al mondo. That view is followed by Volpi, Lombardi, Brunone Bianchi and Scartazzini, and I adopt it also. Tommaséo thinks it is "Turned me aside from my destiny"; and Di Siena "Stole me away from myself."

* *Gaeta:* So called by Æneas after his nurse Caieta, who died there. Compare Virg. *Æn.* vii, 1-4 :—

> "Tu quoque littoribus nostris, Æneïa nutrix,
> Æternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti ;
> Et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
> Hesperia in magna (si qua est ea gloria) signat."

† *dolcezza di figlio*, et seq. : Pietro di Dante does not seem to rate conjugal affection very highly, for noticing that Ulysses mentions first the love of his son, then that for his father, and lastly the obligatory love (*debito amore*) for his wife, he says: "Et nota quod magis filiis, inde patri, postea uxori ad amorem inclinamur." In illustration of this graduated and decreasing scale of love, Pietro quotes Virgil, *Æn.* ii, 665, 666 :—

> "Eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus, utque
> Ascanium, patremque meum, juxtaque Creusam."

Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 182-3) says Dante has united here two incidents of Virgil's narrative which happened to be in a certain proximity of context. In *Æn.* ii, Sinon denounces the fraud and treachery of Ulysses (*pellacis Ulyssei*, l. 90) in respect of the Trojan horse and the theft of the Palladium ; and in the same context deplores, as one of the features of his feigned calamity, that he would never again see his home and those dear to him (*Æn.* ii, 137, 138) :—

> "Nec mihi jam patriam antiquam spes ulla videndi,
> Nec dulces natos exoptatumque parentem."

Dante transfers the sentiment to Ulysses, and makes it refer to his self-imposed absence from home.

‡ *esperto . . . degli vizi umani e del valore:* Compare the opening words of Homer, *Odyss.* 1-3 :—

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Ma misi me per l' alto mare aperto 100
Sol con un legno e con quella compagna *
Picciola, dalla qual non fui deserto.

The greater horn of the old-world flame murmuring began to quiver, even as that (flame) which the wind blows about. Then waving its extreme top to and fro, as though it were a tongue that was speaking, it threw out a voice and said: "When I departed from Circe, who for more than a year had kept me in seclusion over there near Gaeta, (but) before Æneas had so named it; neither tenderness for my son, nor reverence for my aged father, nor the rightful love which should have made Penelope glad, were able to overcome in me the ardour I had to gain experience of the world, and of the vices of mankind, and of their virtue: but I put forth upon the deep open sea, with but one ship, and with that small band, by whom I had never been deserted.

We gather by the next three lines that by the deep open sea Ulysses means the Mediterranean,

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Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὅς μαλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερον πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν,
πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

And Horace, *Ars Poet.* 141, 142:—

"Dic mihi, Musa, virum captae post tempora Trojae,
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes."

See also *Ecclus.* xxxix, 4: "He will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men."

* *compagna* = *compagnia*, of very common use among the older Italian writers.

Compare *Purg.* xxiii, 127-129:—

"Tanto dice di farmi sua compagna [*i.e. afford me his company*],
Ch' io sarò là dove fia Beatrice."

And Folgore di San Gemignano (who flourished in 1260), *Sonetto d' Aprile*:—

"Vi do d' Aprile la gentil campagna
Tutta fiorita di bell' erba fresca;
Fontana d' acqua, che non vi rincresca,
Donne e donzelle per vostra compagna."

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not the Ocean. He could see land on both sides. On the right was the European coast, on the left stretched the African continent. The indication is to the extreme limit of the habitable globe.

> L' un lito e l' altro vidi infin la Spagna,
> Fin nel Morrocco,* e l' isola de' Sardi,
> E l' altre che quel mare intorno bagna. 105

> I saw both one and the other coast as far as Spain, as far as Morocco, and the island of Sardinia, and the other isles which that sea bathes round about.

The other isles in the Mediterranean would be Sicily, Pantellaria, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, Ivica, Elba, etc.

Ulysses next relates how he and his crew reached the Pillars of Hercules, which were Calpe in Europe, and Abyla in Africa.

> Io e i compagni eravam vecchi e tardi,†
> Quando venimmo a quella foce stretta

---

* *Morrocco:* Compare *Purg.* iv, 137-139:—

> ". . . Vienne omai, vedi ch' è tocco
> Meridian dal sole, e dalla riva
> Copre la notte già col piè Morrocco."

† *tardi:* The mariners from old age had become sluggish in their movements, as well as broken-down by their privations, hardships, and long exposure to the elements. Comparison is sometimes made to *Inf.* iv, 112:—

> "Genti v' eran con occhi tardi e gravi," etc.,

but I do not think the significations in the two passages are identical. The dignified mien of the great personages in *Limbo* exhibits them as men who weigh their words, and only speak after deep thought. Among them, however, is one whose hawk-like, piercing eye, and the lightning rapidity of whose glance demonstrated the great commander, the born leader of men, quick to see his opportunity, and to take instant advantage of it. This is "Cesare armato con gli occhi grifagni." (*Inf.* iv, 123).

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Ov' Ercole segnò li suoi riguardi,*
Acciocchè l' uom più oltre non si metta:
Dalla man destra mi lasciai Sibilia, 110
Dall' altra già m' avea lasciata Setta.

I and my companions were old and broken-down, when we came to that narrow strait, where Hercules set up his land-marks, in order that man should not venture further. On my right hand I left Seville, on the other I had already left Ceuta.

He tells the Poets how he harangued his crew, to induce them to join him in the perilous voyage into the vast and unexplored Ocean, a proceeding in those days considered so foolhardy, that it was thought to be courting sudden death to attempt it.

'O frati,'† dissi, 'che per cento milia

---

* *riguardi.* Di Siena and Scartazzini both quote from Perticari (*Prop.* vol ii, part 2, p. 388), who observes that in Romagna the landmarks that separate fields, as well as the sign-posts and columns on the high roads, are still called *riguardi.*

† *O frati:* Compare Virg. *Æn.* i, 198-207:—

"O socii! (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)
O passi graviora! dabit Deus his quoque finem.
Vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantes
Accêstis scopulos: vos et Cyclopia saxa
Experti. Revocate animos, maestumque timorem
Mittite. Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt: illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis."

And Horace, 1 *Carm.* vii, 25-32:—

"Quo nos cumque feret melior fortuna parente,
Ibimus, o socii comitesque!
. . . . . .
O fortes, pejoraque passi
Mecum saepe viri! nunc vino pellite curas:
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor."

And Lucan, *Phars.* i, 299, 300:—

"Bellorum o socii, qui mille pericula Martis
Mecum (ait) experti, decimo jam vincitis anno."

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Perigli siete giunti all' occidente,
A questa tanto picciola vigilia *
De' nostri sensi ch' è del rimanente, 115
Non vogliate negar l' esperïenza,
Diretro al sol, del mondo senza gente.
Considerate la vostra semenza:
Fatti non foste a viver come bruti,
Ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza.' 120

'O brothers,' I said, 'who through a hundred thousand (*i.e.* countless) dangers have reached the West, to this so brief vigil of our senses (*i.e.* of our lives) which remains to us seek not to deny experience of the unpeopled world beyond the Sun. Consider your origin: ye were not created to live like brute beasts, but to pursue virtue and knowledge.'

Benvenuto says that throughout the *Odyssey*, as well as in the Thirteenth Book of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, one may read of the persuasiveness of Ulysses, as for instance his success in getting the arms of Achilles adjudged to him, when, after that hero's death, they were claimed both by himself and Ajax. So now his words overcame the reluctance of his followers.

Li miei compagni fec' io sì acuti,
Con questa orazion picciola, al cammino,
Che appena poscia gli avrei ritenuti.
E vôlta nostra poppa nel mattino,
De' remi facemmo ali al folle volo, 125
Sempre acquistando dal lato mancino.

With this brief harangue I made my companions so eager for the voyage, that after it I scarcely could have held them back. And having turned

* *vigilia:* "Sulla voce *vigilia* s' accordano tutti gl' interpreti, che significhi la *tanto corta vita*, quel *poco di vita* che loro restava ancora." (Blanc, *Saggio*, p. 262).

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our poop to the morning (*i.e.* heading for the West), with our oars we made wings for our insensate flight, ever gaining on the left side (*i.e.* working more and more to port).

On this Tommaséo remarks, that as Dante was to make Ulysses come in sight of the Mountain of Purgatory, which was supposed to be under the meridian of Jerusalem, it was necessary to represent him, or any one who was sailing from Gibraltar, as keeping constantly to the left, that is, bearing always to Port as much as the Western coasts of Africa permitted, in order to regain the distance which separates the Pillars of Hercules from Jerusalem. And in that way Dante comes to tell us also of the south-easterly direction which these coasts must take, so that by sailing along them, he would ever be going to his left. What an amount of matter concentrated into a single line!

The next three lines show that their course had taken them beyond the Equator.

Tutte le stelle già dell' altro polo
Vedea la notte,* e il nostro tanto basso,

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* *Vedea la notte:* That is, *Io vedea tutte le stelle dell' altro polo la notte*, meaning, *nella notte*, or *di notte*. It is a perfectly common expression in Italy to say *la notte* with the signification of "during the night." *E.g.* in a Neapolitan popular song: "La notte tutti dormono," *i.e.* "During the night everyone is asleep." In Lowland Scotch the form is identically the same. See Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary*, ch. ii: "'Punch,' said he [the landlord], 'the deil a drap punch ye'se get here the day, Monkbarns, and that ye may lay your account wi'.'" So also the Scotch say: "It has rained the nicht." Nearly all the old Commentators understand "*io* vedea *nella* notte." "Non quia nox videat, sed ipsi videbant in nocte illa." (Benvenuto). "Erono tanto navicati ch' ellino la notte viddono tutte le stelle del polo di sotto et di quel cielo," *et seq.* (*Anonimo Fiorentino*).

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Che non surgeva fuor del marin suolo.*

I could now see all the stars of the other (*i.e.* the Antarctic) pole at night, and ours (the Arctic pole) so low, that it did not rise above the Ocean floor.

He now describes how, after five months' navigation in the great Ocean, they at length sighted land.

Cinque volte racceso,† e tante casso 130
Lo lume era di sotto dalla luna,
Poi ch' entrati eravam nell' alto passo,
Quando n' apparve una montagna ‡ bruna §

"*Vedea la notte* = io vedea di notte." (Camerini). "Già la notte io vedea tutte le stelle," etc. (Gabriele Rossetti, *La D. C. con Comento Analitico*).

"I saw by night already all the stars
Within the other pole."
(William Michael Rossetti, *Dante's Comedy*).

"La notte vedeva io già tutte le stelle dell' altro polo." (Lubin's *Paraphrase*). Daniello, followed by most of the translators, takes *la notte* as the subject of the proposition. And Petrarch (Part I, *Sest.* vii, st. 1) has a passage that accords with this view:—

"Non ha tanti animali il mar fra l' onde;
Nè lassù sopra 'l cerchio della Luna
Vide mai tante stelle alcuna notte."

* *marin suolo:* Compare *Purg.* ii, 13-15:—

"Ed ecco qual, sul presso del mattino,
Per li grossi vapor Marte rosseggia
Giù nel ponente sopra il suol marino."

Compare also Milton, *Lycidas*, l. 167:—

"Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor."

† *Cinque volte racceso:* In *Inf.* x, 79-81, Dante hears from Farinata degli Uberti that his banishment from Florence will take place within fifty months:—

"Ma non cinquanta volte fia raccesa
La faccia della donna che qui regge,
Che tu saprai quanto quell' arte pesa."

‡ *montagna:* This was the Mountain of Purgatory, of whose desert shore Dante speaks in *Purg.* i, 130-132:—

"Venimmo poi in sul lito diserto,
Che mai non vide navicar sue acque
Uomo, che di tornar sia poscia esperto."

§ *bruna:* It cannot be sufficiently insisted on that the adjec-

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Per la distanza, e parvemi alta tanto *
Quanto veduta non n' aveva alcuna. 135

Five times had the light beneath the Moon been rekindled and as many quenched, after we had entered into the highway of the deep, when there appeared to us a mountain dark in the far distance, and it seemed to me so exceedingly high as I had never seen any before.

According to Scartazzini's calculations, five months must be dated from their departure from Cadiz, when they put out into the great Ocean. The Mountain of Purgatory would be about 1950 miles from Cadiz, if

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tive *bruno* very seldom means "brown," but rather "black, dark or obscure." In Baretti's *Dictionary*, "brown" is not even mentioned as one of the significations of *bruno*. In the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (Manuzzi) one finds the following significations given: "*Di color nereggiante* (blackish), Lat. *nigricans; per nero semplicemente*, Lat. *niger, ater; per adombrato*, Lat. *opacus, obscurus; per tenebroso, oscuro; per metaf. incognito; per mesto, turbato.*" Again *bruno* subst. = *abito nero.* See (my) note on *Inf.* ii, 1. Compare Virg. *Æn.* iii, 521-523:—

"Jamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis:
Cum procul obscuros colles humilemque videmus
Italiam."

Again *Æn.* iii, 205, 206:—

"Quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem
Visa, aperire procul montes, ac volvere fumum."

* *alta tanto*, etc.: The stupendous height of the Mountain of Purgatory is attested in the following passages: *Purg.* iii, 14, 15:—

"E diedi il viso mio incontro al poggio,
Che inverso il ciel più alto si dislaga."

And iv, 40-42:—

"Lo sommo er' alto che vincea la vista,
E la costa superba più assai,
Che da mezzo quadrante a centro lista."

And iv, 85-87:—

"Ma se a te piace, volentier saprei
Quanto avemo ad andar, chè il poggio sale
Più che salir non posson gli occhi miei."

In his descriptions of the Mountain of Purgatory, Dante intended, beyond a doubt, to convey the idea of immensity.

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one reckons that they advanced about 13 miles a day for 150 days on an average, which, according to the slow rate of progression at sea in those days, would be speaking in conformity with the belief held in Dante's time, that the Southern Hemisphere was covered with water.

Ulysses concludes his relation by describing the final catastrophe, in which his ship was swallowed up in a whirlpool, and he and his companions perished. He says their first sight of the land made them glad; on which Benvenuto remarks that such is ever the way with mariners, after having been a long time at sea.

Noi ci allegrammo,* e tosto tornò in pianto †
Chè della nuova terra un turbo nacque,
E percosse del legno il primo canto.
Tre volte il fe' girar con tutte l' acque,‡

---

* *Noi ci allegrammo:* On the joy of mariners at the sight of land, compare Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* iii, st. 4:—

"Così di naviganti audace stuolo
Che mova a ricercar estranio lido,
E in mar dubbioso e sotto ignoto polo
Provi l' onde fallaci e il vento infido,
S' alfin discopre il desiato suolo,
Il saluta da lunge in lieto grido;
E l' uno all' altro il mostra, e intanto oblia
La noia e il mal della passata via."

† *tornò in pianto:* "It was turned into weeping." Di Siena says this passage is exactly like that in Canto xxiii, 64, where Dante says of the leaden mantles of the Hypocrites:—

"Di fuor dorate son, sì ch' egli abbaglia."

He remarks that the verb *abbaglia* in the one passage, and the verb *torno* in the other, each agree with some subject understood in its ideal totality as a single thing. One must understand the sentence: "*ci allegrammo, e* l' esserci allegrati, *i.e.* la nostra allegrezza, *tornò in pianto.*"

‡ *con tutte l' acque:* Compare *Æn.* i, 114-117:—

"Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit: excutitur, pronusque magister
Volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat aequore vortex."

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Alla quarta levar la poppa in suso, 140
E la prora ire in giù, com' altrui piacque,*
Infin che il mar fu sopra noi richiuso."—

We rejoiced, but soon it (*i.e.* our joy) was turned into weeping; for from that new land there rose a whirlwind, and smote upon the fore-part of the ship. Three times it made her whirl round with all the waters, the fourth time it made the poop rise aloft and the prow to sink, as was the Will of Another (*i.e.* God), until the sea had closed over us."

Benvenuto remarks that a high-minded man of a noble soul such as Ulysses possessed, will neither spare his life, nor avoid perils and toils to acquire experience, and will prefer a short and glorious life to a long one without distinction.

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* *com' altrui piacque:* The heathen Ulysses dares not utter the name of God. The blasphemer Vanni Fucci dared, and we saw (*Inf.* xxv, 4-8) the retribution that befell him. Ulysses uses the circumlocution of speaking of God as *Altrui*, as Dante does himself, when addressing Francesca and Paolo (*Inf.* v, 80, 81):—

"O anime affannate,
Venite a noi parlar, s' altri nol niega."

And again *Purg.* i, 133, he says that Virgil girded him with a rush according to Cato's directions, and he mentions Cato as *altrui*:—

"Quivi mi cinse sì com' altrui piacque."

END OF CANTO XXVI.

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CANTO XXVII.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE EIGHTH *BOLGIA:* FRAUDULENT COUNSELLORS—THE CONDITION OF ROMAGNA—GUIDO DA MONTEFELTRO.

THIS Canto is one of the most beautiful in the *Divina Commedia*, and nowhere does Dante exhibit more conspicuously his extraordinary power of blending into one harmonious narrative subjects so different as that of the awful scene before him, and that of the pathos with which a fallen great man, Guido da Montefeltro, laments the errors of a mis-spent life.

In no part of his poem is Dante's hatred of Pope Boniface VIII expressed with more bitterness than in this Canto, the Pope being made primarily responsible for Guido's relapse into sin and eventual perdition. Finally the veil is supposed to be uplifted, and we are allowed a glimpse of the terrible episode in which the powers of evil triumph over the powers of good, and the soul of Guido is carried away, judged, condemned, and consigned to an awful doom.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 30, there is introduced the shade of Guido da Montefeltro, who questions Virgil as to the condition of the Romagna.

In *Division* II, from ver. 31 to ver. 57, Dante, at the request of Virgil, gives Guido the information he

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has asked for, then begs him to communicate his own history.

In *Division* III, from ver. 58 to ver. 136, Guido related that after he had turned to a life of penitence and mortification from the crooked ways of his early life, he was tempted into returning to them by Boniface VIII, and his soul was thereby lost.

Division I.—We learn by l. 21 that at the conclusion of the narrative of Ulysses, Virgil seems to have dismissed him, telling him in the Lombard dialect that he would not detain him further. The familiar accents of the North Italian tongue have attracted the attention of another shade, who, coming under the arch over which the Poets are leaning, entreats them to pause for a while and converse with him.

Già era dritta in su la fiamma e queta,*
Per non dir più, e già da noi sen gía
Con la licenza del dolce Poeta;
Quando un' altra, che dietro a lei venía,
Ne fece volger gli occhi alla sua cima,† 5
Per un confuso suon che fuor n' uscía.

Now was the flame pointing straight up and (was) still, through not speaking more, and already was it moving away from us with the permission of the gentle Poet; when another (flame), that was

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* *dritta in su la fiamma e queta:* By *dritta in su* we are to understand that the flame had ceased to wave about (*crollarsi*, xxvi, 86), and was directing its point straight up in the air. By *queta* is meant that it was no longer giving forth a sound *mormorando* (*ibid.* 85).

† *fece volger gli occhi alla sua cima:* This is very similar to *Inf.* viii, 3, 4:—

"Gli occhi nostri n' andâr suso alla cima,
Per due fiammette che i' vedemmo porre."

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coming on behind it, made us turn our eyes towards its crest, by reason of a confused sound that was issuing from it.

Benvenuto notices how well Dante illustrates this idea of the confused sound within the flame by comparing it to the howls of anguish of the Athenian artificer, Perillus, who, to gratify the morbid taste of Phalaris, Tyrant of Agrigentum, for new forms of torture, invented a brazen bull, within which condemned criminals might be shut up and roasted by lighting a fire underneath. Phalaris, with sardonic humour, informed Perillus that he should be the one to teach the bull how to bellow, and accordingly caused him to be thrust in, and be the first victim of his cruel invention.

The Fraudulent Counsellors are in like manner tormented within the flames which their own wicked counsels have prepared for them.

Come il bue Cicilian * che mugghiò prima

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* *il bue Cicilian:* Compare Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i, 653-656:—

"Et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli
Torruit; infelix imbuit auctor opus.
Justus *uterque* fuit: neque enim lex aequior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

[*uterque* refers to Busiris, mentioned l. 651, as well as Phalaris]. This passage is quoted in illustration here by Pietro di Dante. See Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, i, p. 215; and pp. 296, 297. Dr. Moore is not certain whether Dante derived the story of Phalaris and Perillus from Ovid, but he says it is just such a passage as would from its excellent moral be likely to appear in a *Florilegium* or book of extracts, which Dante may possibly have used for the minor works of Ovid. Another source may be from Orosius, *Adv. Pag.* I, xx, §§ 1-4, wherein the cruelty of Pagan times is contrasted with the milder rule which Christianity was influencing even Roman emperors to practice. Dr. Moore (*ibid.* p. 296) quotes Valerius Maximus, ix, 2, Ext. 9, as presenting some correspondences in detail with the lan-

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Col pianto di colui (e ciò fu dritto)
Che l' avea temperato con sua lima,*
Mugghiava con la voce dell' afflitto, 10
Sì che, con tutto ch' ei fosse di rame,
Pure e' pareva dal dolor trafitto.

As the Sicilian bull, which bellowed first with the moaning of him—and that was right—who had fashioned it with his file, bellowed with the voice

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guage of Dante: "Saevus etiam ille aenei tauri inventor, quo inclusi subditis ignibus longo et abdito cruciatu *mugitus resonantem spiritum edere cogebantur, ne eiulatus eorum humanae sono vocis expressi* Phalaridis tyranni misericordiam implorare possent: quam quia calamitosis deesse voluit, taeterrimum artis suae opus *primus* inclusus *merito* auspicatus est." Benvenuto da Imola, besides his great Commentary on Dante, also wrote one on Valerius Maximus. Compare also Claudian, *In Eutropium*, i, 157-166; and Petrarch, *Giunta alle Rime*, Padua, 1837, vol. ii, p. 672:—

"E quel che fece il crudo fabbro ignudo
Gittare il primo doloroso strido,
E far nell' arte sua primi vestigi."

* *temperato con sua lima:* Di Siena explains this: "Prepared with his hands, worked at with his tools." He says *lima* is metaphorically for any one of an artificer's tools. Compare Petrarch, Part i, *Son.* xvi (in some editions 18):—

"Ma trovo peso non dalle mie braccia,
Nè ovra da polir con la mia lima."

Ibid. Part i, *Son.* cxciv (or 214):—

". . . Amor tutte sue lime
Usa sopra 'l mio cor afflitto tanto."

And Dante *Son.* xxxiii (in *Oxford Dante*, p. 173):—

"E maledico l' amorosa lima,
C' ha pulito i miei detti e i bei colori."

And *ibid. Canz.* xii, st. 2 (in *Oxford Dante*, p. 163):—

"Ahi! angosciosa e dispietata lima,
Che sordamente la mia vita scemi."

Cecco d' Ascoli (Acerba, lib. ii, cap. 12) speaks of Dante as the "Fiorentino con l' antiche lime." For *temperato* compare Petrarch, *Son.* xxvii (or 34):—

"Le braccia alla fucina indarno move
L' antiquissimo fabbro Siciliano
Ch' a Giove tolte son l' arme di mano
Temprate a Mongibello a tutte prove."

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of the sufferer with such reality, that notwithstanding it was made of brass, yet did it seem transfixed with agony.

In the brazen bull of Perillus there was no outlet for the voice, so that the cries of the victim made an inarticulate sound, and Dante now shows that the voice proceeding from the flame was of the same description.

Così per non aver via nè forame
Dal principio del foco * in suo linguaggio
Si convertivan le parole grame. 15
Ma poscia ch' ebber colto lor viaggio
Su per la punta, dandole quel guizzo
Che dato avea la lingua in lor passaggio,
Udimmo dire :—" O tu, a cui io drizzo
La voce, e che parlavi mo Lombardo, 20
Dicendo : 'issa ten va, più non t' adizzo :' †

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* *Dal principio del foco :* I follow the *Oxford Dante* in the reading *del foco*, which is generally considered to have the great preponderance of MS. authority. Brunone Bianchi interprets the passage thus : "Intendi : *così le parole grame* (cioè le parole dell' afflitto chiuso nella fiamma) non trovando da prima nella fiamma forame o via onde uscirne, si convertivano *nel linguaggio del fuoco*, cioè nel mormorio che fa la fiamma mossa dal vento." Some read *nel foco*, but *Dal principio* has precisely the same sense with either reading. Buti reads *del fuoco* with the same interpretation : "*Così, per non aver via, nè forame ;* ora adatta la similitudine, dicendo che così cominciò dal principio quella fiamma a rendere uno mugghio, perchè non era ancor fatta la via alla voce, *Si convertivan le parole grame ;* cioè dolorose, *Dal principio ;* cioè nel principio, *del fuoco ;* cioè di quella fiamma, *in suo linguaggio ;* cioè nel modo del parlare che è proprio al fuoco ; cioè mugghiare come il bue del rame, quando n' uscia la voce umana."

† *issa . . . mo . . . adizzo :* By far the larger number of MSS. read *istra*, but of the Commentators the majority are for *issa*, *e.g.* the *Ottimo*, *Anon. Fior.*, Benvenuto, Landino, Vellutello, and Daniello. Lana reads *istra* without explaining it. Buti and Bargigi read *ista*. Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 339) observes : "This is a case in which I think the vast majority of the MSS.

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Perch' io sia giunto forse alquanto tardo,
Non t' incresca restare a parlar meco:
Vedi che non incresce a me, ed ardo.

So (here) the words of woe, from not having at their commencement any vent or outlet from the fire, changed themselves into its language. But after they had found their way up through the point, imparting to it that vibration which the tongue (of the imprisoned shade) had imparted to them in their passage (through its lips), we heard say: "O thou to whom I direct my voice, and who wast but now speaking Lombard, saying: 'Now get thee gone, no longer do I urge thee:' Though I may perchance have come a little late, let it not irk thee to stop and talk with me: See, it irks not me, and I am burning.

The difficulty of articulation on the part of the Fraudulent Counsellors seems to be somewhat analogous to that of the Suicides (*Inf.* xiii), who had no power of utterance until blood flowing from a wound carried their voices with it.

The shade now asks Virgil if he is Italian, because, if so, they are fellow-countrymen, he himself being

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must certainly be thrown overboard, the copyists having gone astray (as often elsewhere) over an unfamiliar word, namely, *issa.* Yet this word is twice besides used by Dante, namely, in *Inf.* xxiii, 7, where in fact its meaning may be said to be explained by Dante himself as being indistinguishable from that of *mo*, 'now,' and again in *Purg.* xxiv, 55. . . . Benvenuto on *Inf.* xxiii, 7, says: 'Aliqui Tusci dicunt *mo*, aliqui Lombardi dicunt *issa.*' It seems probable from the expression *parlavi Lombardo* that the words following, purporting to be a quotation from Virgil's language, embody Lombardisms in the case of *issa* and *adizzo*, and this because Virgil was himself *Lombardo* as described in *Inf.* i, 68." *Issa* is usually taken to be for *ipsâ horâ; mo* for *modo;* Blanc thinks that *adizzo* may perhaps be derived from the German *anhetzen*, "to excite a dog to bite," and hence, to urge on any one to speak. We find *mo* three times used in this Canto, namely, l. 20; l. 25; and l. 109.

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from the Romagna, as to the dissensions in which he asks for news.

Se tu pur mo in questo mondo cieco * 25
Caduto sei di quella dolce terra
Latina † ond' io mia colpa tutta reco,
Dimmi se i Romagnoli han pace o guerra ;
Ch' io fui de' monti là intra Urbino ‡
E il giogo di che 'l Tever si disserra."— 30

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* *pur mo in questo mondo cieco :* Compare *Inf.* x, 21, where Dante says to Virgil :—

" E tu m' hai non pur mo a ciò disposto."

And *ibid.* l. 58, Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti says to Dante :—

" . . . Se per questo cieco
Carcere vai per altezza d' ingegno," etc.

In *Purg.* xvi, 64, 65, Marco Lombardo says to Dante :—

" Frate,
Lo mondo è cieco, e tu vien ben da lui."

And Petrarch, Part i, *Son.* cxc. (in some editions 210) :—

" Ch' è sola un Sol, non pur agli occhi miei,
Ma al mondo cieco, che vertù non cura."

Guido was probably not aware that Virgil had a companion. It was Virgil's voice that he heard speaking Lombard. In fact his use of the word *cieco* may allude to his inability to see, though Cavalcante uses the word in Canto x, and he could see.

† *dolce terra Latina :* Benvenuto thinks Romagna is meant here, but that view is disproved by the words *ond' io mia colpa tutta reco*, " from which I bring *all* my guilt." Guido is about to relate (ll. 85-111) that the chief, if not the sole cause of his perdition, was the sin into which he fell by giving fraudulent counsel to the Pope about Palestrina near Rome. On the other hand *terra Latina* cannot be Latium, because Guido thought he was speaking to a Lombard, and if he, a Romagnole, claims Virgil, who was a Lombard, as a fellow-countryman, he must by *terra Latina* mean Italy. Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 267) points out that Dante never once uses the term *Italiani*. Camerini thinks that he calls all Italians south of the Po, *Latini ;* and all to the north of it, Lombardi, and to that view I incline.

‡ *de' monti là intra Urbino*, etc. : The hill-country alluded to is Montefeltro, which is situated between Urbino and Monte Coronara in the Apennines at the foot of which the Tiber takes its rise. The district of that name belonged in Dante's time to

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If thou art but now fallen into this blind world from that sweet Latin (*i.e.* Italian) land, from which I bring all my guilt, tell me if the Romagnoles have peace or war; for I was from that mountain region over there between Urbino and the chain from which the Tiber is unlocked (*i.e.* takes its source)."

The speaker is the great Ghibelline leader, Count Guido da Montefeltro, one of the most prominent figures in the highly complicated history of the Italian States in the time of Dante. The exact date of his birth is not known, for although Arrivabene (*Secolo di Dante*, Udine, 1827) gives it as 1250, the fact that Guido (l. 79 of this Canto) describes himself as an old man when Boniface VIII was besieging Palestrina, which siege, according to G. Villani (lib. viii, cap. 23) took place in 1298, would certainly seem to prove that he was born considerably before 1250. According to Villani (lib. vii, cap. 44), Guido was in 1274 made captain of the Lambertazzi, or Ghibellines of Bologna. In 1282, at or near Forlì, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the French com-

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the Dukes of Urbino. Benvenuto in his comment on *Purg.* v, 88, speaks thus of Montefeltro: "Debes scire quod Mons Feretrus est quaedam contrata [*region*] in Romandiola, continens in se multas terras, sicut civitatem Sancti Leonis, . . . Samarinum [*San Marino*], et alia castella; ex qua contrata habuerunt olim originem comites famosi, vocati usque in hodiernam diem comites de Montefeltro, de quorum primordio non habetur memoria; sed de domo ista multi fuerunt viri strenuissimi, quorum unum antiquissimum reperio quemdam dominum Montefeltranum, qui genuit Boncontem, et ex Bonconte natus est Montefeltranus miles. Ex Montefeltrano natus est famosissimus comes Guido . . . ex isto Guidone natus est Boncontes." [*N.B.*—It is this second Buonconte the episode of whose death is so beautifully described in *Purg.* v].

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mander, Jean de Appia, or Jean de Ipa, whom Muratori calls Johannes de Appia, and Villani, Gianni de Pà, and took possession of the whole of the Romagna in opposition to Pope Martin IV. For this he was excommunicated, but about 1286 he made his reconciliation to the then Pope, Honorius IV, who banished him to Asti in Piedmont; but in 1288, having been elected their general by the Pisan Ghibellines, notwithstanding the papal ban, he left Piedmont and came to Pisa, whereupon the Pope, after excommunicating him and his family, pronounced an interdict against Pisa. Guido then defended that city against the Guelphs, who, Muratori says, would have gained possession of it, "had it not been that the excellence of the Count delivered it from them." He restored order and good government in the city, and regained possession of the castles, for the alleged betrayal of which Count Ugolino was put to so cruel a death. He captured Urbino in 1292, and in 1294 successfully defended it against Malatesta, Podestà of Siena. But being in the same year expelled from Pisa, he again reconciled himself with the Church, and in 1296 entered the Franciscan Order. He died in 1298, and, according to some, was buried at Assisi. In *Conv.* iv, 28, ll. 61, 62, Dante speaks of him as "il nobilissimo nostro Latino Guido Montefeltrano." *

* Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. vi, part ii, pp. 90-93) asks whether the account of Guido da Montefeltro given by Dante in this Canto is a true story, or a mere fable, painting as he does in such black colours the same man whom he has so extolled in the *Convito*. Bartoli is inclined to agree with some who think that Dante may have spoken in Guido's praise before he became acquainted with the infamy of his deceitful counsel to the Pope. But he certainly thinks Dante

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Division II.—In the last Canto, when Dante had expressed a wish that he and Virgil should converse with the double-horned flame enclosing Ulysses and Diomede, Virgil had given an assent, conditional on being himself the spokesman. He now releases Dante from this imposed silence, and urges him to answer the shade of Guido da Montefeltro. Dante has evidently taken for granted that he is to be the speaker, and is quite ready. He gives a terrible picture of the dissensions in the various great cities of the Romagna, and of the sufferings that all are undergoing under their respective tyrants.

Io era ingiuso ancora attento e chino,
Quando il mio Duca mi tentò di costa,*
Dicendo :—"Parla tu, questi è Latino."—
Ed io ch' avea già pronta la risposta,
Senza indugio a parlare incominciai : 35

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related this story in perfect good faith, and evidently believed in its accuracy. There do not seem to be any dates to weaken it. Therefore let us rather suppose that Dante was not sorry to bring to light one of the dark deeds that would be likely to blacken the memory of his enemy Boniface. Let us add moreover that he was not sorry to couple with the sins of this enemy those of him of Montefeltro, who was constantly vacillating between the Papal Court and the Empire, who while head of the Ghibelline party, had become reconciled to the Church, only to turn against it again in 1287, when he took the command of the Pisans against the Pisans and the Lucchese. No one can read this Canto, Bartoli remarks, without perceiving that there is wrath in Dante's soul against the man whose deeds were less of the lion than of the fox.

* *tentò di costa :* That means, "touched me lightly with his elbow to attract my attention."

Compare *Inf.* xii, 67 :—

"Poi mi tentò e disse : 'Quegli è Nesso,'" etc.

And Horace, 2 *Sat.* v, 42, 43 :—

"Nonne vides (aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens,
Inquiet) ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer ?"

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—" O anima, che se' laggiù nascosta,*
Romagna tua non è, e non fu mai
Senza guerra ne' cor de' suoi tiranni ; †
Ma 'n palese ‡ nessuna or vi lasciai.§

I was still listening attentively and bent down (over the bridge), when my Leader touched me on the side, saying: " Speak thou, this is an Italian." And I who had my answer already prepared, without delay began to speak: "O spirit, that art hidden there below, thy Romagna is not, nor ever was, without war in the hearts of her tyrants, but open (war) I recently left there none.

Scartazzini remarks that in every city in the Romagna at that time there were at least two parties, namely, the Lambertazzi and the Geremei

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* *anima . . . laggiù nascosta:* Guido was a man of such reputation for counsel, that in l. 78 he says of his wisdom and talents :—

" Ch' al fine della terra il suono uscíe."

His doom now is to be hidden away from view in one of the lowest parts of Hell, in total ignorance of the machinations ever going on in his native land, and of which, at one time, he held the threads at his fingers' ends.

† *tiranni:* The word *tiranno* need not necessarily be taken in a bad sense, for Villani speaks of Castruccio as a tyrant, and yet praises him. Tommaséo says that at the battle of Campaldino, Dante fought by the side of Bernardino da Polenta, a Guelph, and from him he may have heard the details of the sad story of his sister Francesca.

‡ *in palese:* The *in* is redundant. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* gives: "*Mostrare in palese*, lo stesso che *Palesare, Manifestare.*" Compare Petrarch, Part i, *Son.* xciii (or 111) :—

" Ma 'l soverchio piacer che s' attraversa
Alla mia lingua, qual dentro ella siede,
Di mostrarla in palese ardir non ave."

§ *nessuna or vi lasciai:* See both the *Voc. della Crusca*, and the *Gran Dizionario*, who state that there is no doubt that *Ora* as an adverb of time can be used to express the past, the present, or the future. Here it is evidently an adverb of past time, and has the force of *testè*, "recently, lately."

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in Bologna; the Ordelaffi and the Calboli at Forlì; the Alidosi and the Nordoli at Imola; the Zambrasi and the Manfredi at Faenza; the Parcitati and the Malatesta at Rimini, etc. Benvenuto remarks that Guido da Montefeltro must have wondered indeed at Dante's statement that there was no open war actually going on just then, for from the time that Niccolò degli Orsini ascended the Papal Throne and obtained from the Emperor Rudolph the cession to him of the Romagna, the several States and cities of that province became the prey of a number of petty local tyrants. The utter destruction of that noble territory was due to four causes. First, the avarice and corruption of the Pastors of the Church, who took different sides in the faction fights, according as it suited their interest. Secondly, the infamous character of the tyrants continually at warfare among themselves, and oppressing their subjects with the most cruel extortions. Thirdly, the wonderful fertility of the whole region, which was an endless attraction to barbarians and foreigners. Fourthly, the envy in the hearts of the whole population, to which Dante alludes in *Purg.* xiv, 99, where, notwithstanding that he bestows some praise upon the Romagnole race, he deplores their deterioration in these words: "O Romagnoli tornati in bastardi."

Ravenna is the first of the cities that Dante mentions.

Ravenna sta come stata è molti anni: * 40

**molti anni:* The Lords of Polenta—who took their title from a small castle of that name above Brettinoro—obtained the sovereignty of Ravenna in 1270, and held it till 1441.

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L' aquila * da Polenta la si cova,†
Sì che Cervia ricopre co' suoi vanni.

Ravenna remains as she has remained for many years: the eagle of Polenta is brooding over her in such wise that he spreads his pinions over Cervia.

The family of Da Polenta had so enlarged their dominions since they obtained the lordship of Ravenna, that their territory now took in Cervia, a town twelve miles off (Benvenuto says fifteen) on the shore of the Adriatic.

Dante has evidently intended to draw a marked distinction in ll. 40-48, in describing the arms of the reigning princes of Ravenna, Forlì, and Rimini. The Polenta eagle covers Ravenna and Cervia, under its feathers, as a bird does its own brood, implying that the rule of the Da Polenta was a paternal and friendly government; whereas by the rapacious claws of the Ordelaffi lion at Forlì, and by the pitiless fangs of the Malatesta mastiff at Rimini, a detestable tyranny is as plainly indicated.

Tommaséo remarks that this Canto is essentially one of real or seeming contradictions. After having

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* *L' aquilà:* The shield of the Da Polenta displayed an eagle, half *Argent* on a field *Azure*, and half *Gules* on a field *Or*.

† *la si cova:* The Oxford text reads *là si cova* = "sits brooding on that spot"; but I prefer the reading *la si cova* which is equivalent to *se la cova*. The reflective *covarsi* is used as a transitive verb; and the real force of the sentence is that the Eagle of Da Polenta gathers it (Ravenna) under his wings with the idea of keeping it for his own. "Guido da Polenta . . . che ha l' aquila per arme, la tiene soggetta, e la si cova (come la gallina l' uova), in maniera che ha pure sotto di sè la non distante Città di Cervia . . . e la ricuopre con le sue ali." (Trissino).

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stated that the hearts of the tyrants of Romagna are ever engaged in fratricidal wars, Dante names the Polentani. When he wrote his poem, he had no ties of friendship with Guido da Polenta [I am not responsible for Tommaséo's view on this matter]; nor was Dante the man to pardon him his tendency to be both vacillating and at the same time covetous; nor for having driven out *la casa Traversara e gli Anastagi*, two families extolled by Dante in *Purg.* xiv. Besides this, the family lost and regained their sovereignty over Ravenna on several occasions, which does not seem quite to tally with *Ravenna sta come stata è molti anni, l' aquila da Polenta la si cova.* Bartoli thinks that the glorious fifth Canto of the *Inferno* with its touching, and yet ruthlessly uncompromising, account of Francesca, aunt to Guido da Polenta, was most certainly written before Dante went to Ravenna and became the guest of that potentate.

Dante next speaks of Forlì, the ancient *Forum Livii*, then under the dominion of Sinibaldo degli Ordelaffi, whose escutcheon displayed a lion *Vert* on a field *Or*. Tradition relates that in the early days of Dante's exile, he was employed as secretary to Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi, who ruled Forlì from 1296.

La terra * che fe' già la lunga prova,†

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* *terra :* One of the meanings of *terra* (see *Gran Dizionario; Voc. della Crusca;* V. Fanfani *Vocabolario*) is "*città, castel murato.*" Dr. Moore writes to me that "*terrae* seems to have just this sense in *Æn.* vi, 777, *viz.* 'fortified towns.'" It was a word in very common use in that sense in the time of Dante, and for long after. Sir James Lacaita (when I was writing

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E de' Franceschi sanguinoso mucchio,‡
Sotto le branche § verdi si ritrova. 45

The city which not long since endured the protracted struggle (*i.e.* siege), and of the Frenchmen made a gory pile, still finds itself under the Green Paws.

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this note for the first edition) told me to add that in the south of Italy *terra* is the common word used by fellow-citizens in speaking of their city, or for the principal town in their district (*capo luogo*). One will say to another *Andiamo alla terra*, meaning, "let us go to the city." Till very recently, in the cases of Otranto and Bari, *terra* was in use to denote *Provincia*, and survives to this day in that of "Terra di Lavoro." We find in Boccaccio, "Una terra chiamata Udine." I do not repeat all the illustrations I gave in the first edition, as *terra*, meaning "city," is too common a mediæval term to need illustration. The error of rendering *terra* "land" is entirely due to English translators, who are by far the greatest culprits. One of them actually translates the first two lines of *Inf.* x, "By a secret path between *the wall of the land* and the torments"!! Note also, that the regular word for a village in Italy is *paese*, which more usually means "a country." In a very interesting work, *Della Fabrica del Mondo*, di Messer Francesco Alunno di Ferrara—Venice, 1588, folio (the valuable gift to me of my friend Dr. Paget Toynbee), under the head of *Città* and its synonyms, p. 121, there is a very full paragraph on *Terra* "per la città," with numerous illustrations from the best writers.

† *La terra che fe' già la lunga prova:* This means, of course, the city of Forlì. By *la lunga prova*, Blanc (*Voc. Dant*), says we are to understand "la battaglia, guerra," as also in *Inf.* viii, 122:—

"Non sbigottir, ch' io vincerò la prova."

‡ *sanguinoso mucchio:* Virgil (*Æn.* x, 507-509) says of Pallas, to whom the first day's combat brought glory and death:—

"O dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti!
Haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert:—
Cum tamen ingentes Rutulorum linquis acervos."

See also Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* xix, st. 30:—

"Ogni cosa di strage era già pieno:
Vedeansi in mucchi e in monti i corpi avvolti;
Là i feriti sui morti, e qui giacieno
Sotto morti insepolti egri sepolti."

§ *branche* are the fore-paws of a wild beast, armed with claws, and the talons of a bird of prey.

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Benvenuto's account is as follows: "Rightly to understand the above passage, it must be known that in 1282 Pope Martin [IV] of Tours, in the Kingdom of France, sent into Romagna a certain lord named Jean de Apia, or de Ipa, a most active and intelligent commander, to wrest that province from the clutches of Count Guido da Montefeltro, a brave and powerful leader, who was at that time on the Ghibelline side. In all France there was not a more valiant knight than Jean de Apia, but he was no match for the Romagnoles in cunning. On his first entering the province with an immense army of French and Italian troops, he took Faenza, and from there began to wage a fierce war against Forlì, of which he hoped to gain possession by treachery, as he could not do so by regular siege. The defence was directed by Count Guido, a most astute strategist, who perfectly understood the rashness of the French. On the Kalends of May, Jean de Apia reached Forlì with his army very early in the morning, thinking to capture it by a *coup-de-main* before break of day; and in obedience to the orders of Count Guido, he was at once admitted through one of the gates. Jean, thereupon, marched in with a part of his troops, leaving the rest outside, under orders to come to the rescue of their comrades, should they require support; and in case of any mischance, all were to rally under the shade of a huge oak* that stood in a certain field. Having given

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* *under the shade of the huge oak:* It is not without sad regret that one reads in this passage of the bygone glories of woodland scenery in Italy. Such a thing as a "huge oak" is now almost

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these orders, Count Jean, with his Frenchmen, made his way unopposed through the streets of the town. Meanwhile Count Guido, who had marched quietly out of the city with his whole force, fell furiously upon the reserve French division under the oak, and easily routed and destroyed them. Jean, under the delusion that he was master of Forlì, had given the city over to pillage, and his soldiers were all dispersed through the houses for that object. Count Guido now suddenly entered the town with part of his troops, leaving his infantry, however, formed up under the oak, so as to present the appearance of the French division that had stood there shortly before. Now when Count Jean saw Guido's troops in the town, of which he had already made himself the master, he was thunderstruck. Then every Frenchman who could get a horse escaped out

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unknown. Seldom, at the present day, does the eye rest upon a forest tree worthy of the name. The late Sir James Lacaita once remarked to me, during a visit to the magnificent oaks in Bagot's Park in Staffordshire, that there were as fine ones still to be found in the remote parts of the south of Italy; and on Sir James Lacaita's own estate, near Taranto, he used often to show me numbers of stupendous olive trees, reckoned to be two thousand years old, of a size, beside which those one knows on the *Riviera* of Nice are as small bushes. We know too that Horace once nearly met his death from the fall of a large and ancient tree. (See Hor. 2 *Carm.* xiii; and xvii, 27; 3 *Carm.* iv, 27; and viii, 7, 8). In 2 *Carm.* ix, 7, Horace alludes to the "Querceta Gargani," but Mr. Macleane in his edition of Horace (London, 1881, 8vo) asserts that these oak forests no longer exist in the Gargano. Sir James Lacaita told me that he questioned the complete accuracy of this assertion of Mr. Macleane, as in some of the interior valleys of the Gargano the oak forests had not entirely disappeared. The famous *Pineta* of Ravenna was nothing more than pine woods, beautiful as they were, when I saw them in 1869.

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of the city, and galloped off to the trysting-place under the oak; but instead of finding safety there with comrades, they fell into the hands of the enemy, who put them all to the sword, nor was any quarter given to the French who remained in the city. Among those who fell in this way was Taddeo da Montefeltro, a kinsman of Guido's, who had quarrelled with him about their inheritance, and Tebaldello, who betrayed Faenza to the French whilst the garrison were asleep. Jean de Apia, with a small remnant of his followers, escaped to Faenza." Pope Martin IV seems to have recaptured Forlì in the following year; but the astute Guido da Montefeltro had made his escape in time. "And thus it will be manifest that the ingenuity of the Count triumphed over the forces of the most distinguished military commander, although he himself was eventually mastered by the power of the Church." Practically the same account of the above events is given by G. Villani (vii, cap. 80-82); in the *Annales Forolivienses*, (*ap.* Muratori, *Rerum It. Script.* Vol. xxii); and in the *Anonimo Fiorentino*. Villani adds this fact, namely, that while the French men-at-arms were engaged in pillage the townspeople of Forlì, by order of Count Guido, removed the saddles and bridles from their horses, so as to increase their confusion when they attempted to escape.

Benvenuto notices that Dante makes no mention of Forlimpopoli (*Forumpopilium*), which was also under the rule of the Ordelaffi; but he says that it was only a small city, already in its decline, and soon after the time of Dante the Pope's legate nearly

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razed it to the ground, and transferred the inhabitants to Brettinoro.

Dante now passes on to name the city of Rimini, which, under the ferocious tyranny of the two Malatesta, father and son, is groaning under untold woes. The elder Malatesta was the father of Gianciotto the husband, and of Paolo the lover, of the hapless Francesca. The Malatesta are called the two Mastiffs, partly from their cruel instincts, and partly, perhaps, because there may have been a dog displayed upon their coat of arms. The son was called Malatestino, and to this was added the sobriquet *dell' occhio* [Malatestino dell' occhio], because he had only one eye.

Il Mastin vecchio, e il nuovo da Verrucchio,*
Che fecer di Montagna † il mal governo, ‡

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* *Mastin . . . da Verrucchio:* Malatesta da Verrucchio, so called from a castle of that name which had been presented to the Malatesta for their services to the city of Rimini, from which the castle was distant about ten miles. But Benvenuto denies the accuracy of this, and says that the family took its origin from a certain castle at Montefeltro named Pannabili (*Penna Billorum*). But Dante would call them by the title by which they were more popularly known, namely, the Counts Malatesta of Verrucchio. Dr. Moore, who visited the spot in April, 1902, writes to me: "Verrucchio is an extremely picturesque town on a steep hill on the way from Rimini to San Marino."

† *Montagna:* Messer Montagna de' Parcitati was a noble knight, and the head of the Ghibelline party in Rimini. The *Anonimo Fiorentino* relates that Messer Malatesta the elder (*Mastin vecchio*), and Messer Malatestino the younger (*il nuovo*), having taken prisoner a young man of Romagna of the name of Montagna, while accusing him and examining him on a capital charge, sent him backwards and forwards from one to the other (as did Herod and Pilate in old time with our Lord), after which they had him put to a cruel death.

‡ *fecer . . . mal governo:* The *Voc. della Crusca* interprets

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Là dove soglion,* fan de' denti succhio. †

The old Mastiff of Verrucchio, and the young one, who wrought the ill-usage on Montagna, there where they have been wont (*i.e.* at Rimini), make an auger of their teeth.

Bartoli (*op. cit.* Vol. vi, part ii, p. 21 *et seq.*) says that the above lines are uttered with singular malice, emphasising Dante's hatred for the Guelph Malatestas. In *Inf.* xxviii, 81, he calls Malatestino *un tiranno fello*, and says that his horrible crime in murdering the two best men in Fano far exceeds any that was ever perpetrated in the whole Mediter-

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this: "Maltrattarono, conciarono male." Compare *Purg.* v, 108, where the Angel of Hell, exasperated at not being allowed to carry off the soul of Buonconte, son of Guido da Montefeltro, exclaims that he will vent his rage upon the dead body.

"Ma io farò dell' altro altro governo,"

Compare also Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*, ii, *Terz.* 43:—

"E chi de' nostri duci, che 'n duro astro
Passâr l'Eufrate, fece 'l mal governo,
All' Italiche doglie fiero impiastro?"

This allusion is to Crassus, who met with defeat and dishonourable treatment after death, at the hands of the Parthians. Compare also *Inf.* xxviii, 126: "che sì governa [who so ordains]," and see my note on the various meanings of *governare.*

* *Là dove soglion:* Casini explains: "Là dove solevano già per l' addietro," and remarks that the persons of the present tense of the verb *solere* were often used by the early Italian writers with the sense of the imperfect. Compare *Par.* xii, 123: "Io mi son quel che soglio," which Casini interprets: "Io sono qual solevano essere i francescani primitivi." See illustrated passages on this in *Readings on the Paradiso*, vol. i, pp. 417, 418.

† *succhio* or *succhiello:* A kind of auger used in shipbuilding and other constructions of wood. Di Siena says that as it crushes and draws out the substance of the wood in which it is used; so the tyrants of Rimini are here represented as never driving their teeth into any carcase without carrying away the piece out of the flesh. The Malatesta, according to Dante, preyed upon the very vitals of their unhappy subjects.

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ranean sea, either by Saracen or by Greek pirates (*ibid.* 76-90). In *Inf.* v, 107, Francesca says of her husband Gianciotto: *Caina attende chi in vita ci spense,* a line that has been said to come hissing out as though a serpent had suddenly risen in the grass darting out its forked tongue. One can well imagine that it was this hatred for the Malatesta which inspired Dante with the episode of Francesca. One brother, Paolo, is in Hell, and weeps without uttering a word. Another, Gianciotto, is destined for *Caina,* and the third, Malatestino, is branded with infamy. Dante's abhorrence for the husband of Francesca could well intensify his pity for the wife. This ferocious and deformed Guelph, son of that Malatesta who had formerly been Charles of Anjou's vicar in Florence, who murders a woman in so brutal a manner (*il modo ancor m' offende. Inf.* v, 102), might well in a mind like that of Dante arouse a desire to place this man's victim on a throne of glory, and take the same opportunity to plunge him himself down among the traitors to kindred in Cocytus, his brows horned by the dishonour of his wife's infidelity.

Dante now mentions two more cities of Romagna, namely, Faenza, situated in a plain watered by the river Lamone, and Imola, on the bank of the river Santerno, both under the lordship of Maghinardo (or Mainardo) de' Pagani da Susinana, whose arms were a lion *Azure* upon a field *Argent,* and of whom both the *Comento di Anonimo* (Florence, 1848), and the *Chiose Sincrone* in the *Codice Cassinese,* say that he always conducted himself in Tuscany as a Guelph,

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and in Romagna as a Ghibelline, and is therefore accused of changing sides with every change of season.

Le città di Lamone e di Santerno
Conduce il leoncel dal nido bianco, 50
Che muta parte dalla state al verno; *

The cities of Lamone and Santerno the young lion on the white lair (*lit.* nest) governs, who changes sides from the summer to the winter.

According to Benvenuto, Maghinardo was a man of such probity and good fortune, that from a simple castellan he became lord over Forlì, Faenza and Imola. He took possession of Faenza in 1290, Forlì in 1291, and Imola † in 1296. He was of the

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* *dalla state al verno:* Di Siena remarks that there are but three months to run from the last day of summer to the first day of winter. Lana and Buti understand the passage quite differently, thinking *dalla state* to mean Tuscany, which is to the south, and *al verno* to mean Romagna, to the north of it.

† Benvenuto has much to say about his own city of Imola, called in ancient times *Forum Cornelii*, and by that name it was recorded among the famous cities in the cosmography which Augustus ordered to be made of the whole world, as we learn from Albertus Magnus in his book *De Natura Loci.* It is said to have acquired this name from having been founded by a member of the illustrious *Cornelia gens*, from whom descended the Scipios. On the conversion of the city to Christianity it changed its name to Imola (*ab imolando*), because at the ceremonial services they made use of the words "*Imola Deo sacrificium laudis*," and Benvenuto adds: "This is therefore from *imolo*, an excellent word, which we use frequently in praying to God, especially on the pontifical days, when the following words are recited: '*cum pascha nostrum imolatus est Christus.*'" But though it be not a large city, Benvenuto is proud to think that Imola produces great and noble minds, but he remarks that for fear he himself, in a matter of personal interest, might be thought an untrustworthy witness, he asks his readers to hear what the *Magister Legendarum* says on the subject, namely, "*The Cornelienses* are of great sagacity, eloquent in speech, unmatched in arms, of an undaunted courage, and mighty in the Catholic Faith."

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ancient family of the Pagani, who were Ghibellines, both in the Romagna and elsewhere; but in Tuscany he was such a staunch friend of the Florentines, that he invariably sided with them against their enemies, no matter on which side they were, and in this particular, Maghinardo seemed at times even to exhibit himself as a Guelph. But this love of his was not altogether unreasonable in Benvenuto's opinion, because his father, Pagano, at the time of his death, seeing that his son was but a child, and surrounded by such powerful enemies as the Ubaldini, the Guidi, and other Romagnole lords, sent him to the safe keeping and wardship of the Commonwealth of Florence, and they faithfully performed this duty, both protecting and educating him. G. Villani (vii, cap. 149) describes Maghinardo as "savio di guerra e bene avventuroso in più battaglie." He was with Charles of Valois when that prince made his entry into Florence in 1300, and he died at Imola in 1302. In *Purg.* xiv, 118, Dante calls him *Demonio*, but Benvenuto remarks that the word comes from *δαίμων*, and is to be interpreted as "learned"; that there are good demons and bad demons; and he altogether differs from the very severe judgment passed upon Maghinardo by Dante, who, we may remark, would never have been likely to forgive him for accompanying Charles of Valois to Florence in 1300.

The last city of Romagna that Dante mentions is Cesena. Benvenuto thinks Dante speaks of it last because at that time it was enjoying a fair amount of liberty, and was not subject to any tyrant. We read in *Annal. Caesen. ap.* Muratori, *Rer. It.* Vol. xiv,

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pp. 1121, 1122, that Cesena was continually changing masters. Every year it had a new Podestà, and sometimes two in the same year. Still it was in a general way far more free than the other cities of Romagna. Any citizen even suspected of tyrannical aspirations was banished forthwith.

> E quella * a cui il Savio bagna il fianco,
> Così com' ella sie' tra il piano e il monte,
> Tra tirannia si vive e stato franco.

> And that (city), whose flank the Savio washes, lives between tyranny and freedom, even as it lies between the plain and the mountain.

Dante concludes by entreating the shade of Guido to tell him who he is, and we have remarked in an earlier Canto (see Vol. i, pp. 365-367) that his addressing him with *tu*, and not with *voi*, is in this instance solely due to the fact that up to this point he has not known to whom he is speaking, and that as soon as Guido has finished the sad tale which he now is to relate in reply to Dante's question, the flame in which he is enveloped sweeps him away, thereby preventing the change to the *then* more respectful *voi*,† which Dante

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* *quella*, etc.: Dr. Moore mentions to me the following, as an extraordinarily graphic description of Cesena: "It lies on a gentle slope, the first rising ground from the boundless plain northwards, with higher hills rising behind it to the Apennine range in the background. It is very strikingly *tra il piano e il monte* when it is seen in profile from the Bologna side. The Savio rounds the edge of the flank of the slope on which the town stands."

† *voi*: In mediæval times *tu*, in Italy as elsewhere, was the ordinary mode of address from one individual to another, irrespective of sex or age; while *voi* was used in addressing personages of superior rank or dignity as a mark of respect. At the present day *tu* can only be used: (1) In the family among the more intimate relations, as for instance between brothers

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would undoubtedly have made on finding himself in presence of a Ghibelline leader of so great dignity and renown.

Ora chi sei * ti prego che ne conte : † 55
Non esser duro più ch' altri sia stato,
Se il nome tuo nel mondo tegna fronte."—

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and sisters, and between cousins, if of the same sex, but not from male cousins to female cousins. (2) Between lovers. (3) From superiors to inferiors—Masters or mistresses in Tuscany would address their own servant with *tu*, but the servant of any one else with *voi*, as in that case *tu* would be deemed offensive. If one is at a dinner party or a ball, one must address the servants of the house with *voi*. In no case must a gentleman address any female with *tu*, unless his own female servants, and there are gradations even in this—To address a lady in society with *tu* would have a most equivocal meaning, and might lead to a duel. In addressing royal, or ministerial personages at the present day, the possessive pronoun *vostro* is attached to the title, such as *Vostra Maestà*, *Vostra Eccellenza*, and in any formal letter *V.S.* (*Vostra Signoria*). But this is always followed by the third person in the rest of the sentence. Compare Giusti, *Sant' Ambrogio*, first line, where the Poet supposes himself to be addressing the Minister of Police :—

" *Vostra* Eccellenza, che mi *sta* in cagnesco," etc.

Outside of Tuscany there is much less formality of conversation, and *voi* is extensively used among equals. In South Italy *voi* is universal.

* *chi sei :* Observe that Dante asks Guido to tell him who he *is*, whereas Guido (l. 67) answers by telling Dante what he *was* :—

" Io *fui* uom d' arme, e poi *fui* cordelliero."

He never once mentions his name, or, like the Emperor Justinian, who in *Par.* vi, 10, tells Dante : " I was Cæsar, I am Justinian," he would probably have said : " I was Count of Montefeltro, I am Guido." Buonconte, Guido's son, does so in Purgatory. See *Purg.* v, 88 :—

" Io fui di Montefeltro, io son Buonconte."

† *ti prego che ne conte :* Dante not only asks Guido to *tell* him his name, but to relate the history of his life. *Conte* is for *conti*, from *contare*. On this use Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, pp. 284, 285) says that in the early days of the Italian language all three persons in the singular used to terminate in *e*, e.g. *io ame*,

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Now I pray thee to tell us who thou art: be not more unyielding than another has been (to thee), so may thy name maintain its front in the world."

Both Scartazzini and Di Siena think this allusion to "others" or to "someone else," is a general one, referring to any spirits in Hell who have consented to converse with Dante and satisfy his curiosity as to their identity, but I prefer to follow Benvenuto, who interprets the passage thus: "Do not be more in-

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tu ame, egli ame; io teme, tu teme, egli teme; io ode, tu ode, egli ode, etc. Brunetto Latini (*Tesoretto*, cap. v) has the following:—

"Farò mio detto piano,
Che pure un solo grano
Non fie che tu non saccie.
Ma vo che tanto faccie
Che lo mio dire apprende,
Sì che tutto lo 'ntende.—
Parlandoli in volgare
Che tu intende e appare."

And Petrarch, Part i, *Canz.* iii, st. 6:—

"Tal ch' io non penso udir cosa giammai
Che mi conforte ad altro ch' a trar guai."

And Dante, *Inf.* vii, 72:—

"Or vo' che tu mia sentenza ne imbocche."

And *Inf.* xiii, 16:—

"E 'l buon Maestro: 'Prima che più entre,'" etc.

And *Inf.* xviii, 127-129:—

"Appresso ciò lo Duca: 'Fa che pinghe,'
Mi disse, 'il viso un poco più avante,
Sì che la faccia ben con gli occhi attinghe,'" etc.

Nannucci, who cites these examples, remarks that it is clear from them how the Commentators on Dante make the wholesale mistake, every time that they allude to these terminations, of stating them to be so formed for the sake of the rhyme, whereas on the contrary they are both regular and primitive. The Conjunctive singular is derived from the Latin, e.g. *amem, ames, amet: amarem, amares, amaret: amavissem* or *amassem, amavisses, amavisset:* and when from these was taken away the final consonant, there resulted, in the original forms of the language, *io ame, tu ame, egli ame: io amerie, tu amerie, egli amerie: io amasse, tu amasse, egli amasse.*

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flexible about answering me than I have been in answering thee." Buti also has no doubt as to this being the right meaning. Both Carlyle and Professor Norton so translate the passage, and the former remarks that Dante speaks to Guido with a childlike kindness and pity.

Division II.—Although Guido da Montefeltro allows himself to be persuaded into relating his history, he does so with obvious reluctance. The secret plotter, who all his life had worked in hidden ways, feels great repugnance to utter a word about himself that might be made public on earth. He turns over in his own mind the *pros* and *cons* as to whether Dante is a spirit or a living man. Without questioning the Poets, he decides the matter for himself, and decides wrongly, by coming to the conclusion that both are spirits, and that any secrets he may utter will be quite safe. His intuitive power of nice discrimination has left him.

Poscia che il foco alquanto ebbe rugghiato *
Al modo suo, l' acuta punta mosse

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* *rugghiato :* Compare ll. 5 and 6 of this Canto :—
"Ne fece volger gli occhi alla sua cima,
Per un confuso suon che fuor n' uscía."
And *ibid.* 13-15 :—
"Così per non aver via nè forame,
Dal principio nel foco, in suo linguaggio
Si convertivan le parole grame."
And *Inf.* xxvi, 85-90 :—
"Lo maggior corno della fiamma antica
Cominciò a crollarsi mormorando,
Pur come quella cui vento affatica.
Indi la cima qua e là menando,
Come fosse la lingua che parlasse,
Gittò voce di fuori."

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Di qua, di là, e poi diè cotal fiato: 60
—"S' io credessi che mia risposta fosse
A persona che mai tornasse al mondo,
Questa fiamma staria senza più scosse:
Ma perocchè giammai di questo fondo*
Non tornò vivo alcun, s' i' odo il vero, † 65
Senza tema d' infamia ti rispondo.

After that the flame had roared for a while in its peculiar way, it moved the sharp point to and fro, and then breathed forth in such wise: "If I thought that my answer were addressed to one who would ever return to the world, this flame should remain without further quiverings (*i.e.* should speak no more): but inasmuch as none ever returned alive from this depth—if I hear the truth—without fear of infamy I answer thee.

Benvenuto thinks it worthy of notice that Count Guido deliberately refuses to have his name mentioned in the world, a thing many other spirits in Hell have eagerly desired, but Benvenuto omits to point out that none have done so, from the moment that the Poets descended into the Circles of Fraud. The last shades who seem to have expressed a wish to be remembered on earth were the three noble Florentines mentioned in *Inf.* xvi; who on parting

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**questo fondo:* The more usual interpretation is to understand "this depth" to mean Hell, and very possibly it does so; but one cannot help turning back to *Inf.* ix, 16, 17, where Dante asks Virgil:—

"In questo fondo della trista conca
Discende mai alcun del primo grado?"

in which passage *la trista conca* (the woeful hollow) means the cavity of the whole of Hell, and *questo fondo* the city of Dis, which is the Seventh Circle, as contrasted with *il primo grado.*

† *s' i' odo il vero:* Though Guido himself was but newly arrived in Hell, he would have got his information from his companions in torment.

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with Dante, exclaim (l. 85): *Fa che di noi alla gente favelle.* Contrast this with *Inf.* xviii, 46; xxiv, 133-135; and xxxii, 94-102; in short, one may sum up by saying that in the Circles of Incontinence and Violence the shades desire to be remembered on earth, but that in all the subdivisions of the two Circles of Fraud they desire concealment and oblivion. Benvenuto thinks Guido's wish to be forgotten is probably due to the fact that the Count had first repented of his sins, had renounced the world and its pomps, and had then relapsed into worse by returning to his ancient frauds. It must be remembered also that the reputation Guido da Montefeltro had left behind him in the world was one highly honourable, and supposing this story of his fraudulent counsel given to the Pope were true, which according to some is extremely doubtful, he would naturally shrink from having this dark deed, hitherto unknown, brought to light.

Guido now commences his relation, which continues to the end of the Canto.

Io fui uom d' arme, e poi fui cordelliero,*
Credendomi, sì cinto, fare ammenda: †
E certo il creder mio veniva intero ‡

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* *cordelliero:* See Murray's *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, s.v. *Cordelier:* "A Franciscan friar of the strict rule: so called from the knotted cord which they wear round the waist."

† *ammenda:* Compare *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 2nd edition, vol. ii, pp. 160-162 on the use of the thrice-repeated ironical *per ammenda* (in *Purg.* xx, 64-69) which is meant to imply that Hugh Capet's descendants, to atone for preceding faults, committed a succession of other faults always worse and worse.

‡ *veniva intero:* By far the more general way of interpreting

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Se non fosse il gran Prete, a cui mal prenda, 70
Che mi rimise nelle prime colpe ;
E come e quare voglio m' intenda.

I was a man of arms, and afterwards I was a Cordelier (*i.e.* a Grey Friar girded with the cord of St. Francis), trusting thus cinctured to make amends, and assuredly my trust was in process of being fulfilled, had it not been for the Great Priest (Boniface VIII), whom may evil seize, who put me back into my former errors; and how, and why, I wish thee to hear from me.

In this exordium Guido has given to Dante a brief summary of what he has got to tell him. He was first a warrior, then a penitent, then a monk; he had reached a state of salvation, was thrown back into sin, and by the Pope; he is now going to relate how it all came about, and in what manner the sin was caused. He first deals with the *quare.* Why did the Pope specially turn to him for counsel? Because of his world-renowned craft.

Mentre ch' io forma * fui d' ossa e di polpe,
Che la madre mi diè, l' opere mie
Non furon leonine, ma di volpe.† 75

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this is *sarebbe venuto intero, se non fosse stato per il Gran Prete.* I have always preferred to render it "was in process of being fulfilled," *i.e.* Guido was in process of expiating his sins by a life of mortification. It is like a passage at the beginning of the *Iliad* (i, 5) where Homer says that the will of Jove was being accomplished: "Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή." Mr. Tozer happily renders *veniva intero* "was on its way to fulfilment."

**forma:* Scartazzini thinks that *forma* here is to be taken in the philosophical sense, as "While I as a spirit animated the form of bones and flesh given to me by my mother," etc. The human soul is the informative principle of the body.

† *Non furon leonine, ma di volpe:* Dr. Moore (*The Academy,* 4th June, 1892, in a review) referring to *Inf.* xi, 22-24, says that the fundamental distinction of sins of violence and sins

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Gli accorgimenti e le coperte vie
Io seppi tutte; e sì menai lor arte,
Ch' al fine della terra il suono uscie.

While I was the form of bones and flesh that my mother gave me (*i.e.* when I was alive), my deeds were not those of the lion, but of the fox. The subtle wiles, and the covert ways, I knew them all; and so applied their art, that to the far end of the earth the sound went forth.

Benvenuto has no doubt whatever that the report of the snare into which Guido had drawn the French at Forlì, and their subsequent wholesale butchery, must have spread to the extreme confines of the West, from over the Alps, and been whirled through the whole of France, where Count Jean de Apia was of great reputation as a commander, as were also his followers as doughty men-at-arms.

Having thus told Dante what qualities in him would have made him a counsellor to be sought after by the Pope, Guido showed what reasons should have prevented him from yielding to the Pope's persuasions to relapse into sin, namely, that he had renounced the world, and had devoted himself to a life of penitence.

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of fraud comes directly and almost *verbatim* from Cicero, *De Officiis*, i, cap. 13, and part of the passage quoted is reproduced in *Inf.* xxvii, in the speech of Guido da Montefeltro: "Cum autem duobus modis, id est, aut vi aut fraude, fiat injuria; fraus, quasi vulpeculae, vis, leonis videtur: utrumque homine alienissimum: sed fraus odio digna majore." Dr. Moore points out that Dante quotes again and again from the *De Officiis*, with which he was most familiar. Scartazzini disputes the justice of this sweeping condemnation of Guido by Dante, and asserts that, although his deeds certainly were those of the fox, yet no one can in fairness deny that they were also to a great extent those of the lion, for there is no doubt that he was one of the most valiant warriors of his time.

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Quando mi vidi giunto in quella parte
Di mia etade,* ove ciascun dovrebbe 80
Calar le vele e raccoglier le sarte,†
Ciò che pria mi piaceva, allor m' increbbe,
E pentuto e confesso mi rendei ; ‡
Ahi miser lasso ! e giovato sarebbe.

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* *in quella parte Di mia etade :* This means in the fourth of the four ages which Dante (*Conv.* iv, 24) assigns to the life of man, namely, Senility, which begins when a man has attained his seventieth year. Compare Dante's *Canzone* beginning *Le dolci rime d' amor*, st. 7 (*in* Oxford Dante, p. 295, ll. 136-139) :—

" Poi nella quarta parte della vita
A Dio si rimarita,
Contemplando la fine che l' aspetta,
E benedice li tempi passati."

† *Calar le vele e raccoglier le sarte :* Compare *Conv.* iv, 28, ll. 5-10: "la nobile Anima nell' ultima età, cioè nel *Senio* . . . ritorna a Dio, siccome a quello porto, ond' ella si partío quando venne a entrare nel mare di questa vita." And *ibid.* ll. 15-24 : "la naturale morte è quasi porto a noi di lunga navigazione e riposo. E così come il buono marinaro com' esso appropinqua al porto cala le sue vele e soavemente con debile conducimento entra in quello ; così noi dovemo calare le vele delle nostre mondane operazioni, e tornare a Dio con tutto nostro intendimento e cuore ; sicchè a quello porto si vegna con tutta soavità e con tutta pace." And *ibid.* ll. 55 *et seq.:* "Oh miseri e vili che colle vele alte correte a questo porto : e là dove dovreste riposare, per lo impeto del vento rompete, e perdete voi medesimi là ove tanto camminato. Certo il cavaliere Lancilotto non volle entrare colle vele alte, nè il nobilissimo nostro Latino [in Fraticelli's edition *Italiano*] Guido Montefeltrano. Bene questi nobili calaron le vele delle mondani operazioni, chè nella loro lunga età a religione si rendêro, ogni mondano diletto e opera diponendo."

‡ *mi rendei :* Benvenuto interprets this : " Dedicavi me Deo." Camerini : " Mi resi frate." Lord Vernon (*Inferno*) : " Mi feci frate." In a note Lord Vernon explains that this interpretation was by Professor Nannucci, who told him that *rendersi*, by itself, means, "to become a monk," and is derived from the Provençal *se rendre*, and Old French *soi rendre*, which signified : "farsi monaco." Scartazzini and Blanc (neither of whom, however, were Italians) interpret it differently :—

" *rendersi pentuto* = pentersi,
and *rendersi confesso* = confessarsi."

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> When I saw myself come to that period of my age, when every one ought to lower the sails and gather in the tackle (*i.e.* give oneself up to God), that which before had pleased me, then gave me remorse, and after repentance and confession I dedicated myself (to God by becoming a friar). Ah hapless me! and it would have availed!

"What a beautiful metaphor!" observes Benvenuto; "the mariner who has been on a long voyage, must steer for a safe harbour, in which he may find rest; even so Man, who has been long tossed about upon a sea of fortune, and has toiled, that he may acquire power, glory and honour, must furl the sails of earthly glory and coil down his ropes, that is, the crafty wiles by means of which he has steered his course of life through this bitter and stormy world, looking forward to a haven of eternal rest, laying out the anchors of his hope in God, must despise the world, and say with the wise king: 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' And mark that the first duty of a converted sinner is contrition of heart; the second, oral confession; and the third, satisfaction by works; and it was in this third duty that Guido declares he was hindered by Boniface, or else it would have availed him."

Guido now tells Dante the strange combination of events which brought him into the counsels of Boniface. The story is somewhat differently recounted by the chronicles, but I prefer, on the whole, to give the version of Benvenuto, which is practically identical with that of Landino. He says that in 1297 a grave sedition sprang up in Rome. Pope Boniface had contracted a violent hatred against the house of

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Colonna, as two Cardinals of that great Ghibelline family had done all in their power to oppose his election as Pope from his being a Guelph. Besides this, Sciarra di Colonna was supposed to have robbed the Papal collection or treasury of some monies (*Sciarra de Columna robaverat quasdam salmas sui thesauri*).* The Pope thereupon ordered the Cardinals to lay aside their hats, the emblems of their cardinalate. As this order was not promptly obeyed, he deprived the whole Colonna family of all their privileges and dignities. Their palaces were destroyed, their castles stormed and razed to the ground, or were given to their rivals the Orsini, in order to keep up enmity between the two families. He then issued a Bull for a crusade against them, after which he besieged Nepi, of which he got possession on certain conditions. Finding himself unable to capture Praeneste [the modern Palestrina], which was an exceedingly strong if not an impregnable place, he sent to beg Count Guido da Montefeltro to command the besieging force he had sent against it. This the Count refused to do, as he had already become one of the Minor Friars, but upon the Pope asking him for his advice instead, the Count recommended him to make the most liberal promises to the beleagured garrison, and to please himself about keeping the promises.

* I cannot help thinking that *salmas*, corpses, must be a copyist's error for *summas*, as I find in other Commentaries that allusion is made to certain sums of money having been purloined from the Pope's treasury. Tamburini, whose translation of Benvenuto is beneath contempt, translates *salmas* "certe mummie!" In modern Italian *salma* is a word in general use for a corpse; but it is not found in that sense in the *Vocabolario della Crusca.*

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Acting upon this counsel Boniface granted a general amnesty, if only the Cardinals would make their submission to him. They gave credence to him, and came clad in sackcloth and prostrated themselves before him. He promised to restore to them all they had lost if they would order the capitulation of Praeneste. His demand was obeyed. Praeneste was given up. He immediately had it destroyed and rebuilt in the plain below with the new name of Città (*Città*) del Papa. This circumstance, and the arbitrary seizure and imprisonment of their kinsman, Zanni da Caccano, threw the Cardinals into such alarm, that they escaped and for several years remained in concealment, until in due time Boniface himself was captured by those same artifices with which he had beguiled others, and died miserably in consequence of the bodily and mental sufferings that he underwent at the hands of Sciarra di Colonna.

Lo Principe de' nuovi Farisei,* 85
Avendo guerra presso a Laterano,†

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* *Principe de' nuovi Farisei:* Tommaséo, Scartazzini and Di Siena agree that *Principe* is to be understood in a double sense, both because Pope Boniface was the head of the Cardinals and Ecclesiastics of the Roman Court, whom Dante calls "modern Pharisees," and also because Boniface himself was the greatest of Pharisees, *i.e.* a hypocrite. Camerini observes that St. Jerome stigmatised the higher ranks of the Roman clergy as "pharisaeorum senatus."

† *guerra presso a Laterano:* Benvenuto, Camerini, and Casini explain this as meaning that the Pope had war in Rome itself with the Colonnas, whose palaces were near the Lateran. Bargigi and others think that as the Basilica of St. John Lateran is called the Catholic Church, the term *presso Laterano* must mean that it was in the neighbourhood of Rome that the Pope was waging war with the Colonnas who had taken refuge in Praeneste.

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E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei; *
Chè ciascun suo nimico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincer Acri,
Nè mercatante in terra di Soldano; 90

The Prince of the modern Pharisees, having war near the Lateran, and not with Saracens nor with Jews; for every enemy of his was Christian, and none had been to conquer Acre, nor to traffick in the Soldan's territory.

Acre was the last stronghold that remained to the Christians after the Crusades, and in 1291 was retaken by the Pagan Saracens with the aid of the renegade Jews and the Christian merchants who treacherously supplied them with provisions and munitions of war (G. Villani, vii, 145).

Benvenuto points out that in the lines that follow, three conditions are mentioned as wholly incompatible with warlike proceedings; as regards the Pope, his position as Supreme Pontiff, and his sacred calling; and as regards Count Guido, the habit of St. Francis, which in times gone by had been an emblem of real abstinence.

Nè sommo offizio, nè ordini sacri
Guardò in sè, nè in me quel capestro †
Che solea far li suoi cinti più macri.

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* *non con Saracin, nè con Giudei:* The war in which Boniface was engaged was not for zeal in the cause of religion, but was for his own personal interests.

† *capestro:* Compare *Par.* xi, 85-87:—
"Indi sen va quel padre e maestro
Con la sua donna, e con quella famiglia
Che già legava l' umile capestro."
And *Par.* xii, 130-132:—
"Illuminato ed Augustin son quici,
Che fur dei primi scalzi poverelli,
Che nel capestro a Dio si fero amici."

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Neither his exalted office, nor his Holy Orders did he regard in himself, nor in me that cord which used to render those begirt with it more emaciated.

The old Commentators believed that Count Guido's repentance had been, up to a certain time, very real. Benvenuto observes that he would seem, beyond a doubt, to have turned over a new leaf; for he donned the garb of a Minor Friar with deep devotion, humbly conforming to the rule, and patiently enduring poverty. He was to be seen publicly begging his bread in Ancona, where he died and was buried. Benvenuto says that he had heard many things about him, which might really have made one hope that he had won his salvation. The *Anonimo Fiorentino* records that on one occasion he was going to Fano, and in his deep contrition mounted the ass of one who travelled that way: he patiently bore all the insulting remarks that were levelled at him, but as he was entering Fano, a number of asses standing by the entrance of the town began to bray,* and the bystanders to laugh; whereupon the Count, for all that he was a friar, lost his temper, and said: "There was a time when I have been round Fano with more hundreds of mounted men-at-arms than there are asses here;" and he spoke the truth, for as long as it had been in his power, he had always been a standing menace to Romagna.

The better to describe the way in which the proud

* One must have lived in the South of Italy to realise fully the vividness of this description. The braying of some unhappy donkey would inevitably be changed into a plaintive grunt, on its being battered about the head with a heavy stick by its gentle owner.

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Pope came as a suppliant to entreat counsel from him, a poor friar, Guido da Montefeltro compares it to a tradition (based upon the famous forgery of the ninth Century known as the False Decretals), which represented Constantine appealing to Pope Sylvester, who had taken refuge in a cavern on Mount Soracte, to heal him of the leprosy with which God had smitten him for his persecution of the Christians. Sylvester healed the Emperor, and converted him to Christianity, receiving in recompense the famous *Donatio Constantini*, a tradition which though perfectly baseless, was believed in by Dante and his contemporaries.

Ma come Constantin chiese Silvestro *
Dentro Siratti a guarir della lebbre,† 95

* *Silvestro:* This is Pope Sylvester I (314-335 : "Porce que la lois des crestiens estoit novelement venue, si que li un estoient en doute et li autre mescreant, avint il par maintes foiz que li empereor et li autre qui governoient les viles faisoient granz persecutions as crestiens, et lor faisoient sofrir divers tormenz, jusques au tens que Constantins li Maigne fu empereres et Silvestres fu evesques et apostoiles de Rome. . . . Or avint chose que Silvestres o grant compaignie de crestiens s' en estoient foï sor une haute montaigne pour eschuer les persecutions; et Constantins li empereres, qui estoient malade d' une lepre, l' envoia querre, car, à ce que on disoit de lui et de ses ancestres, il voloit oïr son conseil. Et tant ala la chose que Silvestres le baptisa selonc la loi des crestiens, et monda de sa lepre. Lors maintenant devint il crestiens o touz les siens; et por essaucier le non Jhesu Crist docta il sainte Eglise, et li dona toutes les emperiaus dignitez. Et ce fu fait l' an de l' incarnation Jhesu Crist. ccc. xxxiij. anz; et jà estoit trovée la sainte croiz. i. po devant. Lors s' en ala Constantins en Constantinoble, laquele est par son non ainsi apelée, qui premièrement avoit à non Bisance, et tint l' empire de Grece, lequel ne souzmist mie as apostoiles selonc ce que il fist celui de Rome." (Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, i, 87).

† *lebbre* for *lebbra:* Nannucci (*Teoric. Nomi*, p. 54) observes that the early Italians tried to make the terminations of femi-

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Così mi chiese questi per maestro *
A guarir della sua superba febbre:
Domandommi consiglio, ed io tacetti,
Perchè le sue parole parver ebbre.†

But as Constantine besought Sylvester within Soracte to cure him of the leprosy, so did he (the Pope) beseech me as a physician to cure him of the fever of his arrogance (*i.e.* to gratify his heated desire of revenging himself upon the Colonnas): he asked of me counsel, and I kept silence, because his words seemed drunken.

Benvenuto remarks that Boniface was intoxicated with anger and malice. Lana uses the same words. Buti says the words were full of wickedness, and

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nine nouns of the first declension conform to those of the third and fifth which ended in *e*, so as to make *e* the termination of all feminine nouns, and thus they wrote *ale* for *ala*; *tempre* for *tempra*; *fortune* for *fortuna*, etc.

* *maestro:* This word in its primary sense means an expert in anything, whether trade, or science, or art, or handicraft; it also signifies a shepherd, a pilot, or a tamer of wild beasts. Many of the old Commentators, notably Buti, who is followed by Fraticelli, Tommaséo, Camerini and Scartazzini, interpret it *medico*. Di Siena says the word is used in that sense by Sacchetti, Lasca, and by more than a hundred of the early writers. In Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. viii, Nov. 9, the word is used throughout the novel in speaking of Maestro Simone Medico: "Il maestro, la cui scienza non si stendeva forse più oltre che il medicare i fanciulli del lattime [*i.e. milk-crust*]," etc.
See also Guido Cavalcanti, *Son.* vi:—
"E porto nello core una ferita
Che si conduca sol per maestria
Che sia com' egli è morto aperto segno."
Tommaséo, Camerini and Scartazzini agree that *maestro* must be taken here in a double sense, first that Guido was an *expert in devising stratagems*, and secondly, that the Pope applied to him as a *medical expert* to heal him of his fever of arrogance.

† *parole . . . ebbre:* Compare Tibullus, 3 *Eleg.* vi, 35, 36:—
"Nec bene mendaci risus componitur ore;
Nec bene sollicitis ebria verba sonant."

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that Guido held his peace, as the Pope seemed as one drunk with wine.

The Pope, on perceiving Guido's reticence, and his obvious reluctance to advise him, proceeded to remove his scruples, promising him absolution beforehand for any sin he might commit.

E poi mi disse: 'Tuo cor non sospetti:* 100
Finor t' assolvo, e tu m' insegna fare
Sì come Penestrino in terra getti.
Lo ciel poss' io serrare e disserrare,†
Come tu sai; però son due le chiavi,
Che il mio antecessor ‡ non ebbe care.' 105

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* *Tuo cor non sospetti:* Boniface, on receiving no reply, perceived that his *parole ebbre* had scandalized Guido, so he reassured him by saying: "Let not your soul dread that it is going to fall into sin." *Sospetto* is used by Dante to express doubts and fears. Compare *Inf.* v, 129:—

"Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto."

In *Inf.* iii, 14, 15, *sospetto*, fear, is put in conjunction with *viltà*, cowardice, when Virgil says to Dante:—

"Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto;
Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta."

† *Lo ciel poss' io serrare e disserrare:* Boniface was quoting Scripture. Compare *Matt.* xvi, 19: "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shalt be loosed in heaven." And *Rev.* iii, 7: "These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth."

‡ *il mio antecessor:* Meaning Celestine V, whom, with what Tommaséo stigmatises as diabolical irony, Boniface accuses of having renounced the Papacy, and thus shown that he set small value on the keys of Heaven. On the real truth of this statement, Bargigi writes: "Dietro la renunziazione fatta da Celestino quinto con grande astuzia seppe tener modo che fu eletto esso alla somma dignità papale, ed iniquissimamente fece restringere Celestino in prigione nel Castello di Sulmona, ove non visse molto. La qual cosa malignamente fece per poter più sicuramente riversare il mondo a modo suo senza timore, che Celestino mai più potesse aspirare al papato." See also note on *Inf.* iii, 59; vol. i, p. 96.

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And then he said to me: 'Let not thy heart misgive thee: from this moment I absolve thee, and do thou teach me so to contrive that I may hurl down Palestrina to the ground. I have the power, as thou knowest, both to close and to open Heaven; for which purpose two are the keys (committed to me) which my predecessor held not dear.'

As Pope, Boniface could admit into Heaven, or exclude from it, whomsoever he pleased, according to the pretensions of the Papacy to exercise the privilege conferred upon St. Peter by Our Lord. According to Dean Plumptre the words imply: (1) that the claim to absolve by anticipation was not unknown; and (2) that Dante, as a theologian, rejected it as unreasonable and contrary to the Faith.

Guido goes on to relate how he yielded to the Pope's persuasions, which moreover, he hints, were of so cogent and authoritative a nature, that it would probably have cost him his life or his liberty to have resisted them.

Allor mi pinser gli argomenti gravi *
La 've il tacer mi fu avviso il peggio,
E dissi: 'Padre, da che tu mi lavi

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* *argomenti gravi:* Dante represents Count Guido to us as fluctuating between the fear of falling into sin by giving fraudulent counsel to the Pope, and that of disobeying his Pontifical authority in not at once bending in reverence to the holy Keys (*la riverenza delle somme chiavi*). Guido thought the first danger was great, but the second greater: and deluded himself into a false security from the absolution given him beforehand, and we are left to infer that in this false security he lived during the rest of his life in a dream, from which he was only rudely awakened by the reality of finding that the Fiend had triumphed over St. Francis in the contention for his soul. Not even did the influence of St. Francis, the Seraphic Father (*Par.* xi, 37),

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Di quel peccato, ov' io mo cader deggio,
Lunga promessa con l' attender corto * 110
Ti farà trïonfar † nell' alto seggio.'

Then did his weighty arguments impel me to that point where to be silent seemed to me to be the worst counsel, and I said: 'Father, since thou dost cleanse me from that sin into which I now must fall, (this is my advice), Long promise with short keeping will make thee triumph on the High Seat.'

Although many have suggested doubts as to the historical accuracy of this story as told by Dante, Scartazzini is of opinion that such doubts are void of all foundation. The anecdote is related by Villani (viii, 23); it is to be found in the *Chronicon* Francisci Pipini (*ap.* Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. ix, p. 741); and the fact remains that Boniface followed the fraudulent counsel.

Machiavelli (*Principe*, cap. xviii) heartily endorses the counsel given by Guido: "Quanto sia laudabile in un principe mantenere la fede e vivere con inte-

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avail to save one of his followers from perdition. Dante evidently wished to show of how little value in his estimation was the superstitious belief of his contemporaries, that the mere donning the habit of St. Francis could be sufficient to save a soul. If Guido had not been fully persuaded of the efficacy of the Pope's absolution, he would have obtained it anew after due contrition and penitence.

* *attender corto:* One of the significations of the verb *attendere* in the dictionaries is that of *mantener la promessa.* The short (*corta*) performance of it does not necessarily imply the non-fulfilment, but an only partial keeping of faith to the engagement taken. The people of Palestrina are said to have received absolution before they were destroyed.

† *Ti farà trïonfar:* There is a terrible irony in these words, when one thinks of the last humiliations that Boniface himself suffered at the hands of the Colonna, and which moved even Dante to pity. (See *Purg.* xx, 86 *et seq.*).

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grità, e non con astuzia, ciascuno lo intende. Nondimanco si vede per esperienza ne' nostri tempi quelli principi aver fatto gran cose che della fede hanno tenuto poco conto, e che hanno saputo con l' astuzia aggirare i cervelli degli uomini, ed alla fine hanno superato quelli che si sono fondati in su la lealtà."

The end of the dark tale is at hand, and we learn that retribution fell heavily upon the poor sinner, who survived his relapse but one short year.

Francesco venne * poi, com' io fui morto,
Per me; ma un de' neri Cherubini †
Gli disse: 'Non portar; non mi far torto.
Venir se ne dee giù tra' miei meschini, ‡ 115
Perchè diede il consiglio frodolente,

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* *Francesco venne:* Professor Norton remarks that St. Francis came for Guido's soul, as that of one of the brethren of his Order.

† *un de' neri Cherubini:* The *Anonimo Fiorentino* says that there are nine Orders of Angels, and some of each Order fell [with Lucifer] into Hell; and each Order has its special attributes. These Cherubim, who hold the second rank among the Angels, possess an intuitive perception of the meaning of the Scriptures, although they have lost the knowledge of them. Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 130-132:—

"Onde noi ambo e due possiamo uscirci
Senza costringer degli angeli neri,
Che vegnan d' esto fondo a dipartirci."

Moore questions some of each Order having fallen. See Gardner, *The Ten Heavens*, p. 24. *Summa*, i, 63. Seraphim and possibly Thrones exempt.

‡ *meschini* is "servants, minions." Compare *Inf.* ix, 43, where Dante calls the Furies the handmaidens of Proserpine:—

"E quei, che ben conobbe le meschine
Della regina dell' eterno pianto," etc.

And see my note on that passage in Vol. i, p. 303. Compare *Vita Nuova*, § ix, Sonnet v, ll. 44-49:—

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Dal quale in qua * stato gli sono a' crini;
Ch' assolver non si può chi non si pente,
Nè pentere e volere insieme puossi,†
Per la contradizion che nol consente.' ‡ 120

"Cavalcando l' altr' ier per un cammino,
Pensoso dell' andar, che mi sgradia,
Trovai Amor in mezzo della via,
In abito leggier di peregrino.
Nella sembianza mi parea meschino
Come avesse perduto signoria."

Fraticelli interprets *meschino* as a slave in both passages.

* *Dal quale in qua*, et seq.: The signification of the sentence is: "*Dal quale* consiglio *in qua*, i.e. *dal quale tempo*, che diede tal consiglio infino ad ora, *stato gli sono ai crini*, i.e. "close to his hair, so that when the moment came, I might catch him by it (*acciuffarlo*) so that he should not escape me." (Di Siena). Compare in the epistle of *Jude* the contention between Michael the Archangel and the Devil for the body of Moses. In *Readings on the Purgatorio* (2nd ed.), Vol. i, pp. 186, 187, it was pointed out in reference to *Purg.* v, 100-108, the wonderful contrast between the deaths of the father, Guido, and the son, Buonconte da Montefeltro. The former lost his soul for a single word of evil counsel which annulled all the fruits of his penitence, and St. Francis was constrained to allow the Demon to gain the contest. In the case of the son, but one single sigh breathed forth to the Virgin at the moment of death decided the contest in favour of the Angel of God, and the baffled Demon had to be content to vent his rage upon the lifeless body. This kind of contention is not uncommon in Mediæval Art.

† *Nè pentere e volere insieme puossi:* Compare *De Mon.* iii, 8, ll. 47-49: "Posset enim solvere me non poenitentem, quod etiam facere ipse Deus non posset." See also Moore, *Studies in Dante*, ii, p. 74.

‡ *Per la contradizion che nol consente:* Di Siena points out the force of the fiendish dialectic! No one can be absolved from a sin unless he has repented of it: Guido could not assuredly repent by anticipation of the sin which he had the will in his soul to commit, and did commit: therefore the absolution was null and void, and he died in sin. Man repents of what he would not willingly have done: but to repent of a trespass and to will to trespass is the same as repenting and not repenting at the same time: which involves a contradiction.

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(St.) Francis came for me afterwards, as soon as I was dead, but one of the black Cherubim (interposing) said to him : 'Bear him not away; defraud me not. He has got to come down among my minions, because he gave the fraudulent counsel, from which time I have been (clutching) at his hair. For he who does not repent cannot be absolved, nor is it possible to repent and to will at the same time, by reason of the contradiction which allows it not.'

The unhappy being recalls to mind his agony at the moment of realising his eternal perdition, and the exultation of the Demon that his logic had prevailed over the arguments of St. Francis.

O me dolente! come mi riscossi,*
Quando mi prese, dicendomi : 'Forse
Tu non pensavi ch' io loico † fossi.'

Ah wretched me! how I reawakened (*i.e.* how my eyes were suddenly opened) when he seized me, saying to me : 'Perchance thou didst not imagine that I was a logician!'

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* *mi riscossi :* The more usual translation is: "how I shuddered," which is one of the meanings of *riscuotersi.* I prefer another meaning, given in the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (Manuzzi), and adopted by Di Siena, namely *mi destai, i.e.* I awoke, my eyes were opened to my delusion in having put faith in that false absolution. It was the re-awakening of the intellectual faculties of Guido from the lethargic illusion which prevented his discerning the error in which he had been living. It was the Devil's logic that aroused him, and, made him really understand for the first time that he was lost. Compare *Purg.* ix, 34-39 :—

Non altrimenti Achille si riscosse
Gli occhi svegliati rivolgendo in giro,
E non sappiendo là dove si fosse,
Quando la madre da Chiron a Schiro
Trafugò lui dormendo in le sue braccia,
Là onde poi li Greci il dipartiro."

† *loico :* Compare *loico* in *Conv.* iv, 10, l. 59.

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There is little more for Guido to tell Dante. The Demon's action is exceedingly prompt, and the routine of Hell has little variation, except that even in Minos (*quel conoscitor delle peccata*) the enormity of Guido's crime would seem to have aroused especial indignation.

A Minòs mi portò: e quegli attorse
Otto volte la coda al dosso duro, 125
E, poi che per gran rabbia la si morse,
Disse: 'Questi è dei rei del foco furo:'*
Perch' io là dove vedi son perduto,
E sì vestito andando mi rancuro."—

To Minos he bore me: and he round his stubborn back eight times did coil his tail, and then when from great fury he had bitten it, said: 'This is one of the sinners of the fire which conceals its prey (*lit.* thievish)': wherefore I, where thou seest, am lost, and going thus attired, I bemoan me."

Guido's story is now told. He has no wish to be recalled to memory, and as he utters his last mournful words, he hurries away, while the Poets pass on to the top of the bridge overhanging the next *Bolgia.*

Quand' egli ebbe il suo dir così compiuto, 130
La fiamma dolorando† si partío

**foco furo:* Trissino in his paraphrase explains this: "costui è uno dei dannati ad entrare nella fiamma occultatrice," *i.e.* the fire which hides its prey. Compare *furto* in *Inf.* xxvi, 40-42:—

"Tal si movea ciascuna per la gola
Del fosso, che nessuna mostra il *furto*,
Ed ogni fiamma un peccatore invola."

My note on that passage explains *furto* as "the thing concealed," as in Racine's *Athalie*, Act i, sc. 2, where the words "Heureux larçin [happy theft]" is applied to young King Joash who had been hidden and preserved by Princess Jehosheba.

†*dolorando:* Benvenuto thinks the chief cause of Guido's anguish was the thought of how little all his wisdom and craft had availed him.

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Torcendo e dibattendo il corno acuto.*
Noi passammo oltre, ed io e il Duca mio,
Su per lo scoglio † infino in sull' altr' arco
Che copre il fosso, in che si paga il fio ‡ 135
A quei che scommettendo acquistan carco. §

When he had thus completed his tale, the flame in anguish speeded away, twisting and tossing its sharp horn. We passed onward, both my Guide and I, up along the bridgeway until (we were) on the next arch that spans the fosse in which the penalty is paid by those who, through sowing discord, accumulate a burden (of guilt that has to be expiated).

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* *dibattendo il corno acuto* : The recital of the story of his life seems to have greatly increased his sufferings.

† *scoglio :* It must not be forgotten that the Poets have remained all this time standing on the arch of the same bridge from which they had listened to the tale of Ulysses.

‡ *si paga il fio :* Compare *Purg.* xi, 88 :—

"Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio."

Donkin (*Etymological Dictionary*) shows that *fio* has its equivalents in many old languages, too numerous to quote. It is the Lombard *fiu* in *fader-fium* patrimony, O.H.G. *fihu fehu* (*pecus*), . . . English *fee ;* Scotch *feu ;* etc. From *fiu feu* came the L.L. *feudum feodum* (in the ninth century). In modern Italian it is only used in the phrase *pagare*, or *scontare il fio*, to pay the penalty ; and *tenere*, or *avere in fio*, signifies to have or possess anything without being absolutely master of it.

§ *scommettendo acquistan carco :* Scartazzini says that a load or cargo is usually accumulated by packing together (*commettendo*), but the doomed in the next *bolgia* accumulate their load of sin by separating, disuniting (*scommettendo*), and the more they separate and disunite, the greater burden do they accumulate.

This applies as much to those who disintegrated their native country, or the portions of it that should have remained united, as to those who by guilty machinations severed friendships. The former class, however, would seem to be more deserving of being punished as Traitors in Antenora.

END OF CANTO XXVII.

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CANTO XXVIII.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE NINTH *BOLGIA*: THE SCHISMATICS AND FOMENTERS OF CIVIL DISCORD —MAHOMET AND ALI—FRA DOLCINO—PIER DA MEDICINA—CURIO—MOSCA DE' LAMBERTI—BERTRAND DE BORN.

FULL of horror are the sights which Dante has to witness in this Canto. His yearning after a United Empire, in which the Spiritual Rule should be under the Pope, and the Temporal Rule under the Emperor, both governing hand in hand for the welfare of mankind with a twin beneficent sovereignty, made him visit with unsparing rigour all who by their factions and feuds, by their jealousies and self-seeking, had sought to impede union in public, to sow dissensions or breed scandals in private, or had propagated schisms. His feelings on this subject can best be understood if one reads his noble outburst of indignation against the feuds of Italy in the Sixth Canto of the *Purgatorio.*

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 21, Dante describes in a general way the terrible penalty of the Schismatics.

In *Division* II, from ver. 22 to ver. 63, Dante sees the shades of Mahomet and his kinsman Ali, both horribly mutilated; and from the former he learns

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the punishment inflicted upon those who sow dissension.

In *Division* III, from ver. 64 to ver. 102, Dante is addressed by the shade of Pier da Medicina, a Bolognese, who predicts the assassination of two worthy citizens of Fano by the wicked Malatestino of Rimini.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 103 to ver. 142, Dante has some conversation with Mosca de' Lamberti of Florence, and with Bertrand de Born of Perigueux in Gascony.

Division I.—At the end of the last Canto, after the hurried departure of the flame containing the spirit of Guido da Montefeltro, we saw that the Poets continued their way until they found themselves on the summit of the next bridge. They had been standing in the centre of the arch over the Eighth *Bolgia.* They would seem to have descended the slope, walked along the causeway that crossed the rampart, and then to have ascended the ninth bridge, standing on the summit of which Dante begins this Canto.

He sees below him human forms with every sort of wounds and mutilations that a sword can inflict. The victims are they who in life, by mischief-making, disseminating strife, and causing schisms, have divided and separated all that Divine Love has joined together and united. Their penalty is analogous to their offence. They have to pass in turns before one of the Demons, who with a sharp sword administers to each a stroke so terrible, that the whole *Bolgia* is like a battlefield. Dante is at a loss how to give an adequate description of the horrors of the spot.

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Chi poria mai pur con parole sciolte *
Dicer † del sangue e delle piaghe appieno,
Ch' i' ora vidi, per narrar più volte ?
Ogni lingua per certo verria meno ‡
Per lo nostro sermone § e per la mente || 5

---

* *parole sciolte :* This means Prose. "Parole sciolte vagliono Parole non obbligate alla rima o al verso, Prosa, Lat. *soluta oratio.*" (*Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *sciolto*, § 12). Compare Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane, *La Fiera*, Giorn. v, Act iv, sc. 3 :—

"In quella guisa che 'l parlare sciolto
(Ch' io intendo per prosa),
Riceve da' periodi maggiori
Maggior lo stil."

Ovid (*Trist.* iv, 10, 21-24) describes how, dissuaded by his father from attempting to write poetry, he took to prose :—

"Saepe pater dixit : 'Studium quid inutile tentas ?
Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes.'
Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto,
Scribere conabar verba soluta modis."

† *Dicer :* Both Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*), and Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 581) agree that *dicere* was an antiquated form for *dire*, and is to this day in use in the Neapolitan provinces. Dante uses it frequently.

‡ *lingua . . . verria meno :* Compare *Inf.* iv, 145-147 :—

"Io non posso ritrar di tutti appieno ;
Perocchè sì mi caccia il lungo tema,
Che molte volte al fatto il dir vien meno."

And Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 625-627 :—

"Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprendere formas,
Omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim."

And Tasso, *Gerus. Liber.* ix, st. 92.

§ *Per lo nostro sermone:* Dante (*Ep. Kani*, § 29, ll. 574-581) writes : "*Nescit* quia oblitus : *nequit*, quia si recordatur, et contentum tenet, sermo tamen deficit. Multa namque per intellectum videmus, quibus signa vocalia desunt, quod satis Plato insinuat. . . . Multa enim per lumen intellectuale vidit, quae sermone proprio nequivit exprimere." An almost complete commentary on the passage in the text, as showing the insufficiency of human speech or thought to express adequately such a vast variety of things, is afforded by Chapters 3 and 4 of *Convito*, iii, as well as in the opening *Canzone* of that *Trattato.*

|| *e per la mente:* Di Siena feels sure that the idea Dante is

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Ch' hanno a tanto comprender poco seno. *

Who, even in words released (from the laws of rhythm, *i.e.* in prose) could ever describe in full, by frequent telling, the blood and the wounds that I now saw? Every tongue would assuredly fall short (of adequate narration) by reason of our (human) speech and through our understanding, which have but little capacity for embracing so much.

Benvenuto observes that this is but the simple truth, for no human intellect can comprehend, or speech express, the vast multitude of wounds that are made in the world by the evil tongues of mischief-makers. Dante compares what he saw with some of the bloodiest fields of battle recorded in history.

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here embodying in the word *mente* is much more complex than merely "memory," which is only a part contained in it; but that he undoubtedly explains the word in *Conv.* iii, c. 2, ll. 122-138: "In questa nobilissima parte dell' Anima [la Ragione] sono più virtù . . . una . . . che si chiama *scientifica*, e una . . . *ragionativa* ovvero *consigliativa:* e che con questa sono certe virtù . . . siccome la virtù *inventiva* e *giudicativa.* E tutte queste nobilissime virtù, e l' altre che sono in quella eccellente potenzia, si chiama insieme con questo vocabolo, del quale si volea sapere che fosse, cioè mente; per che è manifesto, che per *mente* s' intende questa ultima e nobilissima parte dell' anima." Therefore Di Siena concludes that in the *Terzina*, 4-6, Dante is beyond a doubt indicating the two *Ineffabilities* or deficiencies in the human intelligence and human speech, as applied to his difficulty of comprehending and narrating both the quantity and the quality (*tutto e quanto*) of the new sights that met his eye in the Ninth *Bolgia.*

* *poco seno:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says that in this passage it is doubtful whether Dante meant *seno* to express the capacity that a thing may have, or whether he has not adapted it to his rhyme instead of *senno* = capacity of mind. I unhesitatingly prefer the former view. I cannot believe that Dante required to alter words to fit them to rhyme.

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S' ei s' adunasse ancor tutta la gente
Che già in sulla fortunata terra *
Di Puglia fu del suo sangue dolente
Per li Troiani,† e per la lunga guerra ‡ 10

---

* *fortunata terra:* Commentators take widely different views as to the meaning of *fortunata.* Some, among whom is Benvenuto, think it may be taken, either as meaning that the land was fortunate to the victors, or because in it were fought out such terrible conflicts. I prefer to follow the view adopted by Landino, Venturi, Bargigi and Scartazzini, namely, that the land of Apulia was subject to many strange vicissitudes of fortune. *Fortunata* is used here in the sense of *fortunosa* from the verb *fortunare,* to experience the vicissitudes of fortune. There is yet another interpretation given by those who understand *fortunata* to be derived from *fortuna,* a tempest, and to have the sense of "storm-tossed." Compare also *fortunata valle* (fateful valley) in *Inf.* xxxi, 115.

† *Troiani:* Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 340-342) thinks that *Troiani* which has an overwhelming preponderance of MS. authority, is much to be preferred to the reading *Romani,* which was probably an early marginal gloss explaining *Troiani,* and got to be copied as a correction of the text. Dante frequently asserts the identity, in the way of origin and descent, of the Romans and Trojans, and in such cases, by a sort of anachronism, interchanges the names of races thus related. See *Epist.* v, § 4, ll. 51, 52, where Dante appeals to the rulers of Italy, "si quid de Trojanorum Latinorumque semine superest." Foscolo boldly states (says Dr. Moore, *l.c.*): "*Trojani e Romani* in tutte le opere di Dante sono tutt' uno." In *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 161-163, Dante speaking of the Gauls, says: "quando li *Franceschi,* tutta Roma presa, prendeano di furto *Campidoglio* di notte." Also in *Par.* vi, 49, the Carthaginians are spoken of as the "*Arabi* che dietro ad Annibale passâro," because in Dante's time the former Carthaginian territory was in the occupation of the Arabs.

‡ *la lunga guerra:* Dante evidently means the Second Punic War, which lasted more than fifteen years. In this war, on the bloody field of Cannae, there fell according to Livy 43,000 men, though Polybius, who was not a Roman, records a death-roll of 63,000. After this battle the victorious Carthaginians collected three bushels and a half of gold rings, which were sent by Hannibal to be laid before the Senate at Carthage. Compare *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 164-171, using the term *tre moggia d' anella in Affrica erano portate.*

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Che dell' anella fe' sì alte spoglie,
Come Livio scrive, che non erra: *
Con quella che sentì di colpi doglie
Per contrastare a Roberto Guiscardo,†
E l' altra, il cui ossame ancor s' accoglie 15
A Ceperan,‡ là dove fu bugiardo
Ciascun Pugliese, e là da Tagliacozzo §
Ove senz' arme vinse il vecchio Alardo:

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* *Come Livio scrive, che non erra:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 274) thinks that Dante probably used some historical epitome, from which he assumed that Livy would be the natural source from which such information would be derived. Scartazzini remarks that the days are gone by when Livy was reputed so trustworthy an historian. (Comp. Livy xxiii, 12.) Compare also *De Mon.* ii, 3, ll. 32, 33: "Titus Livius, gestorum Romanorum scriba egregius."

* *Roberto Guiscardo:* Brother of Robert, Duke of Normandy (1070). He came into Italy, commanded the troops of the Duke of Apulia with conspicuous skill, then married his daughter, and became his successor. The Apulians resisting the succession by force, he defeated them with great slaughter, together with "the schismatic Greeks and unbelieving Saracens" who according to Gibbon (cap. lvi), were in alliance with them. Compare *Par.* xviii, 48.

† *Ceperan:* At the battle of Benevento, where Manfred was defeated by Charles of Anjou in 1266, and fell on the field of battle, Ceperano was the key of the position. The Apulians who were to have defended this point faithlessly deserted their post both here as well as an impregnable pass in a gorge of the mountains, of which treachery the troops of Charles of Anjou took immediate advantage. G. Villani (vii, Cap. 9) gives a full account of this. With regard to the bones of the slain being still gathered up by the peasants, compare Virgil, I *Georg.* 493-497:—

"Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila,
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris."

‡ *Tagliacozzo:* A castle in the Abruzzi near which in 1268 Conradin (son of the Emperor Conrad IV, and nephew of Manfred, King of Apulia) was defeated and captured by Charles of Anjou. One of Charles's knights was Erhard (*Alardo*) de

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E qual forato suo membro, e qual mozzo
Mostrasse, da equar sarebbe nulla 20
Al modo * della nona bolgia sozzo.

If all the people were again assembled, that of old upon the fateful field of Apulia were lamenting for their blood (shed) by the Trojans (*i.e.* Romans), and (for those also that fell) throughout the long (second Punic) war, which made such a heaped-up spoil of the rings, as Livy writes, who does not err: together with that (host of Saracens), which felt the sufferings of wounds in their resistance to Robert Guiscard, and the other (host) whose bones are still picked up at Ceperano, there where each Apulian proved traitor, and (they who fell) there at Tagliacozzo, where without arms (but by stratagem) old Alardo was victorious: (were all these assembled together), and one were to display his limb transpierced, and another his lopped off, it would be nothing to equal the ghastly spectacle of the Ninth *Bolgia*.

"And here mark," says Benvenuto, "how Dante metes out a punishment proportionate to the sin of the Schismatics; for we shall see by what follows, that their penalty is that they shall all be lacerated, divided, maimed, and wounded in their different members, according to the greater or lesser enormity of their delinquencies; and this on the principle that just the very sins that a man has committed become the instruments of his punishment; for these sinners

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Vallery, and G. Villani (vii, caps. 26, 27) relates that by his advice the army of Conradin was allowed to defeat two-thirds of Charles's army, after which the remaining third rushed out of an ambush on their rear, while they were scattered for plunder, and annihilated them.

**modo:* The *Voc. della Crusca* (Manuzzi, § vii) states that *modo* may be used to signify "appearance, figure." Di Siena explains it "the horrible spectacle."

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have divided hearts that were united, and minds that were at one in matters of Faith, or friendship, or trust, or consanguinity, and have often drawn men into wars, to deaths, to wounds, to hatreds, and to occasions of stumbling. For there is nothing so sharp as a malicious tongue which pierces the hearts of credulous and kindly people, wounds them and severs their friendship."

Division II.—Dante first describes the awful penalty of the greatest Schismatic the world has ever seen, namely, Mahomet, the false prophet of the Moslem Faith. Horrible indeed is the appearance he presents. To him the avenging Demon seems to have dealt a sword-cut more terrible than to any of his miserable companions, a blow which had laid open his whole body from the chin to the fork, so that his intestines trail along the ground. In the drawings of Botticelli these details are portrayed with minute realism. Dante remarks that the gaping wound reminds him of a cask that from having lost part of the head, displays a wide-open cavity.

Già veggia * per mezzul † perdere o lulla, ‡

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* *veggia:* According to Landino and Velutello the word is derived from *veges*, a cask, though some assert that it is a word of unknown origin. Tommaséo says that at Bergamo the word for a cask is *vezzia*. In the dialect of Brescia a small barrel is *vezola*. The Romagnoles have *vizòl* and *vizulèn* for different barrels according to their size.

† *mezzul:* This is an abbreviation for *mezzule* (pl. *mezzuli*). The definition by Carena (*Vocabolario Domestico*), is a "square aperture, pretty large, made in one of the ends of the cask, for the facility of more easily cleaning out the inside: it is made to shut with a folding door."

‡ *lulla:* This would seem to be one of the two crescent-

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Com' io vidi un, così non si pertugia,
Rotto dal mento infin dove si trulla:
Tra le gambe pendevan le minugia;* 25
La corata† pareva, e il tristo sacco
Che merda fa di quel che si trangugia.‡

Not even does a cask, from losing the middle or side board (of its head) yawn so wide, as one I saw cloven from the chin to where wind is voided: between his legs his entrails were hanging down, the vitals were open to view, and the disgusting pouch (the belly) which makes excrement of what is gorged.

Benvenuto thinks the meaning of these revolting details is that whereas in a healthy body the purer part of the food passes to the liver for nourishment and health, the superfluous food being transferred to the intestines, in the case of Mahomet all that entered into his belly through his mouth was converted into fæcal matter; because all the doctrine that entered his mind produced horrible errors, which polluted and infected pretty nearly all the world.

Dante's eyes are fascinated by the shocking sight;

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like pieces which are on the right and left of the middle-piece of the head of a cask. Di Siena thinks it is derived from *lunula*, as *culla* is derived from *cuna*.

* *minugia:* The intestines, entrails. From the Latin *minutia*. The word is only used in the plural. In Tuscany *minugia* is used to express fiddle-strings, as we might, in English, speak of "the gut."

† *La corata:* Camerini describes this as the *pericardium*. Buti and others, "the liver, heart, and lungs." Lamennais observes that in some provinces of France, and more especially in Brittany, *courée* is used in the same sense. Benvenuto has: "*la corata*, sicut cor, epar splen invicem ligata."

‡ *trangugia:* The *Gran Dizionario* says that *trangugiare* signifies to devour greedily, to swallow, with unseemly haste: "ingordamente inghiottire."

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but he has not seen the worst, for in a frenzy of despair the shade of Mahomet clutches the gaping wound with both hands, and rends open his very self. He tells Dante that he and his companions are all Schismatics.

Mentre che tutto in lui veder m' attacco,*
Guardommi, e con le man s' aperse il petto,
Dicendo :—" Or vedi come io mi dilacco : † 30
Vedi come storpiato ‡ è Maometto.§
Dinanzi a me sen va piangendo Alì ||
Fesso nel volto dal mento al ciuffetto.
E tutti gli altri che tu vedi qui,
Seminator di scandalo e di scisma 35
Fur, vivi ; e però son fessi così.

While I turn all my attention to gaze upon him, he looked at me, and with his hands laid upon his breast, saying: " Now see how I rend myself:

---

* *m' attacco :* Compare Virgil *Æn.* i, 495, where the expression used is very similar :—

" Dum stupet, obtutuque hæret defixus in uno."

† *mi dilacco :* " *Dilaccarsi*, propriamente, tagliare le lacche o le cosce, le lacchette [*the haunches*] d' una bestia (*i.e.* to hamstring). Per estensione, *lacerarsi, smembrarsi.*" Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*). Di Siena thinks that from this passage, as well as from ll. 64-66, and from ll. 103-105, one may well believe that Dante had in his mind Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 494-497 :—

" Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora manusque ambas populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, et truncas inhonesto vulnere nares."

‡ *storpiato :* Others read *scoppiato, scempiato, scipato*, but *storpiato* is by far the most general, and the best authenticated reading.

§ *Maometto :* It will be enough to mention about a character so well known, that Mahomet was born at Mecca, A.D. 570, and died at Medina, A.D. 633.

|| *Alì :* Ali became the son-in-law of Mahomet by espousing his daughter Fatima. He reigned as Caliph from 655 to 661, when he perished by the hand of an assassin.

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see how mutilated is Mahomet! Before me, with his face cleft from the chin to the forelock, Ali goes his way lamenting: and all the others that thou seest here were in their life-time disseminators of discord and of schism; and therefore are they thus cleft asunder.

It has been remarked that Mahomet endures his sufferings with the undaunted bearing of a brave warrior, but Ali, who was only a preacher, lacks Mahomet's fortitude, and goes along weeping.* This disparagement however of Ali's courage is not borne out by history. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 50) thus speaks of Ali's character: "He united the qualifications of a poet, a soldier, and a saint: his wisdom still breathes in a collection of moral and religious sayings; and every antagonist, in the combats of the tongue or of the sword, was subdued by his eloquence and valour." Ali's only real crime would seem to have been that of allowing the three Caliphs, Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, to take possession in turn, before himself, of the throne to which, as Mahomet's son-in-law, he was justly entitled to succeed. He is only to be judged as a disseminator of religious discord in so far as his friends and enemies alike make his name the point of cleavage in the Moslem Faith, which, as Gibbon says, "is still maintained in the immortal hatred of

* This contrast between Ali (*piangendo*), and Mahomet who appears to brave his doom, is singularly like that in *Inf.* x between the haughty and undaunted Farinata and the timid and weeping Cavalcante. Contrast also in *Inf.* xviii the attempt at self-concealment on the part of Venedico Caccianimico on the one hand, and on the other hand the attitude of Jason, who amid great suffering maintains the dignity of a king.

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the Persians and Turks. The former, who are branded with the appellation of *Shiites* or sectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith; and if Mahomet be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of Imam and Caliph; and the name of Omar expresses in their tongue the perfect accomplishment of wickedness and impiety. The *Sonnites*, who are supported by the general consent and orthodox tradition of the Mussulmans, entertain a more impartial, or at least a more decent opinion. They respect the memory of Abubeker, Omar, Othman and Ali, the holy and legitimate successors of the prophet. But they assign the last and the most humble place to the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of sanctity."

Scartazzini points out that Dante has represented Ali with just that part of the body severed which has been left entire to Mahomet, because Ali was credited with having been the author of a schism among the Mahometans themselves. Mahomet has his body severed, because he sowed schism among nations; Ali has his head divided, because he sowed schism principally among the heads of the Mahometan sect. In fact, as *Philalethes* remarks, he caused a schism within a schism.

Mahomet next explains to Dante the manner in which the shades are tormented. They have, as usual, to walk or run continually round and round the cir-

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cular ravine which forms the bottom of the Ninth *Bolgia*, and extends for 22 miles (see next Canto). As they come to a certain point, they find a Demon standing in the midst, who deals to every one of them a blow with a two-edged sword. Each receives his wound, and passes on; and by the time they have circled round the *Bolgia* back to the place where the grim executioner awaits them, their wounds have entirely healed up, and they are ready to undergo fresh punishment. Benvenuto thinks the allegorical meaning of this is, that the Schismatics are going up and down in the world sowing strife and dissension, and that the Devil, by which is meant diabolical instigation, is ever plying his sword, that is, the tongue of calumny, which is sharp and inflicts the most terrible wounds, and as soon as any strife or discord may have been appeased, the Schismatics immediately go to work to stir it up again, just as the Demon smites afresh the shades whose wounds have been just healed up.

Un diavolo è qua dietro che n' accisma *
Sì crudelmente, al taglio della spada

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* *accisma* :. Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 31, note 3) explains *accismare* as *acconciare*, the same as *accomodare*, to adjust, so much used in Tuscany among the lower classes. For example, one may hear: "Ora, ora, l' accomodo io!" *i.e.* "Stop a bit, and you'll see I'll give him a hot one!" Nannucci derives *accismare* from the Provençal *acesmar* = *ad aestimare*, to reckon, aim. We find in *Ferabras*, ed. Bekker, 1636: *à son colp azesmat*, aimed his blow well, also *azermar*, *sermar*. From *Azesmar* is Old French *acesmer*, to set in order of battle; Old Genoese *acesmar*. Hence as Donkin (*Etym. Dict.* s.v. *esmar*) says, we get Dante's *accismare*, to set to rights, also *azzimare*, Sp. *azemar*, to adorn.

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Rimettendo * ciascun di questa risma †
Quando avem ‡ volta la dolente strada; 40
Perocchè le ferite son richiuse
Prima ch' altri dinanzi gli rivada.

A devil is here behind who serves us so cruelly, putting again to the edge of the sword each one of this band (*lit.* ream of paper), when we have completed the circle of the path of anguish (*i.e.* of the *Bolgia*); inasmuch as the wounds are closed up again ere any pass once more before him.

Mahomet's attention is now arrested, on noticing that Dante has not moved from his position on the summit of the arch of the bridge. He imagines that

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* *Rimettendo*, *richiuse* and *rivada* are all intended to express the continual repetition of the round of torment. The shades are *again* put to the sword each time they come *again* round to the executioner; and each time they do so with wounds *again* closed up. The reduplicative *ri* is in these words meant to have great force; but it must not on that account be assumed that *all* words beginning with *ri* are either iterative or intensive. For instance the verb *risplendere* has no such force, being simply a synonym of *splendere*, as I was assured by Professor Scherillo.

† *risma* is literally a ream of paper, but is used here in the sense of multitude. The *Gran Dizionario* says: "Oggidì *una risma* sono ottantacinque quaderni di cinque fogli l' uno . . . [anche] per quantità grande indeterminata di fogli. . . . E anche di gente, ma in mal senso." Tommaséo remarks that the Demon cuts the sinners like a ream of sheets in the huge volume of Hell. Compare *Par.* xii, 121-123, where the Order of St. Francis is spoken of as a volume composed of many pages, by which are meant the Friars:—

"Ben dico, chi cercasse a foglio a foglio
Nostro volume, ancor troveria carta
U' leggerebbe: 'Io mi son quel ch' io soglio.'"

‡ *avem* was in the time of Dante, and should by rights still continue to be the primitive and regular inflexion of the verb *avere* instead of the modern form *abbiamo*. In the early writers we find continually *vedemo* for *vediamo*; *semo* for *siamo*; *volemo* for *vogliamo*, etc. See Nannucci, *Anal. Crit.* pp. 93 *et seq.* *Avemo* is still in use among the Venetians. We find *avem* in Provençal, and *avemos* in Spanish.

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Dante is tarrying there in the vain hope of postponing the torment which must surely befall him. Virgil, however, who never fails to reply for Dante when the answer would seem to reflect praise upon him, does so again now.

Ma tu chi' se' che in sullo scoglio muse,*
Forse per indugiar d' ire alla pena,
Ch' è giudicata in sulle tue accuse ? "—† 45
—" Nè morte il giunse ancor, nè colpa il mena,"
Rispose il mio Maestro,—" a tormentarlo ;
Ma per dar lui esperïenza ‡ piena,
A me, che morto son, convien menarlo
Per lo inferno quaggiù di giro in giro : § 50
E questo è ver così com' io ti parlo."—

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* *muse* (for *musi*) : Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 63, note 1) says that *musare* is, in its proper sense, to keep or hold the countenance fixed on any particular spot, hence, to look fixedly. He quotes the following from the *Roman de la Rose* :—

" Tout ainsi vous dis-je pour voir
Que le cristal, sans deçevoir
Tout l'estre du vergier accuse
A celui, qui dedans l'eaue muse."

Nannucci explains this last line : " to him who gazes fixedly into the water." He devotes two pages (63, 64, footnote) to the discussion of the word *musare.* Compare Macchiavelli, *Asino d' Oro*, cap. vii :—

" Poco più là certi animai disfatti,
Qual coda non avea, qual non orecchi,
Vidi musando starsi quatti quatti."

† *giudicata in sulle tue accuse :* Compare *Inf.* v, 7-10 :—

" Dico, che quando l' anima mal nata
Li vien dinanzi, tutta si confessa ;
E quel conoscitor dalle peccata
Vede qual loco d' inferno è da essa."

‡ *per dar lui esperïenza*, etc. : Compare *Purg.* xxx, 136-145 ; also *Inf.* xvii, 37-39 :—

" . . . 'Acciocchè tutta piena
Esperïenza d' esto giron porti,'
Mi disse, 'va, e vedi la lor mena.' "

§ *di giro in giro :* Compare *Inf.* x, 4, 5 :—

" O virtù somma, che per gli empi giri
Mi volvi."

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But who art thou up on the bridge there who art gazing so intently; perchance in order to delay going to the punishment that has been adjudged (to thee by Minos) on thine own self-accusations?" "Neither has death yet overtaken him," answered my Master, "nor does guilt bring him here to torment him; but, in order to give him full experience, it is the duty of me, who am dead, to lead him down here throughout Hell from Circle to Circle, and this is as true as that I am speaking to thee."

The effect of Virgil's words is to bring to a standstill the whole multitude of shades that are moving onward to their constant round of torment.

Più fur di cento* che, quando l' udiro,
S' arrestaron nel fosso a riguardarmi
Per maraviglia obbliando il martíro.†

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* *Più fur di cento:* By this is meant a large and indeterminate number. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* (ed. Manuzzi) s.v. *cento*, § 1 says: "Per numero indeterminato, riferente gran quantità." Compare *Inf.* xxv, 31-33:—

"Onde cessar le sue opere biece
Sotto la mazza d' Ercole, che forse
Gliene diè cento, e non sentì le diece."

And Petrarch, Part II, *Son.* 22 (or in some editions 249):—

"O speranza, o desir sempre fallace,
E degli amanti più ben per un cento!"

† *S' arrestaron nel fosso . . . obbliando il martíro:* Throughout the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* we notice the irrepressible wonder of the spirits when they first become aware of Dante being a living being. In *Inf.* xii, 80-82, Chiron says to the other Centaurs:—

"Siete voi accorti,
Che quel di retro move ciò ch' ei tocca?
Così non soglion fare i piè de' morti."

In *Purg.* ii, 67-75, the newly arrived spirits are awe-struck at seeing Dante breathe:—

"L' anime che si fur di me accorte,
Per lo spirare, ch' io era ancor vivo,
Maravigliando diventaro smorte;

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More than a hundred there were, who, when they heard him, stopped in the fosse to look at me, forgetting the torment in their wonder.

Benvenuto finds a moral in this, and thinks Dante means that when disseminators of discord see and listen to a wise man, they are corrected by his persuasion, and consequently forget to go to their torment, for where the sin is, there is the penalty; and this in truth must (Benvenuto thinks) have occurred to some, when they read this noble Canto.

Dante now puts into the mouth of Mahomet a prophecy as to the fate of a certain religious impostor named Fra Dolcino. Mahomet is supposed (according to the assumed date of Dante's vision) to be speaking in 1300, and, as it is a known fact that Fra Dolcino was put to death in 1307, *we are able to determine the date before which this Canto was not written.* This is a most important reference.

Benvenuto relates the story of Fra Dolcino at great length, telling his readers that he had acquired a good many tales of his life and death from the nephew of Maestro Rainaldo da Bergamo, who was Fra Dolcino's medical adviser. He says that during

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E come a messaggier, che porta olivo
Tragge la gente per udir novelle,
E di calcar nessun si mostra schivo;
Così al viso mio s' affissâr quelle
Anime fortunate tutte e quante,
Quasi obbliando d' ire a farsi belle."

And in *Purg.* iii, 88-91, the spirits draw back in wonder at the sight of Dante's shadow:—

"Come color dinanzi vider rotta
La luce in terra dal mio destro canto,
Sì che l' ombra era da me alla grotta,
Restâro, e trasser sè in retro alquanto."

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the Papacy of Boniface VIII, just about the time that Dante was commencing the Sacred Poem, there arose in Lombardy an evil schism, that would have become pernicious had it not been quickly stamped out. Its author was one Fra Dolcino, a native of the region near Novara. He was brought up and educated by a priest at Vercelli, where from natural aptitude, he attained to great proficiency in his studies; but in spite of the popularity which the charm of his manners and the grace of his person acquired for him, his innate depravity was not long in showing itself. He stole some money from his benefactor, and artfully contrived at first to let the priest's suspicion fall upon his servant, but being himself accused by the innocent man, and dreading the torture, he escaped, and took refuge in the city of Trent. Then having donned the garb of a Friar, he began to found a sect among the ignorant and credulous population of the surrounding mountains, preaching that he was a true apostle of God, and that community of goods, wives and possessions was a duty incumbent on all. The Bishop of Trent, justly alarmed lest his whole diocese should be corrupted, drove him out of the district; but reminiscences of him still existed in that neighbourhood so late as 1375. Fra Dolcino then passed successively through the mountain regions of Brescia, Bergamo, Como and Milan, collecting round him in his passage an increasing multitude of adherents, until at length he found himself constrained by superior forces to return to his native country, where he finally took up a position on a high mountain between Novara

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and Vercelli. Among the 3,000 robust young men who followed him there, were some of noble birth and great wealth, attracted by a creed which allowed them unbridled scope for the gratification of all temptations. Besides this it seems that there was a soft persuasiveness about Fra Dolcino's eloquence, which so bound men to him, that when once they had joined him they never could give him up. A crusade was now preached against Fra Dolcino and his heresy; and many crusaders (*crucesignati*) came, not only from the whole of Cisalpine Gaul, but even from Transalpine Gaul, from Vienne, Savoy, Provence and France. The widows of Genoa sent 400 cross bow-men (*balistarios*): the mountain was besieged, all kinds of siege implements of war were employed. The heretics defended themselves with all the courage of despair, but after a siege of a year and a day, during which they were reduced to the greatest straits of famine, the snow impeding them from gathering any produce from the hill-sides, or obtaining any provisions, the mountain fortress was at length taken. Fra Dolcino and his paramour, Margaret, an exceedingly beautiful and rich lady of Trent, were captured, and after the most frightful tortures were burned to death, some say at Vercelli, others at Novara, on the 2nd June, 1307.

Benvenuto remarks of Fra Dolcino's name, that it was *Nomen conveniens sibi, quasi dulcia venena propinquans.*

Mahomet then—as an afterthought, just as he was actually stepping away to go through another round of torment—utters a prophetic warning, addressed to

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Fra Dolcino, to the effect that unless he provide a great store of provisions for himself and his followers, his impregnable position will be assuredly reduced by famine, that Fra Dolcino will himself be put to death, and after death subjected to the same penalty which is being undergone by Mahomet.

—"Or di' a Fra Dolcin dunque che s' armi, 55
Tu che forse vedrai lo sole in breve,
S' egli non vuol qui tosto seguitarmi,
Sì di vivanda che stretta di neve *
Non rechi la vittoria al Noarese,
Ch' altrimenti acquistar non saria lieve."— 60
Poi che l' un piè † per girsene sospese,
Maometto mi disse esta parola,
Indi a partirsi in terra lo distese.

"Now say then to Fra Dolcino, thou who perchance wilt shortly see the Sun, unless he wishes speedily to follow me here, so to arm himself with supplies, that an excessive fall of snow may not bring the victory to them of Novara, which (victory) it would otherwise not be easy for them to win." Mahomet spake these words to me after that he had lifted one foot to go his way, then to depart he extended it on the ground.

The question will naturally occur: Why should Mahomet be so solicitous for the escape of Fra Dolcino, a man living many centuries after his death, and with whom he could have no possible concern? Besides this, we know that any feeling of compassion

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* *stretta di neve:* An idiom. See *Gran Dizionario* s.v. *stretta*, § 21: "*Stretta di neve.* Abbondanza di neve caduta, sì che resti impedito il passaggio, il cammino."

† *Poi che l' un piè*, etc.: Casini explains that Mahomet spoke these last words in a great hurry. He had already lifted one of his feet to wend his way, and spoke with that foot off the ground. As soon as he had finished the sentence, he completed the first pace and went off.

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for the sufferings of others is an emotion of which the souls of the lost in the Hell of Dante are totally devoid. The answer is to be found, Benvenuto thinks, in Mahomet's malignant hatred of the Christian Church, the chief seat of which was still in Italy, though shortly to be transferred to France (*quia adhuc curia erat in Italia, licet cito recessura*). If therefore Mahomet could by any means prevent the heresy of Fra Dolcino from being stamped out, he would have good hope that it would spread throughout Italy; and Benvenuto remarks that in truth Fra Dolcino's heresy was one that aped Mahomet's (*quia vere Dulcinus fuit simia Macomethi*).

Division III.—Up to now Dante has been describing the sufferings of the disseminators of schisms in religion. He now passes on to speak of those who sowed the seeds of political discord. Chief among these is Pier da Medicina, to whom was due the continuance of the feud between the houses of the Polenta and the Malatesta. Curio is also introduced, who is inaccurately credited with having been the person to encourage Julius Cæsar to cross the Rubicon.

Benvenuto asks his readers to picture the sort of mischief made by Pier da Medicina somewhat as follows: "If perchance Pier da Medicina happened to hear that the Lord Malatesta of Rimini were purposing to contract an alliance with the Lord Guido of Ravenna, the said Pietro would as it were by accident get hold of some servant of the house of Malatesta, and with great earnestness would ask him: 'How fares it with my lord?' and then after

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a long confabulation, would say to him in conclusion: 'Pray bid the Lord Malatesta send me some faithful emissary, to whom I can communicate, as to his very self, matters that must not be divulged in public.' And were such an emissary to be sent, Pietro would say to him: 'Observe, my good sir, right unwillingly do I disclose what I ought in honour to conceal; only the sincere affection which I bear to my good Lord Malatesta forbids me to dissimulate longer. Let the Lord Malatesta beware of the Lord of Ravenna, or he may find himself deceived.' The messenger would straightway carry this information to his master; and meanwhile Pietro would be off with the same false pretence to the Lord Guido of Ravenna, entreating him to beware of him of Rimini. Then the Lord Malatesta, being rendered suspicious by Pietro's words, would begin to act with less consideration towards the Lord Guido, and even to withdraw from what he had undertaken to perform. Then the Lord Guido, on turning this over in his mind, would say: 'In sooth, Pietro da Medicina told me the truth about this!' And on the other hand, the Lord Malatesta would make a similar observation.

"Then each in turn being duped, would send Pietro horses, jewels, and rich gifts, and would treat him each as his friend, when in reality he was their enemy possessing their confidence, than which no pest avails more to do injury, as Boethius says.* Do not marvel then if Dante introduces this man with great art."

* Benvenuto does not give the reference in Boëthius, but perhaps the allusion is to *Philos. Consol.* ii, *Pros.* v, 47-51: "An

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Un altro,* che forata avea la gola
E tronco il naso † infin sotto le ciglia, 65
E non avea ma' ch' un' orecchia sola,
Restato a riguardar per maraviglia ‡
Con gli altri, innanzi agli altri § aprì la canna
Ch' era di fuor d' ogni parte vermiglia;
E disse:—"Tu, cui colpa non condanna, 70
E cui io vidi su in terra Latina,
Se troppa simiglianza non m' inganna,
Rimembriti di Pier da Medicina, ||
Se mai torni a veder lo dolce piano,
Che da Vercelli a Marcabò dichina. 75

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vero te longus ordo famulorum facit esse felicem? qui si vitiosi moribus sint, permiciosa domus sarcina et ipsi domino vehementer inimica: sin vero probi, quonam modo in tuis opibus aliena probitas numerabitur?"

* *Un altro:* The description of the mutilated appearance of this shade closely resembles that of Deïophobus by Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 494-497. See p. 421.

† *forata la gola e tronco il naso:* Pier da Medicina is pierced through the throat, from which issued so many lies; he has been deprived of the nose he was so fond of thrusting into other people's affairs; and he is represented with one ear only, as he did not use both to listen to the evil and the good and to distinguish between them; and thus maimed and disfigured he appears in his torment as repulsive an object, as in his life he had appeared insidiously attractive and handsome.

‡ *Restato a riguardar per maraviglia:* Compare Virg. *Æn.* vi, 487, 488:—

"Nec vidisse semel satis est: juvat usque morari,
Et conferre gradum, et veniendi discere causas."

§ *innanzi agli altri:* Di Siena thinks this means *prima degli altri* in the sense of *precedenza di grado,* rather than priority in point of time. None of the shades in Piero's company are made to speak; and we know that Dante only professes to give heed to the *anime che son di fama note* (*Par.* xvii, 138).

|| *Pier da Medicina* belonged to the noble family of the Cattani of Medicina, of which family there was a branch at Florence, whom Villani states to have been Ghibellines. Benvenuto says that Medicina is a considerable and thriving town (*villa grossa et pinguis*) between Bologna and Imola; is a territory of itself, and in olden time had a strong citadel. A long line of

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Another, who had his throat pierced through and his nose cut off close under his eyebrows, and no more than one single ear (left), having stopped to gaze at us in wonder with the others, before the others opened his gullet, which on the outside was crimsoned all over, and said: "O thou, whom guilt does not condemn, and whom I have seen up above in the land of Italy, unless too great a resemblance deceive me, call to mind Pier da Medicina, if ever thou return to see the smiling plain that slopes from Vercelli to Marcabò.

The great plain of Lombardy slopes for more than 200 miles from Vercelli, a city on the River Sesia at the foot of the Alps, in the extreme West of Piedmont, as far as Marcabò, a castle built in the territory of Ravenna near the mouth of the River Po. Benvenuto adds that this castle was built by the Venetians, for the purpose of keeping the navigation of the river in their power, so that all cargoes entering the Po from the sea might pass through their hands. But the castle was taken from them by Ramberto da Polenta and destroyed in 1308.

The *Anonimo Fiorentino* notices that Dante now proceeds to link on the above episode to that which follows with a certain poetical licence, and "touching on a matter that had already taken place, he represents it as a prophecy of a fact about to happen.*

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the Cattani held sway there, of whom none remained however in Benvenuto's day. Dante was said to have been entertained with much honour by them on one occasion when he visited their palace; and when asked what he thought of that court, to have replied that he had never seen a fairer one in all Romagna, if only there had been in it a particle of order.

* Dr. Moore does not feel certain as to the correctness of this view on the part of the *Anonimo Fiorentino.*

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The facts were these: Messer Guido da Fano and Messer Agnolello were the two chief personages in Fano, of which city Messer Malatestino de' Malatesti, who was lord of Rimini, coveted the possession; and while pretending to be the friend of Messer Guido and Messer Agnolello, thought within himself that if he could only slay these two principal men of Fano, he could make himself master of the place, and so it turned out. He wrote to beg them to come and meet him at La Cattolica, a place between Rimini and Fano, as he wished to confer with them. They, in all confidence, embarked in a vessel to come there by sea: but Messer Malatestino caused a number of his men to meet them half way in another vessel; and in accordance with the orders he had given them, they took Messeri Guido and Agnolo and cast them into the sea; the consequence of which was that their partisans in Fano, having lost their chiefs, were driven out of the city, which eventually fell into the hands of Messer Malatestino."

E fa saper ai due miglior di Fano *
A messer Guido ed anco ad Angiolello †

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* *Fano:* A town situated on the coast of the Adriatic, not far from the river Metauro, about nine miles from Pesaro, and thirty from Rimini. The ancient name of it was Fanum Fortunae, so given to it from a temple of Fortune having been erected there to commemorate the defeat of Hasdrubal on the Metaurus (B.C. 207). In *Purg.* v, 71, Jacopo del Cassero entreats Dante to be the medium for obtaining intercessions for him by his fellow citizens in Fano. Jacopo del Cassero was probably a relation of Guido.

† *messer Guido ed . . . Angiolello:* These were Guido del Cassero, and Angiolello, Agnolello, or Angelello da Cagnano, or, according to some, da Carignano.

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Che, se l' antiveder * qui non è vano, †
Gittati saran fuor di lor vasello,‡
E mazzerati § presso alla Cattolica, 80
Per tradimento d' un tiranno fello.
Tra l' isola di Cipri e di Maiolica ||

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* *se l' antiveder*, et seq. : The sentence may be explained thus : "il veder innanzi le cose future, qui in inferno non è vano come suol esser tra gli nomini." And the meaning of the passage is that Pier da Medicina asserts that the foresight of the lost in Hell is true and correct, as Farinata degli Uberti informed Dante in *Inf.* x, 100, 101 :—

"'Noi veggiam, come quei ch' ha mala luce,
Le cose,' disse, 'che ne son lontano.'"

† *vano :* Tommaséo (one of the authors of the *Gran Dizionario*) says that *vano* here is equivalent to *falso.*

‡ *vasello :* We find the same word (for *vascello*, a ship) used to describe the vessel in which the Angel Pilot is conveying the souls to Purgatory. See *Purg.* ii, 40, 41 :—

". . . e quei sen venne a riva
Con un vasello snelletto e leggiero," etc.

Some Commentators have wished to attach a figurative meaning to *vasello.* Volpi says: "Figuratamente per città, patria." Landino, Venturi and Vellutello interpret: "Le anime loro saranno cacciate fuor del corpo; il qual è come vasello dell' anima."

§ *mazzerati :* "Mazzerare è gittar l' uomo in mare in un sacco legato con una pietra grande; o legate le mani, e i piedi, e con un grande sasso al collo." (Buti). The *Vocabolario della Crusca*, besides giving the above quotation from Buti, gives the Latin of *mazzerare* as "in culeo inculsum in mare projicere." The word occurs several times in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. In the *Annotazioni sopra alcuni luoghi del Decamerone fatti dai Deputati sopra la correzione di esso Boccaccio*, Firenze, 1573, p. 71, we find: "*Mazzerare* è voce nostra, ha già più di trecento anni, e fu usata da Dante in questo proposito appunto, ed era a' nostri antichi, e in quei tempi una sorta di supplicio, come ne avevano alcuni altri, de' quali oggi appena si riconoscono i nomi, come il piantare o propagginare [*to bury alive with the head downwards*], e l' abbacinare [*to blind by exposing the eyes to the heat of a red hot brazen vessel*]." Di Siena thinks that *mazzerare* is derived from *mazzere*, the stones attached to the nets in the tunny fisheries in the South of Italy; and in Calabria the weights of a clock are called *mazzere.*

|| *Tra l' isola di Cipri e di Maiolica :* Cyprus is the eastern-

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Non vide mai sì gran fallo Nettuno,
Non da pirati, non da gente Argolica.*
Quel traditor che vede pur con l' uno, 85
E tien la terra, † che tal è qui meco
Vorrebbe di vedere esser digiuno, ‡
Farà venirli a parlamento seco;
Poi farà sì che al vento di Focara §
Non farà lor mestier voto nè preco."— 90

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most of the large islands of the Mediterranean, and Majorca the westernmost. Dante means the extreme limits of the Mediterranean Sea.

* *gente Argolica:* The Greeks in all ages have been noted for piracy. "Molti e crudeli mali sono stati fatti e si fanno nel mare mediterraneo per corsari di diverse generazioni e lingue, e per Greci, e per Latini, e per Cristiani, e per Saracini." (The *Ottimo*). Bargigi thinks the allusion to the Greeks merely refers to their many sea fights: "Gente Argolica, Greca, che molte grandissime battaglie fecero in mare."

† *tien la terra:* The verb *tenere* is here used in the sense of *possedere, signoreggiare.* Compare *Inf.* v, 60:—

"Tenne la terra, che il Soldan corregge."

And *Inf.* xxix, 29:—

". . . colui che già tenne Altaforte."

Also Virgil, *Æn.* vii, 735:—

". . . Teleboùm Capreas cum regna teneret."

Tommaséo thinks that *tien la terra* should be interpreted *governa la terra*, and I have followed him by rendering the words "rules the land."

‡ *Vorrebbe di vedere esser digiuno:* Compare *Inf.* xviii, 42:—

"Di già veder costui non son digiuno."

And see my note on that passage.

§ *vento di Focara:* Benvenuto says that Focara is a high mountain near La Cattolica, towering right over the sea, where great storms frequently occur, and terrible shipwrecks; which cause navigators to proffer many vows and prayers. Hence it has become a proverb to say: "May God protect you there from the wind of Focara!" Benvenuto thinks that what Pier really means is, that it is not by any mischance, or by divine judgment, that these two good men of Fano shall perish in the waves, but that they shall be drowned by the fraud of evil men. In point of fact it will not avail them to offer up the usual vows and prayers such as are used by mariners, because they will be drowned anyhow, and not from a storm.

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And make known to the two best men of Fano, to Messer Guido (del Cassero) and likewise to Angiolello (da Cagnano), that if foreseeing here in Hell be not vain, they shall be thrown overboard from their vessel, and drowned near La Cattolica, through the perfidy of a fell tyrant. Between the island of Cyprus and (that of) Majorca never did Neptune behold so atrocious a crime, not even of pirates or of the Argolic race. That traitor (Malatestino) who sees with but one eye, and rules the city (Rimini), which somebody who is here with me (Curio) would wish he had never seen (*lit.* had been fasting of seeing), will induce them (Guido and Angiolello) to come to a parley with him; and then will so act that they shall no longer need vows or prayers against the wind of Focara."

Benvenuto is of opinion that we have many instances in history of the wonderful astuteness of one-eyed men. Hannibal and Philip of Macedon were of the number, and Malatestino was no exception to the rule. If any one attempted to say to him, "My Lord, you do not understand me," he used to retort, "I would I could see as well as I understand!" But these one-eyed men were all very long-headed men (*sanum caput habuerunt communiter*). The thing can be explained, Benvenuto thinks, in a moral sense (*potest exponi ista litera moraliter*); for when a man has two eyes in the natural way, one of which he ought to direct towards heavenly things, and the other to terrestrial, if that man loses his best eye, he will then only turn his gaze to earthly matters.

Dante does not allow Pier da Medicina's covert allusion to another spirit to escape unnoticed, but at once asks him to whom he is referring.

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Ed io a lui :—" Dimostrami e dichiara,
Se vuoi ch' io porti su di te novella,*
Chi è colui della veduta † amara."—
Allor pose la mano alla mascella
D' un suo compagno, e la bocca gli aperse 95
Gridando :—" Questi è desso, e non favella :
Questi, scacciato,‡ il dubitar sommerse
In Cesare, affermando che il fornito §

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* *porti . . . novella :* We have already noticed, in a footnote on *Inf.* ii, 7, the story told by Boccaccio in his life of Dante, of how a woman at Verona said to another on seeing Dante pass by : "Vedete voi colui che va per l' Inferno, e torna quando a lui piace, e *quassù reca novelle* di quelli che laggiù sono ? "

† *colui della veduta amara :* Di Siena paraphrases this : " Chi è colui che testè [*just now*] dicesti male aver veduta la terra di Rimini la quale gli portò amari frutti di dannazione ? "

‡ *scacciato :* In Lucan, *Phars.* i, 277-279, Curio is represented as saying to Cæsar :—

" Sed postquam leges bello siluere coactae,
Pellimur a patriis laribus, patimurque volentes
Exilium : tua nos faciat victoria cives."

§ *il fornito :* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 228) observes that this allusion to Curio is borrowed from Lucan, *Phars.* i, 280-282 :—

" Dum trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes,
Tolle moras ; semper nocuit differre paratis ;
Par labor atque metus pretio majore petuntur."

This is further proved if necessary (Dr. Moore adds) by Dante's direct citation of this passage in reference to Curio in his Epistle to Henry VII, *Epist.* vii, § 4, ll. 74-81 : " Pudeat itaque in angustissima mundi area irretiri tamdiu, quem mundus omnis expectat ; et ab Augusti circumspectione non defluat, quod Tuscana tyrannis in dilationis fiducia confortatur, et quotidie malignantium cohortando superbiam, vires novas accumulat, temeritatem temeritati adiciens." Dr. Moore remarks that Lucan was a poet widely known and very often quoted by mediæval writers generally ; and that Dante in particular not only refers to him frequently by name, but is indebted to him for many of his historical allusions, as well as for a considerable amount of poetic material of different kinds. In Dino Compagni, *L' Intelligenza, Cesare al Rubicone*, stanzas 90 and 91, we find the following :—

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Sempre con danno l' attender sofferse."—*
O quanto mi pareva sbigottito 100
Con la lingua tagliata nella strozza,
Curio, ch' a dire fu così ardito ! †

And I to him : " Show to me and declare, if thou wishest me to carry tidings of thee up (on earth), who is he of the bitter sight (*i.e.* the shade who wishes he had never seen the city of Rimini) ? " Then he laid his hand upon the jaw of one of his companions, and pulled open his mouth, crying :

" Curio trebuno parlò primïeri,
E disse : 'Io son per te di Roma fuora :
Nostra franchigia è nella tua speranza :
Cavalca, Cesar, sanza dimoranza :
I tuoi nemici non avranno dura.'
Cesare, intalentato di battaglia
Parlamentò e disse a' suoi : lontani
'Per me soffert' avete gran travaglia
A conquistar molti paesi strani.'"

* *Sempre con danno l' attender sofferse :* Dr. Moore tells me he thinks *sofferse* seems to be an aörist with the sense of the present tense. I see Mr. Tozer translates " if he endures to wait," and thinks the words are a paraphrase of Lucan's *semper nocuit* above. In *Purg.* xxxii, 33, 34, the passage *tanto spazio prese* is rendered by Mr. Tozer " is wont to measure so much space ; " and in *Par.* xii, 9, he renders *quel ch' ei refuse,* " the light which it gives by reflection."

† *Curio . . . a dire . . . ardito :* This again is imitated from Lucan, *Phars.* i, 269 :—

" *Audax* venali comitatur Curio lingua."

Caius Scribonius Curio was the son and the grandson of two great orators of the same name. It is asserted that, having first espoused the cause of Pompey, he was won over by Cæsar with heavy bribes. When a decree was published by the Senate declaring Cæsar to be the enemy of the Republic, unless he immediately disbanded his army and evacuated the province of Ravenna, Curio hastened to join Cæsar, and according to Lucan, urged upon him decisive action. But this would seem to be a wholly untrue account, as Cæsar had already crossed the Rubicon when Curio reached his camp. Dr. Moore remarks to me that it is curious that this advice of Curio is cited with approbation in *Epist.* vii, § 4.

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> "This is he, and he is speechless: he, when banished (from Rome) dispelled the hesitation in Cæsar (about crossing the Rubicon), affirming that the man who is well-prepared always suffers loss by procrastination." Oh! how aghast seemed to me Curio, with his tongue cut out of his throat, he who had been so bold in speech!

Benvenuto reminds his readers that Pier da Medicina had at the beginning of the interview said, *Rimembriti di Pier da Medicina*, by which he meant that he wanted Dante to speak of him in the world when he returned there.* Dante answers that if he is expected to do so, Pier must tell him what he meant by speaking of some one with him who wishes that he had never seen Rimini. Benvenuto thinks Dante has shown great art in making Pier da Medicina, after abusing and defaming the character of his employer, Malatestino, the modern and still living tyrant of Rimini, bring in at the same time an ancient personage who sowed discord that was most fatal to that same city in which Pier da Medicina had himself also made trouble between the Lords of Rimini and others in the Romagna. Benvenuto considers the association of Curio with Pier da Medicina in Hell most appropriate, although there had been a gap between them of nearly 1300 years, for both having been guilty of the same sin, are fitly represented as enduring the same punishment. Benvenuto observes that one is inclined to ask why

* Dr. Moore writes to me: "Is it not curious that Pier da Medicina, Mosca de' Lamberti, and Bertrand de Born, in this Canto, seem to be an exception to the general desire of the shades in Circles 8 and 9 for obscurity (*e.g.* in Can. to xxxii)? I do not know why this should be."

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Curio should have been represented with his tongue torn out rather than Mahomet, who talked so much to Dante, and he does not think it a sufficient reason to give, that it was because Curio persuaded Julius Cæsar into civil war. He believes it is because Curio voluntarily deprived himself of his tongue, in that he sold it for gold, and Dante has said in *Inf.* xiii, 105, *Non è giusto aver ciò ch' uom si toglie.* Curio had been a great agitator for liberty, but, being bribed by Cæsar, he became his agent and advocate. Benvenuto thinks that there may also be a figurative sense in Curio's punishment, as showing that the men who spread discord and calumny between potentates, either literally have their tongues cut out, or, their frauds being detected, they are from very shame put to a perpetual silence.

Division IV.—We are now introduced to a prominent character in the feud between the families of Buondelmonte, Donati, Amidei, Uberti and Lamberti, which culminated in the assassination of Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti, and was the means of bringing into active operation in Florence the dormant strife between the rival factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which had not before that time entered into the city, or which had at all events smouldered without lighting into a flame. The shade before us is Mosca de' Lamberti. Few episodes attracted as much attention among the turbulent incidents of those days as this one. The story is related by all the chroniclers and commentators, though many of them differ in their mode of recounting it. I trans-

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late the version given by Ricordano Malespini (*Istoria Fiorentina*, cap. civ): "In the year of Christ 1215, . . . Messer Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti, a noble citizen of Florence, had promised to take to wife a damsel of the most noble house of the Amidei, very highly honoured citizens; and after this the said Messer Buondelmonte chancing to ride through the city, being a very handsome and accomplished cavalier, a lady of the house of Donati [according to Dino Compagni she was Aldruda, wife of Fortiguerra de' Donati] called to him, and blamed him for his engagement to the damsel to whom he was affianced, as not being beautiful, nor of sufficient importance for such as him, and telling him that she had kept for him her daughter, who was surpassingly fair, and whom she thereupon presented before him. He, prompted on the instant by a diabolical spirit, fell at once in love with her, plighted his troth to her, and wedded her. On hearing this, the kinsfolk of the first damsel to whom he had been betrothed assembled, and much grieved at Messer Buondelmonte having put them to shame, gave way to such accursed wrath that the city of Florence was divided, and many of the noble families in it conspired together to take vengeance on the said Messer Buondelmonte, and put him to shame in his turn. And discussing among themselves in what way they could injure him—whether to beat him or wound him—Mosca de' Lamberti spoke these evil words: *Cosa fatta capo hae*, meaning, that death settles a matter once for all, and that Buondelmonte had better be slain. This was done. On the morning of the Easter of the

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Resurrection . . . the said Messer Buondelmonte . . . when riding upon a beautiful white palfrey of his, on reaching the foot of the Ponte Vecchio, . . . was slain by them of the Lamberti, and by Mosca de' Lamberti, . . . at which deed the whole city rushed to arms and tumult. This death of the said Messer Buondelmonte was the cause and the beginning of the accursed factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence."

Benvenuto, both in his comment on this * passage, and also on that quoted from the *Paradiso* in the note, passes very cursorily over the episode, so much so, that one is inclined to wonder whether he, in his time, had any special cause to dread incurring the wrath of some one of the families alluded to, as he is usually very full in his narratives of such episodes. He relates that when it was first proposed that Buondelmonte should be slain, some of the older men were against it, and begged the others to think of the consequences, and that it was then that Mosca de' Lamberti uttered the words which decided Buondelmonte's fate.

Mosca addresses Dante, but the stern reply, briefly

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* See also the account in Dino Compagni, and in *Par.* xvi, 136-144:—

"La casa di che nacque il vostro fleto,
Per lo giusto disdegno che v' ha morti,
E pose fine al vostro viver lieto,
Era onorata ed essa e suoi consorti.
O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti
Le nozze sue per gli altrui conforti!
Molti sarebbon lieti che son tristi,
Se Dio t' avesse conceduto ad Ema
La prima volta che a città venisti.

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telling him that he has been the destroyer of his own family, the Lamberti or Uberti, does not tend to console him, and his departure is very sorrowful.

Ed un ch' avea l' una e l' altra man mozza,
Levando i moncherin per l' aura fosca,
Sì che il sangue facea la faccia sozza, 105
Gridò:—" Ricordera' ti anche del Mosca,
Che dissi, lasso! 'Capo ha cosa fatta,'
Che fu il mal seme per la gente tosca."—
Ed io gli aggiunsi:—" E morte di tua schiatta;—"*
Perch' egli accumulando duol con duolo 110
Sen gío † come persona trista e matta.

And one who had both hands lopped off, raising the stumps through the murky air, so that the blood befouled his face, cried out: "Thou wilt remember me Mosca also, who said alas! 'A deed once accomplished, there is an end of it,' which was the seed of ill for the Tuscan people." And to him I added: "And death to thine own race." Whereat he, heaping woe on woe, went off like one grieved even to madness (*lit.* grieved and mad).

Benvenuto says that Mosca had in his former life been happy and flourishing in the family of the Lamberti before he gave the evil counsel, but afterwards he was sad, and made many others so, as we read in the words quoted above, *molti sarebbon lieti, che son tristi,* etc. He had before that time been

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* *morte di tua schiatta:* The *Ottimo* remarks that all the Lamberti, males and females, suffered some kind of punishment for Mosca's crime, some by death, some by exile, some by the confiscation of their property.

† *gío:* Nannucci (*Analisi dei Verbi*, pp. 176, 177) writes: "La terza persona singolare del perfetto si chiuse [*anticamente*] in O in tutte le conjugazioni, come *amao, temeo, sentio.*" Compare *Inf.* v, 66:—

"Che con amor al fine combatteo."

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reputed a wise man, but after it an insane man; for, as is the seed, such will be the fruit.

A scene now takes place of so extraordinary a character, that Dante thinks it necessary to preface the account by some remarks which have given rise to much comment, and different opinions are held as to his motive.*

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* I extract the following explanation primarily from the Commentaries of Di Siena and Scartazzini. The more general interpretation of this passage has been that Dante feared to be deemed guilty of falsehood in relating, simply on his own assertion, a circumstance so incredible as the appearance of Bertrand de Born holding his head in his hand, were not Dante supported by the testimony of his good conscience. But this invocation would have come in far more appropriately in the opening lines of the Canto as applied to *the whole* of the horrors which Dante witnesses in this *Bolgia*, many of which have been infinitely more ghastly to behold than a simply decapitated body holding up its head by the hair. No! the true explanation must be sought in the horror Dante exhibits throughout Hell wherever he is brought in contact with the punishment of those sins which were his own. He flies in terror from the three wild beasts upon the mountain because they represent the three vices of Sensuality, Pride, and Avarice, against which he had especially to strive. He falls down in a swoon at the sight of the penalty of the Sensual, not feeling himself innocent of that sin. His fears on entering into the city of Dis are intense, knowing as he does, that he had at one time of his life entertained doubts that gravely imperilled his faith in holy things. But he never shows any fear when contemplating the punishment of those sins of which he feels himself pure. Scartazzini thinks that although Dante might in his inmost conscience feel himself perfectly innocent of ever having disseminated strife, yet he might have been aware that his enemies had endeavoured to fasten upon him the accusation of his having done so, both in his *De Monarchia*, as also in some of his Epistles, from which it might have been sought to prove that he was setting the sons of Florence against their mother. But Dante knows in his heart that such accusations would be perfectly groundless, and therefore he practically says "I was able to look on with calmness at the terrible scenes in this *Bolgia*, and especially on this one of the sinner punished for sowing

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Ma io rimasi a riguardar lo stuolo,
E vidi cosa ch' io avrei paura,
Senza più prova,* di contarla solo; †
Se non che coscïenza mi assicura, 115
La buona compagnia che l' uom francheggia
Sotto l' osbergo del sentirsi pura. ‡

But I lingered on gazing at the crowd, and beheld a thing which without further confirmation I should be afraid only to relate it; but that conscience reassures me, the good companion which makes a man bold under the breastplate of feeling himself pure.

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discord among kinsmen, knowing my own conscience to be clear of such sin." Compare Ovid, *Fast.* i, 485, 486:—

"Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra
Pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo."

And Horace, 1 *Epist.* i, 60, 61:—

"Hic murus aëneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa."

And *ibid.* 1 *Carm.* xxii, 1-4:—

"Integer vitae, scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris jaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra."

**prova:* I have translated *prova* "confirmation," as nearly all the Commentators so interpret it. But *prova* means *épreuve* as well as *preuve*, and there can be no objection to take it in either sense. Scartazzini thinks it should not be taken in the sense of "testimony," as Dante does not as a fact adduce any other testimony than his own assertion; he would rather render the words: "without further experience of it, without seeing it anew." In stage language, *La prova* means "the rehearsal," of a drama, or opera. Compare the English word "proofs" in printing.

† *solo* here is an adverb for *solamente.*

‡ *l' osbergo del sentirsi pura:* Compare Shakespeare, 2 *Henry VI*, Act iii, Sc. 2:—

"What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!
Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

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Here as elsewhere, as for instance in *Inf.* xiii, 20; and 46-51; and xvi, 124-126, when recounting some extraordinary episode, Dante feigns to tell the story with reluctance, out of fear of the incredulity of the reader.

Io vidi certo,* ed ancor par ch' io 'l veggia,
Un busto senza capo andar, sì come
Andavan gli altri della trista greggia. 120
E il capo tronco tenea per le chiome,
Pesol con mano a guisa di lanterna,
E quel mirava noi, e dicea :—"O me !—"
Di sè faceva a sè stesso lucerna,†
Ed eran due in uno, ed uno in due; 125
Com' esser può, Quei sa che sì governa.‡

I saw distinctly; and methinks I see it still, a trunk walking along without its head, even as the others

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* *vidi certo :* In l. 104 Dante speaks of the murky air (*l' aura fosca*), so now, before relating a thing which was apparently strange and incredible, he assures his readers that he really saw it distinctly.

† *lucerna* : The figure was guiding its own steps by the eyes of the head which it held in its hand.

‡ *che sì governa :* Besides meaning "to ordain," as given here, *governare* has many significations, the primary idea being that of "to exercise influence," which may be done in various ways, as *e.g. governare una nave*, to steer a ship; also to rule, to exercise jurisdiction; to provide with forethought; to set in order; to guard; to take charge (of children), to educate; to have the care of horses, dogs, falcons, poultry, etc. *Governare il terreno* is to manure it. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says: "*governare i vini*, vale, *Dar loro il governo* . . . si dice anche dell' Acconciamento [*treatment*] che si fa ai vini, mescolandovi uve o spicciolate, o ammostate per fargli più coloriti, o più saporosi." [I am perfectly familiar with this expression in Tuscany]. Compare *Inf.* xxxiii, 130, 131 :—

"il corpo suo l' è tolto
Da un demonio, che poscia il governa,"

in which passage the *Vocab. della Crusca* explains *governare* "per avere in balìa; Dominare senza aver punto riguardo al ben essere della persona governata."

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of the wretched flock walked (who retained their heads and their eyesight). And it held the severed head by its hair, dangling in its hand in the guise of a lantern, and it (the head) gazed at us, and said: "Woe is me!" Of itself it made for itself a lamp, and they were two in one, and one in two; how that can be, He knows Who so ordains.

The weird figure now addresses Dante.

Quando diritto al piè del ponte fue,
Levò il braccio alto con tutta la testa*
Per appressarne le parole sue,
Che furo:—"Or vedi la pena molesta 130
Tu che, spirando, vai veggendo i morti:
Vedi se alcuna è grande come questa;†
E perchè tu di me novella porti,
Sappi ch' io son Bertram dal Bornio,‡ quelli

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* *con tutta la testa:* Scartazzini observes that *tutta* here is a *riempitivo,* and that the meaning of *tutta la testa* is "the very head." Di Siena says the words are still a living expression in Italian; and Tommaséo remarks that it is to be heard frequently in the hybrid dialect spoken at Corfu.

† *Vedi se alcuna è grande come questa:* Compare *Lam.* i, 12: "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger."

‡ *Bertram dal Bornio:* This person was Vicomte de Hautefort of Périgueux in Gascony, a famous troubadour and poet. Dante (*De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, cap. 2, ll. 72-84) cites him as one of the earliest poets whose poetry was written in the *volgare illustre:* "Quare haec tria, salus videlicet, Venus, virtus, apparent esse illa magnalia quae sint maxime pertractanda, hoc est ea quae maxima sunt ad ista, ut armorum probitas, amoris accensio, et directio voluntatis. Circa quae sola, si bene recolimus, illustres viros invenimus vulgariter poetasse; scilicet Bertramum de Bornio, arma; Arnaldum Danielem, amorem; Gerardum de Bornello, rectitudinem; Cinum Pistoriensem, amorem; amicum ejus, rectitudinem. . . . Arma vero nullum Latinum adhuc invenio poetasse." On the above, Di Siena remarks, that fully two centuries elapsed after this, before

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Che diedi al re giovane * i mai conforti. 135
Io feci il padre e il figlio in sè ribelli:

Torquato Tasso sang of Arms and Love. Bertrand de Born was a sublime troubadour and a valiant knight, but he is noted for having sown discord between Henry II of England and his eldest son Henry, who was crowned king, as the future successor of his father, in Westminster Abbey, and was generally known at the time as the "Reys Joves." It was said in the life of Bertrand de Born: "metia tot son senno en mesclar guerras, e fes mesclar lo paire e 'l filh di Englaterra."

* *re giovane:* Witte reads *Re Giovanni*, which, though supported by an overwhelming majority of MSS., is utterly devoid of historical foundation. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 344-351), goes very fully into the subject: "The arguments on both sides [*Giovane v. Giovanni*] are admirably summed up in Scartazzini's note, though I venture to come to a different conclusion from that distinguished commentator, because I cannot believe it possible that Dante *could have made a mistake on such a point as this.* Were not Bertrand de Born's relations with the '*Reys Joves*' so notorious, and is not Dante's familiarity with the Provençal poetry generally, and with that of Bertrand de Born in particular, so certain, that the notion of his making a mistake on this point is inconceivable?"

The historical facts show that after his eldest son, who died in infancy, Henry II had four surviving sons.

(1) Prince Henry, born 1155, died 1183.

(2) Prince Richard, who afterwards reigned as Richard I, from 1189 to 1199.

(3) Prince Geoffrey (the father of Arthur of Brittany), who died before his father in 1186.

(4) Prince John, afterwards King John, from 1199 to 1216.

Dr. Moore says that Prince Henry derived his title of "the Young King" from the fact that he was crowned at Westminster in 1170, and again at Winchester in 1172, in his father's life-time. He was in continual opposition to his father, as were his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, whereas it was only in Henry II's later days that John took any part against him. Bertrand de Born is not known to have been in any special intimacy with Prince John, while *per contra* he is *par excellence* the friend of "the Young King" Henry, and the "Reys Joves" is his regular and oft recurring title for him. Familiar as Dante was with the Troubadour poetry generally (see *De Vulg. Eloj.* passim), Dr. Moore thinks that Dante could not possibly be unaware of this. Moreover the references to the Young King are so woven into the tissue of Bertrand's poetry, that

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Achitofel * non fe' più d' Ansalone
E di David co' malvagi pungelli. †
Perch' io partii così giunte persone,‡
Partito porto il mio cerebro, lasso! 140
Dal suo principio § ch' è in questo troncone.
Così s' osserva in me lo contrapasso." ||

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this would strike even a casual reader as one of its most prominent features.

Every word of Dr. Moore's exhaustive essay on the subject, of which the above is but an extract, should be studied. Di Siena observes that Ginguené was the first to point out, by the light of history, that *re Giovanni* for *re giovane* was either an error of Dante, or an alteration of his text by copyists.

* *Achitofel:* For the iniquitous counsels given by Ahithophel to Absalom, both as to the violation of the royal seraglio, and to the intended murder of David his father, see 2 *Sam.* xv. *et seq.*, and xvii, 1-24.

† *pungelli* is literally "goads," and by metaphor it comes to mean "instigations."

‡ *così giunte persone:* It must be remembered that Bertrand de Born comes under the category of those who sowed discord among kinsmen. *Così giunte persone* therefore means the father, Henry II, and the son, young King Henry, his eldest surviving son.

§ *Dal suo principio:* Di Siena quotes the comment of Floriano Caldani, professor of anatomy at Padua, who says that Praxagoras and Plistonicus, according to Galen, were of opinion that the brain must be considered a sort of appendage of the spinal marrow, and that perhaps Dante wished to refer to this opinion, which is also that of Aristotle, in saying that the brain of Bertrand de Born was parted from its source (*dal suo principio*), *i.e.* from the spinal marrow that is situated in the trunk of the *vertebrae.*

|| *contrapasso:* This word is derived from *contrapatio*, the *lex talionis*, which, according to Tommaséo and Scartazzini, exists in the whole of Dante's Hell. In Greek this is τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός. "Egli è differenza tra giustizia e *contrappasso:* giustizia si dice quando l' uomo ha morto uomo et egli è poi morto: in qualunque modo muoia si dice giustizia. *Contrappasso* ha in sè più severità et ragione; che vuole che nella esecuzione della giustizia tutte le cose occorrano che sono occorse nella offesa; che vuole che l' uomo omicida sia morto quell' ora del dì ch' elli uccise, per quel modo, et in quello luogo et con quelli ordini et similia." (*Anonimo Fiorentino*).

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> When it was right at the foot of the bridge (*i.e.* just beneath the Poets), it lifted high its arm with the very head, so as to bring its words near to us, which were: "Now look at this grievous torment thou who, breathing, goest looking upon the dead: look if any (torment) be as great as this! And that thou mayest bear tidings of me, know that I am Bertrand de Born, he who gave to the Young King (*i.e.* to Prince Henry of England) the evil encouragements. I set the father and the son at war with each other. More did not Ahithophel do with Absalom and David by his wicked instigations. Because I divided persons so united, I, alas! carry my brain divided from its source (the spine), which is within this mutilated trunk. Thus is the (law of) retribution observed in me."

Tommaséo remarks that this Canto, together with the one immediately preceding it (Canto xxvii), as well as Canto xxxii, are the three in the whole Poem that are the most full of history.

Dante would appear to have been so stupefied with horror at the ghastly figure, and so absorbed in contemplation, that the Canto closes, leaving him in a state of abstraction that prevents him from noticing, until somewhat sarcastically reminded of the fact by Virgil, in l. 28 of the next Canto, that the shade of a person near akin to him had been close under the spot where he was standing, but had passed away unobserved.

END OF CANTO XXVIII.

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CANTO XXIX.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE NINTH *BOLGIA* (CONCLUDED): THE FOMENTERS OF DISCORD (CONCLUDED)—GERI DEL BELLO—THE TENTH *BOLGIA*: FALSIFIERS OF EVERY SORT—(1) THE ALCHEMISTS—GRIFFOLINO D' AREZZO—CAPOCCHIO.

IN the opening of the present Canto the description of the Fomenters of Discord is brought to a conclusion, and the remainder of it, together with the whole of Canto XXX, is devoted to the *Bolgia* in which are tormented Falsifiers of four classes, namely (1) Falsifiers of metals, or Alchemists; (2) Falsifiers or Counterfeiters of persons; (3) Falsifiers of money, or Forgers; and (4) Falsifiers of words, or Perjurers.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, a conversation takes place between the Poets, in which Virgil reproves Dante for allowing himself to have been so absorbed by the grim apparition of Bertrand de Born, that he allowed the shade of his kinsman, Geri del Bello, to pass unnoticed.

In *Division* II, from ver. 40 to ver. 69, the Poets enter the Tenth and last *Bolgia*, and get sight of the Falsifiers.

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In *Division* III, from ver. 70 to ver. 120, the wretched condition of the Alchemists in general, and of two of them in particular, is narrated.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 121 to ver. 139, Dante passes some severe strictures upon the vanity of the inhabitants of Siena.

Division I.—Dante, whom we left, at the conclusion of the last Canto, listening to the narrative of Bertrand de Born, seems to have continued to gaze down so intently into the huge chasm below him, that to arouse him it requires the commanding influence of Virgil, who reminds him that the vast size of the *Bolgia* precludes his taking more than a general survey of the immense number of gory beings within it, and makes it impossible to count them. Here we have a most interesting statement by Virgil of the exact measurement of this Ninth *Bolgia*, and as in the next Canto, l. 87, we are given the measurements of the Tenth *Bolgia*, it is possible to calculate the increasing proportions of the *Bolge* above, and the vast dimensions they would assume.

La molta gente e le diverse piaghe *
Avean le luci mie sì inebrïate, †
Che dello stare a piangere eran vaghe;

---

* *diverse piaghe:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) cannot feel certain whether *diverse* here should be translated "diverse" or "terrible," the word admitting of both significations.

† *inebrïate:* Blanc, Biagioli, Scartazzini and Camerini, interpret this "*pregne di lagrime;*" Tommaséo, "*pregne di dolore.*" Compare *Ezek.* xxiii, 33: "Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow," etc. And *Isaiah* xvi, 9 (in the *Vulgate*):

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Ma Virgilio mi disse :—"Che pur guate ?
Perchè la vista tua pur si soffolge * 5
Laggiù tra l' ombre triste smozzicate ?
Tu non hai fatto sì all' altre bolge :
Pensa, se tu annoverar le credi,
Che miglia ventidue la valle volge ;
E già la luna è sotto i nostri piedi : † 10
Lo tempo è poco omai che n' è concesso,
Ed altro è da veder che tu non vedi."—‡

"Inebriabo te lacrima mea." See also *Isaiah* xxxiv, 5 : "For my sword shall be bathed (in the Vulgate *inebriatus*) in heaven. Tommaséo thinks Dante is weeping for the torments he sees, as well as for the civil discords which are the cause of them, and of which he himself was the victim.

* *si soffolge :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says that *soffolgersi* and *soffolcersi* are verbs taken from the Latin *suffulcire.* Their proper meaning is *sostenere ;* some interpret it *si appoggia* = rests upon; but I follow the interpretation of Buti and Bargigi, which is "si ficca," and other Commentators have "si affissa." Compare *Par.* xxiii, 130, 131 :—

"O quanta è l' ubertà che si soffolce
In quell' arche richissime."

There *si soffolce* has the meaning "is stored up, is gathered together." Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xxvii, st. 84) uses the word in the sense of propping, supporting :—

". . . gli narra che 'l sottil ladrone
Ch' in un alto pensier l' aveva colto,
La sella su quattro aste gli suffolse,
E di sotto il destrier nudo gli tolse."

† *E già la luna è sotto i nostri piedi :* Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 50) remarks that this is another way of saying that it was early in the afternoon, about 1 or 2 P.M., and that Dante very significantly here, as in xx, 125, and elsewhere, avoids all mention of the Sun during his passage through the *Inferno,* and describes the hour by referring rather to the position of

"La faccia della donna che qui regge" (*Inf.* x, 80).

‡ *Ed altro è da veder che tu non vedi :* Some here read *credi* for *vedi,* a reading which is palpably false, as Dante never puts together three rhymes, of which two are words having the same sense, though in *Par.* xii, 71, 73, 75, we find the word CRISTO used three times running, for the sake of emphasis :—

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The many people and the diverse wounds had made my eyes so drunken (*i.e.* so brimming over with tears), that they were craving to stay and weep; but Virgil said to me: "What art thou still gazing at? Why is thy sight still riveted below there among the dismal mutilated shades? Thou didst not do so in the other *Bolge:* consider, if thou thinkest to number them, that the valley has a circuit of two and twenty miles;* and the Moon is already beneath our feet: the time is short now that is granted to us, and there is somewhat more to see than thou seest."

Dr. Carlyle remarks that in the above passage Dante gives the measurement of this ninth and last but one ring of *Malebolge* and in the next Canto he gives that of the smallest and innermost ring of all, which is eleven miles round; "and so leaves us to imagine the vast dimensions and population of all the Hell above."

"Dominico fu detto; ed io ne parlo
Sì come dell' agricola che CRISTO
Elesse all' orto suo per aiutarlo.
Ben parve messo e famigliar di CRISTO;
Chè il primo amor che in lui fu manifesto
Fu al primo consiglio che diè CRISTO."

Cristo occurs three times in triple rhyme, namely, *Par.* xii (quoted above); *Par.* xiv, 104, 106, 108; and *Par.* xix, 104, 106, 108. See also *Purg.* xx, 65, 67, 69 where *ammenda* is thrice repeated to give intensive force; and *Par.* xxx, 95, 97, 99, where for the same reason the same thing occurs with *vidi*.

* The English statute mile is equal to 1760 yards or 1609 metres. The miles of continental Europe were of the most various lengths, and mostly represented, it would seem, multiples of some modified Roman mile. The Roman mile is 1489 metres; that of Naples goes up to 2226; while the mile of Tuscany, with which we may suppose Dante had to do, is 1652 metres. The German miles are of infinitely greater length. The shortest is the Hanoverian mile of 7419 metres; the longest that of Saxony of 9062 metres.

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There are two ways in which Commentators, both ancient and modern, have attempted to compute the dimensions of the *Bolge* above this one. The first mode is noticed by Benvenuto, but he does not agree with it. He says: "And here mark that some think Dante's meaning to be that each separate *Bolgia* is double as great as the next one in succession, so that the Tenth *Bolgia* in the next Canto comprises eleven miles, as we shall be told; and the eighth forty-four; and so on by an ascending or descending scale of progression; but perchance, according to that computation, the *Inferno* would ascend to too large dimensions; but consider it for thyself (*tu vero videas*)." Agnelli (*Topo-Cronografia del Viaggio Dantesco*, Milan, 1891, p. 17) also rejects the above mode of computation by arithmetical progression, and adopts that of "the differences." He remarks: "In this case, if the Tenth *Bolgia* has a circumference of 11 miles, and the ninth of 22, that of the eighth will be 33, of the seventh 44, of the sixth 55, of the fifth 66, of the fourth 77, of the third 88, of the second 99, and of first 110, with a radius equal to 17½ miles. These 17½ miles multiplied by 9, give 157½ miles of radius and nearly a thousand of circumference to the *Antinferno*, where is the entrance with the characters of death inscribed above it." Mr. Butler in an interesting note suggests the possibility of the intervening walls between the *Bolge* being 1¾ miles thick, an idea which greatly commends itself to me. Blanc however (*Saggio*, pp. 276-278), after discussing the many theories of the dimensions of Hell as given by Manetti, Landino, Giambullari, Vellutello, and Gali-

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leo, concludes thus: "Speaking generally, we confess that the labour imposed upon themselves by such great men in computing the dimensions of Hell and its special parts, appear to us to have been thrown away. Two passages alone seem to give grounds for such calculations, namely, *Inf.* xxix, 9, and xxx, 86. But who is able to affirm that the ratio in which the Ninth and Tenth *Bolge* stand to each other, is operative in the same way for the other Circles of Hell? Even if placed beyond a doubt that Hell extends from the surface to the centre of the Earth, who is to tell us what is the thickness of the crust that covers the void of Hell? . . .

". . . And lastly, of what avail are all these calculations, ingenious though they be, if it still remains an impossibility, with so many stoppages for conversation, to traverse the Earth from its surface to its centre in the brief space of twenty-four hours? For these reasons, while we admit that the Poet has certainly determined the duration of his journey with exact precision, we hold that, with the liberty of a poet, he has kept to himself the dimensions of his *Hell*, and that he would be anything but grateful to his admirers, who with minute exactness have been calculating that which he himself has wished to leave undetermined."

Dante hints to Virgil that he fancies there is a kinsman of his in the *Bolgia* they are quitting, but Benvenuto says Dante is speaking hastily, and does not remember that Virgil has been able to read his most secret thoughts.

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—"Se tu avessi,"—rispos' io appresso,
—"Atteso alla cagion perch' io guardava,
Forse m' avresti ancor lo star dimesso."—* 15
Parte sen gía,† ed io retro gli andava,
Lo Duca, già facendo la risposta,
E soggiungendo :—"Dentro a quella cava ‡
Dov' io teneva or gli occhi sì a posta, §
Credo che un spirto del mio sangue || pianga 20
La colpa che laggiù cotanto costa."—

"If thou hadst," I thereupon replied, "given heed to the reason why I was looking, thou wouldst perchance have permitted a longer stay." Meanwhile my Leader was going on, and I was walking behind him, already making my answer, and adding: "Within that lair (the *Bolgia*) upon

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* *dimesso* in this passage means "permitted, conceded," from the Latin *dimittere*, or *mittere*, "to give leave to depart"; *aliquid missum facere* is equivalent to "not to think of something, or not to notice it." (Di Siena).

† *Parte sen gía: Parte* is an adverb having the sense of "meanwhile," which the *Codice Cassinese* explains by the Latin *interim*. Compare *Purg.* xxi, 19 :—

"'Come,' diss' egli, e parte andavam forte."

And Petrarch, Part ii, *Canz.* iv, st. 3 :—

"Ma sì com' uom talor che piange, e parte
Vede cosa, che gli occhi, e 'l cor alletta."

And in the same *Canzone*, st. 4 :—

"Tien pur gli occhi, com' aquila, in quel sole :
Parte dà orecchi a queste mie parole."

‡ *cava:* The word here not only has the sense of cavity, fosse, grotto, but its Latin equivalent *cavum* also signifies a lair for wild beasts.

§ *a posta:* Compare *Purg.* vi, 58, 59 :—

"Ma vedi là un' anima, che posta [many read *a posta*]
Sola soletta, verso noi riguarda."

|| *del mio sangue:* Compare *Par.* xv, 28-30, where Cacciaguida uses the word, as applied to Dante, with the meaning of descendant :—

"*O sanguis meus, o superinfusa*
Gratia Dei! sicut tibi, cui
Bis unquam coeli janua reclusa?"

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which I was keeping my eyes so fixed, I think that a spirit of my own kindred is bewailing the crime which pays so dear a penalty down there."

Dante means that there is a blood-relation of his being punished in the Ninth *Bolgia* for having been a disseminator of strife on earth.

Virgil tells Dante that the spirit in question had not escaped his notice, though Dante, from his abstraction of mind, had neither noticed him nor the unmistakable signs of hostility towards Dante that he was exhibiting; and he proves his assertions by telling Dante the spirit's name.

Allor disse il Maestro:—" Non si franga *
Lo tuo pensier da qui innanzi sopr' ello; †
Attendi ad altro, ed ei là si rimanga;

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* *Non si franga*, et seq.: Scartazzini explains *frangere* in the sense of *rifrangere* or *riflettere*, and translates the sentence: " From henceforth let not thy attention be distracted by thinking any more about him." According to Brunone Bianchi Dante compares the thought to the ray of light which is reflected on an object: " In quanto che dipinge il pensiero della mente, che quasi un raggio percote sull' obietto, donde poi *si ripiega* sopra l' agente." Tommaséo thinks that the meaning of Virgil's words is: " Let not thy mind *be overcome* with compassion for this Geri, who is deservedly punished." And Tommaséo supports this explanation by the Latin form *frangi misericordiâ* (see Cicero, *Ad Att.* vii, 12); and in St. Thom. Aqu. *Summa Theol.* " Frangi dicitur aliquid quando suo sensu divellitur." And in 2 *Sam.* xi, 24, the *Vulgate* has: " Non te frangat ista res." Bargigi has: " Non si stanchi il tuo pensiero," etc. Landino: " Non si rompa, . . . cioè *non interrompere* i pensieri," etc. Blanc: " *Non si arresti*, per analogia delle onde che si frangono continuamente percotendo in ciò che incontrano; ovvero, come dicevasi nel medio evo *frangere sibi caput super*, e ora comunemente in Italia rompersi il capo."

† *sopr' ello:* Di Siena says *sopra* is here used like the Latin *super* with the sense of *de* or *propter*. Compare Virg. *Æn.* i, 29: " His accensa super," etc. Also *ibid.* 750:—

" Multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa."

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Ch' io vidi lui a piè del ponticello * 25
Mostrarti, e minacciar forte col dito,
Ed udi 'l nominar Geri del Bello.†
Tu eri allor sì del tutto impedito

---

* *ponticello :* As in *Inf.* xviii, 15, I translate "narrow bridge." If one adopts Vellutello's estimate of the measurements of *Malebolge*, whose valleys were supposed to be from half a mile to a mile broad, one cannot call the bridges which traverse them "little bridges." At *Borgo a Buggiano*, about 14 miles from the city of Lucca, and 2 miles from the *Bagni di Lucca*, the Serchio is crossed by a bridge with an arch of an immense span, but very narrow and exceedingly slender. It is supposed to have been built considerably before the time of Dante, who may very likely have seen it on his way into the Lunigiana. Like many other bridges in the Middle Ages, the construction was attributed to the Devil, whence it is popularly known as Ponte al Diavolo, though its real name is Ponte alla Maddalena. Its arch is exceedingly steep on both sides up to the crest, and it may well have suggested to Dante his bridges for *Malebolge*, which would only require to be narrow in width, though they would of necessity have to be of considerable length.

† *Geri del Bello :* Geri was the son of Messer Bello. Some have tried to prove that he was Dante's father (See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, vol. ii, *fascicolo* 5). Bello was brother of Bellincione, whose son Aldighiero was Dante's father. The *Anonimo Fiorentino* relates of him that he took delight in making mischief between man and man; and that having sown much discord among the members of a family called I Gemini, it so chanced that on a certain day they came across him, and gave him a good beating with sticks. Geri del Bello, greatly enraged thereat, came in his turn one day upon one of them, who did not recognise him, as he had masked himself; and finding this man standing at the door of his house, exclaimed "Messer! guardatevi dall' arme, ecco la famiglia," "*Mind Sir, here is the watch; beware lest they catch you with arms*" [a thing rigorously prohibited]. Geri's device succeeded; the man drew hastily back within his house, and threw away his arms. Geri at once sprang upon him, and stabbed him again and again with his dagger. For this he was condemned and banished; and being one day in disguise at Fucecchio, where one of the Gemini family was Podestà, he was recognised by a nephew of this magistrate and stabbed to death; and it would seem that his death was never avenged either by Dante or any of his kindred.

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Sopra colui che già tenne Altaforte,
Che non guardasti in là; sì fu partito."—* 30

Then said my Master: "Let not thy thoughts henceforth be distracted about him: attend to other matters, and let him remain there. For I saw him at the foot of the narrow bridge point thee out and menace thee fiercely with his finger, and I heard him named Geri del Bello. Thou wert just then so completely taken up with him who once bore sway in Hautefort (*i.e.* Bertrand de Born), that thou didst not look that way until he was gone."

Benvenuto looks upon the above as an ingenious fiction. Dante represents himself as having been so absorbed in the contemplation of Bertrand de Born (who, with the exception of the one sin for which he is being punished, was a good and highly distinguished man), that he had missed seeing his kinsman Geri del Bello, a thoroughly worthless and contemptible being, who in life had caused divisions, who died by the sword, and who after death suffers division by the sword of the Demon. Dante, finding himself obliged to allude in some way to this shade, makes Virgil draw attention, almost by force, to the

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* *sì fu partito* = *sino fu partito.* The words probably refer to Geri del Bello, though some think to Bertrand de Born. *Sì* is equivalent to *sin chè* or *finchè.* Biagioli interprets *sì* as *così.* The *Vocabolario della Crusca*, among the many interpretations of *sì*, has *per infino a tanto che, tantochè infinchè, che, sino;* Latin *quoad, donec*, and quotes this precise passage as an illustration of the word as used in that sense. Compare also Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ii, Nov. 2: "Volto il cavallo, sopra il quale era, non si ritenne di correre, sì fu a Castel Guiglielmo." And a footnote explains that *sì fu* is for *insin che fu*, a mode of expression very common with Boccaccio. Compare also *Inf.* xix, 128:—

"Sì mi portò sopra il colmo dell' arco," etc.

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fact that Geri del Bello had been there, but, not having been noticed by Dante, had moved away.

Virgil had remarked upon the menacing demeanour of Geri del Bello towards Dante. Dante explains this by telling his Leader that there was some excuse for it, as the shade has a real grievance against his surviving relatives who have not yet avenged his assassination, which had taken place many years before. In those days it was a shame and reproach to a noble family to leave unavenged the violent death of any of its members. Benvenuto considers it highly improbable that Dante did avenge Geri del Bello's death, as some have sought to prove.

—"O Duca mio, la vïolenta morte
Che non gli è vendicata * ancor,"—diss' io
—"Per alcun che dell' onta sia consorte,
Fece lui disdegnoso; ond' ei sen gío
Senza parlarmi, sì com' io stimo; 35
Ed in ciò m' ha e' fatto a sè più pio."—

"O my Leader," said I, "his violent death, which has not yet been avenged for him by any who (as a kinsman) is a partner in the shame, made him indignant; for which cause, as I suppose, he passed on without speaking to me; and in that he has made me pity him the more."

Di Siena thinks the meaning of the last sentence

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* *vendicata:* In *Purg.* xxxiii, 35, 36, reference is made to the superstition in Dante's days that a family *vendetta* might be averted by the murderer eating a piece of bread sopped in wine upon the tomb of the murdered man, and Beatrice tells Dante that the vengeance of God can by no means be so averted:—

". . . chi n' ha colpa, creda
Che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe."

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is, that Dante pitied his kinsman more for not having been avenged, than for the torment that he was undergoing as a fomenter of discord. Tommaséo feels strongly that we must not from this passage come to the conclusion that Dante was thirsty for the blood of his enemies; he who (Canto xii, 118-120) has chastised Guy de Montfort for his vengeance against a kinsman of the slayer of his father; he who names the Sacchetti in the *Paradiso* without heaping upon them any reproaches,* as he has done in the case of others; he who has relegated to Hell his own cousin as a breeder of scandals, and, according to the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, as a falsifier. The last accusation however Tommaséo does not believe. On the contrary, the *Anonimo Fiorentino* adds that Dante wishes to censure that thirst for vengeance which torments him even to the nethermost Hell. Benvenuto begs his Bolognese audience to remark that although it may seem beautiful to wreak vengeance, yet it is far more beautiful to remit it; and it is a refined sort of revenge to spare when you are able to smite. Julius Cæsar shone in this vengeance: when he did smite, it was never to gratify personal vindictive feelings.

The Poets are now passing from the Ninth to the Tenth *Bolgia*.

> Così parlammo infino al loco primo
> Che dello scoglio l' altra valle mostra,
> Se più lume vi fosse, tutto ad imo.

---

* Of the Sacchetti the *Ottimo* writes: "Furono nimici dell' Autore . . . Furono e sono, giusta lor possa, disdegnosi e superbi."

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Thus we conversed as far as the first place, which, if there were more light, would from the bridge show the next valley (*i.e.* the only now remaining *Bolgia*) right down to the bottom.

Division II.—The Poets have now reached the centre of the bridge that crosses the tenth and last *Bolgia*, and are gazing straight down into the Abyss. A horrible odour arises, and the wailings of a new class of sinners are heard. These are Falsifiers of every sort; divided into Falsifiers of things; Falsifiers of persons; Falsifiers of money; and Falsifiers of words—every section tormented in a different manner, but all afflicted with some kind of grievous sickness of a corrupting nature, such as leprosy, dropsy, consumption, mania, or fever; and the whole scene reminds Dante of an overcrowded fever hospital in the most insalubrious regions of Italy at the season of greatest heat and malaria, and consequently of greatest fœtor.

Quando noi fummo in sull' ultima chiostra * 40
Di Malebolge, sì che i suoi conversi †
Potean parere alla veduta nostra,

---

* *chiostra:* Compare *Purg.* vii, 21:—

"Dimmi se vien d' inferno, e di qual chiostra."

† *conversi:* Carlyle remarks that the sinners are "lay-brothers" in these cloisters, or enclosed rings, where Demons are the Monks—*Philalethes* thinks *conversi* mean the Demons only. I take it to refer to the inmates without specifying which. Benvenuto, whose opinion is supported by Buti and others, writes: "Conservat metaphoram: quia enim locum appellaverat claustrum, ideo habitatores talis claustri appellat conversos." Fraticelli thinks the expression is an allusion to the spirits lying in heaps, one on the top of the other, as described further on in ll. 65-69.

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Lamenti saettaron * me diversi,
Che di pietà ferrati avean gli strali:
Ond' io gli orecchi colle man copersi. 45
Qual dolor fora † se degli spedali
Di Valdichiana ‡ tra il luglio e il settembre,
E di Maremma e di Sardegna § i mali

---

* *saettaron:* Buti remarks that Dante first uses the expression *saettare*, to shoot arrows, and then continues the simile by describing the arrows barbed with pity: "e come li strali ferrati feriscono col ferro, così quelli lamenti percoteano li orecchi di Dante con ferite di pietade."

† *fora:* An ancient form of *sarebbe.* In the same way that in Latin the forms *forem*, *fores*, *foret*, took the place of *essem*, *esses*, *esset*, so in old Italian the forms *fore*, *fora*, *forio*, *forano* were in general use even in prose. Nannucci (*Analisi Critica dei Verbi*, p. 475, § 14) says that the Provençals also made use of *fora*, *foran;* and quotes the following from Bernart de Ventadorn: "S'ieu saubes la gent encantar, Miei enemic foran enfan." On the reading *fora se* Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 351, 352) remarks that he found it in 178 MSS., while the false readings *fuor esce* and *esce fuor*, he found in only 18 and 17 respectively. Dr. Moore's observations on this passage should be studied. Compare *Par.* iii, 73, 74:—

"Se disiassimo esser più superne,
Foran discordi li nostri disiri," etc.

‡ *spedali di Valdichiana:* Buti says that Dante is here speaking of certain branch hospitals that had been established in Valdichiana under the tutelage of the parent house at Altopascio, which lies between Florence, Lucca, and Pistoja. Blanc describes the river Chiana as dividing into two mouths and flowing partly into the Paglia and partly into the Tiber. Its course is so sluggish that it forms marshes which exhale much *malaria.* But in modern times hydraulic science has opened a canal which carries off the waters of the valley into the Arno, and has made the whole district between Arezzo and Perugia one of the richest and most fertile in Tuscany. The *Comento di Anonimo* (*ed.* Lord Vernon, Florence, 1848) adds that from July to September the hospitals in this insalubrious district were so overcrowded, that the sick were laid along the sides of the road.

§ *di Maremma e di Sardegna:* The same *Comento di Anonimo* goes on to say that few of the travellers who ever visit the island of Sardinia are able to live there even for a year, as

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Fossero in una fossa tutti insembre;*
Tal era quivi, e tal puzzo † n' usciva, 50
Qual suol venir delle marcite membre.

When we were above the last cloister of *Malebolge* in such wise that its lay-brothers (*i.e.* inmates) could become apparent to our view, diverse lamentations smote sharply upon me, which had their arrows barbed with pity (*i.e.* had pierced my heart with compassion): whereat I covered my ears with my hands. Just such suffering as there would be, if from the hospitals of Valdichiana between July and September, and from the Maremma

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most of them sicken and die. Landino remarks that in Sardinia, from the excessive heat, the air is most pestilential, and principally in the parts lying nearest the sea-shore. Of the Maremma we have spoken before; and of the innumerable snakes generated on its humid soil, see *Inf.* xxv, 19, 20:—

"Maremma non cred' io che tante n' abbia,
Quante bisce egli avea su per la groppa," etc.

* *insembre* (and *insembra*) is an adverb for *insieme.* Compare Lapo Gianni (in *Rime Antiche*), 105:—

"Molte fïate stando teco insembra,
E rimembrando suo giovane stato
Diceva," etc.

And Guittone d' Arezzo, *lett.* 10: "Guardate quanto potete e essi, e voi, non molto usando insembre."

† *puzzo:* The sense of smell is offended more than once in the *Inferno.* Of the Stygian marsh Virgil observes (*Inf.* ix, 31):—

"Questa palude, che il gran puzzo spira," etc.

Of the First Abyss, leading down from the tombs of the Heresiarchs into the Circle of Violence, Dante says (*Inf.* x, 134-136):—

"Lasciammo il muro, e gimmo in vêr lo mezzo
Per un sentier ch' ad una valle fiede,
Che infin lassù facea spiacer suo lezzo (*i.e.* puzzo)."

And in *Inf.* xi. 4-7:—

"E quivi, per l' orribile soperchio
Del puzzo, che il profondo abisso gitta,
Ci raccostammo dietro un coperchio
D'un grande avello."

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and from Sardinia all the maladies (prevalent in those regions) were together in one fosse; so was it here, and such a stench issued thence as is wont to come from gangrened limbs.

Benvenuto points out that Dante means the putrefying limbs of living rather than of dead persons, but the comparison would be very apt, whichever way one understands it, for as in the above-named localities, whether marsh-lands or plains, there are many and diverse wailings from sick persons suffering from diseases brought on by the corrupt humours arising from these pestilential atmospheres, so here many and diverse were the lamentations of the sinners guilty of various kinds of Falsity produced by the corruption of the air of Hell, that is, by the inspiration of the Devil, and so much the greater was the stench, inasmuch as disease of the mind is infinitely worse than disease of the body.

Up to now Dante's ears have been deafened by the loud cries of woe, and his sense of smell offended by the sickening odour of festering limbs, but as yet his eyes have been unable to penetrate the deep gloom in which the last *Bolgia* is hid. The Poets, however, descend the long downward slope of the bridgeway till they find themselves on the much lower level of the inner rampart, and then Dante is enabled to descry the horrible details.

Noi discendemmo in sull' ultima riva *

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* *ultima riva:* This refers to the last or innermost rampart of *Malebolge*, which on its other side was encircled by the Tenth *Bolgia*, while it itself in its turn encircled the great Pit (*Pozzo*) leading down to the Ninth Circle, at the bottom of which lay the Traitors in the ice, while the Giants surmounted its topmost surface with the upper part of their bodies.

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Del lungo scoglio,* pur da man sinistra,†
Ed allor fu la mia vista più viva
Giù vêr lo fondo, là 've la ministra 55
Dell' alto Sire,‡ infallibil giustizia,
Punisce i falsator che qui registra.§

We descended to the last rampart from the long rock bridge (bearing) constantly to the left hand, and then my sight became more able to penetrate down towards the bottom, wherein the ministress of the Supreme Father — infallible Justice—punishes the Falsifiers whom she registers (in the book of doom as condemned) to this place (the Tenth *Bolgia*).

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* *lungo scoglio:* This means the long system of bridgeways, which like the spokes of a wheel, ran from the cliffs at the bottom of the Great Abyss (*Burrato*) right across the fosses and the ramparts of *Malebolge* as far as the edge of the great Pit. See *Inf.* xviii, 16-18:—

"Così da imo della roccia scogli
Movien, che recidean gli argini e fossi
Infino al pozzo, che i tronca e raccogli."

† *pur da man sinistra:* Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 68, 69:—

"Noi ci volgemmo ancor pure a man manca
Con loro insieme."

Compare also *Inf.* xiv, 126:—

"Pur a sinistra giù calando al fondo."

‡ *alto Sire:* Compare *Purg.* xv, 112-114:—

"Orando all' alto Sire in tanta guerra,
Che perdonasse a' suoi persecutori,
Con quell' aspetto che pietà disserra."

§ *che qui registra:* Of this Vellutello says: "E dice 'registra' perchè data la sentenza contra del reo, quella si registra, acciò che tale qual ella è, si possa poi a tempo publicare." Lombardi thinks this contains a figurative allusion that corresponds to the lines in the *Dies Irae*:—

"Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur."

Tommaséo sums it up in the following terse comment:—

"Nel mondo li scrisse, giù li punisce."

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The Falsifiers are of all kinds, namely, Alchemists, Forgers, Coiners, Falsifiers of persons, and Falsifiers of things. Dante, wishing to describe the loathsome state of disease and corruption into which all the inmates of this *Bolgia* were plunged, alludes to the story of the famous pestilence of Ægina, and the repeopling of the land by ants changed into men by Jupiter at the prayer of King Æacus. Benvenuto is greatly struck by the simile, and enlarges upon it with much detail.

Non credo che a veder maggior tristizia
Fosse in Egina il popol tutto infermo,
Quando fu l' aer sì pien di malizia,* 60
Che gli animali infino al picciol vermo
Cascaron tutti, e poi le genti antiche,
Secondo che i poeti hanno per fermo,
Si ristorâr di seme di formiche; †
Ch' era a veder per quella oscura valle 65
Languir gli spirti ‡ per diverse biche.§

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* *malizia:* The word means badness of every kind. Here it has the sense of pestilential miasma, corruption, etc. See *Voc. della Crusca*, s.v. *malizia*, 7: "Per infezione, e corruzione."

† *seme di formiche:* In *Conv.* iv. 27, ll. 160-168, Dante had previously alluded to this mythological episode: "Mostra che Eaco vecchio fosse *Prudente*, quando, avendo per pestilenza di corrompimento d' aere quasi tutto il popolo perduto, esso saviamente ricorse a Dio, e a lui domandò lo ristoro della morta gente: e per lo suo senno, che a pazienza lo tenne e a Dio tornare lo fece, lo suo popolo ristorato gli fu maggiore che prima." These newly formed men were called by Æacus *Myrmidons*, from μύρμηξ an ant. The whole story is related in Ovid, *Metam.* vii, 528-660.

‡ *Languir gli spirti:* Compare Ovid, *l.c.* 547, 548:—
"Omnia languor habet: sylvisque, agrisque, viisque
Corpora foeda jacent."

§ *biche:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says that *bica* is "un *ammasso, cumulo.*" Others interpret *biche* as "*mucchi* o *acervio di covoni*,"

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Qual sopra il ventre,* e qual sopra le spalle
L' un dell' altro giacea, e qual carpone
Si trasmutava per lo tristo calle.

I do not believe it was a greater sorrow to see the whole population of Ægina struck down with sickness—when the atmosphere was so full of corruption that the animals, even to the little worm, all dropped down, and afterwards the ancient races (of the Island) according to what the poets hold for a certainty, were restored from the seed of ants—than it was to see the spirits languishing in diverse heaps in that darksome valley. One was lying on his belly, and one upon the shoulders of another, and one was shifting his place, crawling upon the ground along the dismal path.

Benevenuto observes that Dante has in the above description made allusion to three different kinds of Falsifiers; but that he will now speak of a fourth species, who sit upon the ground pressed close together; these he seems to have omitted in his more general description.

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i.e. heaps, or sheaves, of corn. The *Voc. della Crusca* has, s.v. *bica:* "Quella massa di forma circolare non molto dissimile dal pagliaio [*a rick of reaped corn*] che si fa de' covoni del grano quando è mietuto. [Latin, *spicarum congeries*]." Compare *Cronica di Giovanni Morelli* (Florence, 1718, p. 313): "E 'n Firenze non era roba per due mesi, e le ricolte erano tutte nelle biche, e 'n sull' aje [*threshing-floors*]." Compare Ovid, *l.c.* 584-586:—

"Quo se cunque acies oculorum flexerat, illic
Vulgus erat stratum; veluti cum putria motis
Poma cadunt ramis; agitataque ilice glandes."

* *Qual sopra il ventre:* All the Commentators seem to agree, that these are the shades of the Alchemists. Tommaséo is careful to point out, however, that Dante does not put all Alchemists in a place of punishment, but only such as were falsifiers. On this the *Comento di Anonimo* dwells at great length. Tommaséo and others attribute their paralytic condition to their frequent use of mercury, an opinion taken from Avicenna.

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Division III.—The Poets up to this time had been walking quickly and conversing as they went. Their whole demeanour is now changed. They move forward with bated breath, and tread softly as persons about to witness strange mysteries, or with the silent step of those who enter a sick chamber. Their movements are like those of the attendants or visitors passing from bed to bed in the long corridors of an Italian hospital.

Passo passo andavam senza sermone 70
Guardando ed ascoltando gli ammalati,
Che non potean levar le lor persone.

Step by step we went without speaking, observing and listening to the sick, who were unable to raise their bodies.

Dante now makes out in the gloom two shades undergoing grievous suffering from the irritation caused by skin disease; and he compares their frantic efforts to get relief, to the curry-combing of a horse, or to the scaling of a fish.

Io vidi due sedere a sè poggiati,
Come a scaldar si poggia tegghia * a tegghia,

* *tegghia* (also called *teglia*): There are two kinds of kitchen utensils used as stewpans in Tuscany with much similarity of name, but distinctly different one from the other. *Tegghia*, according to the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, is "a flat vessel of copper, tinned inside, in which are cooked tarts, chestnut cake (*migliaccio*), and like things." Any one familiar with the back streets of Florence will have seen the vendors of the *migliaccio* carrying it in a flat round copper dish under their arm. (See below in the note on *stregghia*, a quotation from Berni's *Rime*, in which *migliaccio* is mentioned). *Tegame* is "a flat earthenware vessel with a raised edge, in which meat is cooked." At the popular restaurants at Florence any stewed meat is cooked in a *tegame*, and the *tegame* itself is then placed on a dish as it is and brought hot to table. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says

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Dal capo al piè di schianze * maculati : 75
E non vidi giammai menare stregghia †
Da ragazzo ‡ aspettato dal signorso,§
Nè da colui che mal volentier vegghia ; ||
Come ciascun menava spesso il morso
Dell' unghie sopra sè per la gran rabbia 80

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that the word *tegghia* is also used for an earthenware or iron vessel, which is used as a cover to place over a plate or over a *tegame.* But in the more general use, *tegghia* is a utensil of copper, and *tegame* is one of red earthenware. The simile in this passage is not borrowed from the kitchens of great people. Dante did not write for such as a Lucullus or an Apicius only, and his similes had to be taken from the most obvious and common objects.

* *schianze :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says the word means the scab that forms over a wound that is healing. Compare Pulci, *Morg. Magg.* xiii, st. 53 :—

"Che pensi tu, che gli desse un buffetto
Da far cadergli del capo due schianzi ?"

See also Berni, *Rime Burlesche,* ed. of 1723, vol. i, p. 105 :—

"Con porri e schianze, e suvi qualche callo."

† *stregghia* (or *streglia*), derived from the Latin *strigilio* and the Greek στλεγγίς, is in modern use an iron instrument with iron teeth, with which horses are rubbed down and scraped. In ancient times the strigil was a bronze instrument used by all frequenters of public baths to scrape off the perspiration from the body. In the following quotation from Berni (*Rime, La Peste,* cap. i), we find both the *teglia,* the *streglia,* and the *migliaccio* mentioned :—

"Adoprasi in quel tempo più la teglia
A far torte e migliacci ed erbolati,
Che la scopetta a Napoli, e la streglia."

‡ *ragazzo :* A note on this passage in Lord Vernon's *Inferno,* vol. i, says that in the Neapolitan dialect *ragazzo* was the word for a stable-boy.

§ *signorso :* An old obsolete form for *signor suo,* as *padremo* for *padre mio, fratelmo* for *fratello mio, suorma* for *suora mia, mogliema* for *moglie mia, figliuolto* for *figliuol tuo,* and *cásata* for *casa tua.* There are abundant instances of these forms among the older Italian writers.

|| *colui che mal volentier vegghia :* Scartazzini remarks that such a one plies the curry-comb furiously, so as to hurry through his work and get to bed.

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Del pizzicor, che non ha più soccorso.
E si traevan giù l' unghie la scabbia,
Come coltel di scardova * le scaglie,
O d' altro pesce che più larghe l' abbia.

I saw two that sat leaning on each other,—as stewpan is propped against stewpan to warm,—spotted from head to foot with scabs: and never saw I curry-comb plied (so vigorously) by stable-boy for whom his master is waiting, or by one who is sitting up against his will (and is eager to get to bed); as each (shade here) was incessantly plying the bite (*i.e.* the sharp points) of his nails over himself by reason of the wild frenzy of the itching; which has no other relief. And the nails tore off the scab, just as a knife does the scales of bream, or of other fish that has them larger still.

Bartoli (*Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vi, part i, pp. 147, 148) says: "It would seem that the terrible imagination of the Poet, in depicting these two last *Bolge* of the Fraudulent, takes pleasure in accumulating together all that it is possible to conceive most repulsive and disgusting. After the mutilated come the shades covered with scab, who scratch themselves continually, and emit a fetid odour of the most sickening description. These are the Falsifiers of metals, and their raging irritation may perhaps be

* *scardova:* According to some, this is the *Abramis Brama*, the Carp Bream; according to others, the *Cyprinus Latus* of Linnæus, a fish which from its large number of scales, required the use of the cook's knife to remove them. Benvenuto remarks that the *scardova* is a certain large-sized white fish of the valley streams (*piscis vallinus*) of short length, having large scales and thick prickles, and that it is a *piscis sanus inter vallinos;* and in reference to *altro pesce che l' abbia più larghe*, he says that it so happens that there is a fish found in the valley streams larger than the *scardova*, and that it is called by some *regina*, by others *scarpa*.

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meant to signify the use they made of things that could never satisfy them. It is, moreover, worthy of remark that Aristotle describes lead as porous gold; and these people, who wanted to convert lead into gold, are now one mass of putrefying leprosy."

Dante, having given his readers a detailed account of the maddening torment of the Alchemists in general, now proceeds to show who these two are that have so riveted his attention, and relates how one of them is addressed by Virgil.

—"O tu che colle dita ti dismaglie,"—* 85
Cominciò il Duca mio all' un di loro,
—"E che fai d' esse tal volta tanaglie,†
Dinne s' alcun Latino ‡ è tra costoro
Che son quinc' entro, se l' unghia ti basti
Eternalmente a cotesto lavoro."— 90

**ti dismaglie:* Buti amplifies this by explaining: "Cioè ti levi la scaglia, come si leva dal coretto [*shirt of mail*] maglia da maglia."

†*tanaglie:* In *La Fiera* of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger, *ed.* Le Monnier, Florence, 1860, p. 47; Giorn. i, Act 2, Messer Equilio. The Judge says:—

"Del più di nomi tai non ho notizia.
Ma attendi a far trochischi [*lozenges*] di vipera:
Questi io conosco, e fian molto giovevoli
Per colui, che rinvolto nella scabbia,
Con tanta fretta si rade e si scortica,
Ch' io non vidi giammai sì presta stregghia
Menar da servo che 'l signor solleciti."

To this Messer Sano, the apothecary, replying, compares the nails to combs for carding flax:—

"N' ho una gran pietà di quel meschino,
Che fa dell' ugna pettini da lino."

‡*Latino:* We have before noticed (Canto xxii, 65, and Canto xxvii, 33), that by *Latino* Dante means an Italian, and more probably one from the South of the Apennines, while to all Italians to the North of that chain, he usually applies the term *Lombardo.* We see that of these two shades, one is from Arezzo, and the other from Siena.

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"O thou that art dismailing thyself with thy fingers," began my Leader to one of them, "and who art sometimes making pincers of them, tell us if there is any Italian among those that are here within, so may thy nails suffice thee for that employment to all eternity."

Benvenuto says that to the scabby man, nothing can seem more delightful than to be able to scratch himself; for which reasons Virgil tells the shade that he augurs for him the continued possession of an instrument that will never fail him, and afford him perpetual relief. Both Benvenuto and Buti observe that as after the relief obtained by scratching, the irritation becomes greater than before, so the Falsifiers, after having obtained gratification from their misdeeds, find they turn into perpetual torment, from the stings of a guilty conscience.

The shade, who is Griffolino d' Arezzo, after answering that they are both Italians, ask Virgil who he is, and Virgil tells him.

—"Latin sem noi, che tu vedi sì guasti
Qui ambedue,"—rispose l' un piangendo:
—"Ma tu chi se', che di noi domandasti?"—
E il Duca disse:—"Io son un* che discendo
Con questo vivo giù di balzo in balzo,† 95
E di mostrar l' inferno a lui intendo."—

"Italians are we, whom thou seest here so disfigured, both of us," replied one of them, weeping; "but who art thou who hast asked about us?"

**Io son un:* Compare *Inf.* xxviii, 46-50, where Virgil speaks in precisely similar terms.

†*di balzo in balzo:* Buti says this means "di cerchio in cerchio, e di ripa in ripa." Tommaséo: "di girone in girone, rappresentando i gironi come le balze digradanti d' un monte."

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And the Leader said: "I am one that descends with this living man from Circle to Circle (*lit.* ledge to ledge), and it is my purpose to show Hell to him."

Benvenuto thinks Virgil wishes to imply that he has not brought Dante to this place to instruct him in Alchemy, nor yet that he may be punished for having practised Alchemy, but rather that he may witness the punishments of the Alchemists, and of the other lost spirits of sinners in Hell.

The two shades are considerably startled at the information imparted to them, and at once raising themselves as well as they can, sit up to look at Dante. Botticelli (*Zeichnungen nach den Originalen zu Berlin*, 1887, obl. folio) represents them sitting, with their backs against each other. The attention of the other shades is also arrested.

Allor si ruppe lo comun rincalzo; *
E tremando ciascuno a me si volse
Con altri che l' udiron di rimbalzo.†

Then their mutual propping up was broken (*i.e.* they started apart); and each turned trembling towards me, as well as the others who had heard him by the rebound (*i.e.* they had only heard Virgil indirectly, as his words had not been addressed to them).

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* *si ruppe lo comun rincalzo:* Compare *Inf.* xvi, 86, 87:—
"Indi rupper la rota, ed a fuggirsi
Ali sembiâr le gambe loro snelle."

† *di rimbalzo:* Virgil had spoken to the two shades sitting together, and his words had been heard, says Bargigi, by other shades, as it were, by repercussion, and Landino remarks that the expression is derived from one playing at the game of *pallone*, who does not return the ball directly, but takes it as it rebounds from the end wall, or, to use a tennis term, "pairs off"; and therefore the shades heard the voice, which was not directed immediately to themselves.

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Benvenuto thinks the shades trembled from weakness, being unable to hold up their bodies when they no longer had each other's support.

Virgil now turns to Dante in a paternal and affectionate manner, and encouraged by him, Dante adjures the shades by their hope of being remembered in the world to say who they were.

Lo buon Maestro a me tutto s' accolse,* 100
Dicendo :—" Di' a lor ciò che tu vuoli."—
Ed io incominciai, poscia ch' ei volse :
—" Se la vostra memoria † non s' imboli ‡

**s' accolse:* Vellutello, who is followed by Tommaséo and Biagioli, understands this expression in the sense of *s' accostò*, as in *Inf.* x, 28, where Dante, having been startled at the voice of Farinata degli Uberti, gathers himself close up to Virgil :—

" . . . però m' accostai,
Temendo, un poco più al duca mio."

Others interpret it : " turned all his attention to me." Fraticelli gives both interpretations, without saying which he prefers, though he puts *s' accostò* first in order.

† *la vostra memoria* is equivalent to " la memoria di voi." *Memoria* here has the force of *ricordamento*, rather, says Di Siena, as an act of remembrance, than as a faculty. Bono Giamboni, an early Italian writer, who flourished between 1260 and 1280, in his *Volgarizzamento del Tesoro di Ser Brunetto Latini*, Lib. i, cap. 16, has the following :—

" Memoria è tesoriera di tutte cose e guardatrice di tutto quello, che l' uomo truova novellamente per sottigliezza d' ingegno, o che l' uomo imprende d' altrui. . . . La memoria è comune agli uomini ed agli altri animali, ma intendimento di ragione non è in neuno altro animale che nell' uomo." Compare also Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, cap. vii :—

" Nel capo son tre celle :
Io ti dirò di quelle,
Davanti è lo ricetto
Di tutto lo 'ntelletto,
E la forza d' apprendere
Quello, che può intendere.
Nel mezzo è la ragione,
E la discrezione,

‡ For foot note see next page.

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Nel primo mondo * dall' umane menti,
Ma s' ella viva sotto molti soli, † 105
Ditemi chi voi siete e di che genti : ‡

Che cerne ben da male,
E 'l torto dall' iguale.
Di dietro sta con gloria
La valente memoria,
Che ricorda e ritene
Quello, che 'n essa vene."

These two passages are quoted by Nannucci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. ii, p. 362.

‡ *s' imboli :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says this is a very ancient form for *s' involi*, the *b* and the *v* being in early Italian readily interchangeable. Compare a passage in the *Rime* of Gianni Alfani, who died about 1327, and of whom, according to Nannucci (*Manuale*, vol. i, p. 303, *et seq.*), but few fragments remain :—

" Ed hai veduta quella che m' imbola
La vita, star pur dura,
E non pregar alcun che ti coprisse."

Nannucci, who was a native of Signa near Florence, adds (p. 305, footnote) that " this change of the *v* into *b* is heard at the present day in all our country side [*contado*], as *fiebole* for *fievole ; affiebolito* for *affievolito.*"

* *Nel primo mondo :* Meaning, the world in which man lives a mortal life ; *l' altro mondo* is that to which he passes after death.

† *sotto molti soli* = " during many years." Compare *Inf.* vi, 67, 68 :—

" Poi appresso convien che questa caggia
Infra tre soli."

And *Purg.* xxi, 100-102 :—

" E per esser vivuto di là, quando
Visse Virgilio, assentirei un sole
Più che non deggio al mio uscir di bando."

For the use of *sole* in the sense of " a day," compare *Inf.* xxxiii, 54 :—

" Infin che l' altro sol nel mondo uscío."

And Virg. *Æn.* iii, 203, 204 :—

" Tres adeo incertos caeca caligine soles
Erramus pelago ; totidem sine sidere noctes."

‡ *di che genti :* The shade had explained (l. 91) that he and his companion were Italians (*Latin sem noi*), and therefore by the word *genti* in Dante's question he is evidently asking them from what States they come. The answer of Griffolino places this beyond a doubt. See l. 109 :—

" Io fui d' Arezzo," etc.

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La vostra sconcia e fastidiosa pena
Di palesarvi a me non vi spaventi."—

The good Master drew quite close up to me, saying: "Tell them whatsoever thou wilt." And I began, since he willed it so: "So may the remembrance of you not vanish away in the first world from the recollection of human beings, but so may it live on under many suns, tell me who ye are and of what race; let not your revolting and grievous punishment make you afraid to declare yourselves to me."

Benvenuto points out that no sight is more loathsome and repulsive than that of one covered with scabs, sores, and blood; and that diseases of this kind will often entirely hinder a man from making himself known. In the allegorical sense, we are to understand that the Alchemists will ever make use of secret arts, which they will reveal to no one, unless it be to one of their own kidney.

One of the shades, Griffolino d' Arezzo, replies to Dante. Benvenuto thinks his story very amusing. It seems that Griffolino was a great physicist and alchemist of Siena, and with an eye to his own emolument he contracted an intimate friendship with one Albero, the reputed son of the Bishop of Siena. Griffolino had a glib and persuasive tongue, and under promise of performing wonderful miracles, contrived to obtain large sums of money from his young dupe. Having heard Griffolino boast that he could fly through the air like a bird, Albero demanded that he should be taught the art. But when he found that Griffolino only renewed his promises and put him off with words, his suspicions were at length

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aroused, and on his complaining to his father, the bishop, the latter caused Griffolino to be tried for practising necromancy, and to be burnt to death.

—"Io fui d' Arezzo, ed Albero* da Siena,"—
Rispose l' un,—"mi fe' mettere al foco;† 110
Ma quel perch' io mori'‡ qui non mi mena.§
Ver è ch' io dissi a lui, parlando a gioco,
Io mi saprei levar per l' aere a volo:
E quei ch' avea vaghezza|| e senno poco,

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* *Albero* for *Alberto*, by which latter name we find him called by Sacchetti (*Novelle* xi and xiv). In these novels he has the credit of being exceedingly stupid, and, when required by the Inquisitor of Siena to recite his *Paternoster*, to have changed the words *Da nobis hodie* into *Donna Bisodia*, a mistake which nearly cost him his life.

† *mi fe' mettere al foco:* Aquarone (*Dante in Siena*, Siena, 1865, p. 60) says: "That Bishop made very short work of them [the Heretics], but it was the custom of the time: for they used then to burn magicians, enchanters, alchemists, *Paterini*, Albigenses, and Heretics of every nomenclature. Frederick II, who, in a general way, was not on the best terms with the Papal Court, was quite ready to oblige them in these matters; and some of the most fierce and pitiless edicts against heretics emanated from him. Dante alludes to this in *Inf.* xxiii, 65, 66, where the Hypocrites are clothed with leaden cloaks:—

'. . . gravi tanto,
Che Federico le mettea di paglia.'

It was the custom of the time; but no record determines which Bishop it was that burned poor Griffolino, though some have conjectured that it may have been Bishop Buonfiglio, who ruled the Diocese of Siena from 1216 to 1252."

‡ *quel perch' io morii:* Had Griffolino been condemned to Hell for practising magic arts, his place of doom would have been in the Fourth *Bolgia* among the Diviners. But it was not for the crime for which he suffered death that Minos condemned him, but for the more heinous sin of alchemy.

§ *mena:* Compare *Inf.* xxviii, 46-47:—

"'Nè morte il giunse ancor, nè colpa il mena,'
Rispose il mio Maestro a tormentarlo."

|| *vaghezza:* The best interpretation of the word in this passage seems that given by Blanc, "curiosity." The following are

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Volle ch' io gli nostrassi l' arte; * e solo 115
Perch' io nol feci Dedalo,† mi fece
Ardere a tal,‡ che l' avea per figliuolo.§
Ma nell' ultima bolgia delle diece
Me per alchimia che nel mondo usai
Dannò Minòs, a cui fallar non lece."— 120

"I was of Arezzo," replied one of them, "and Albero of Siena had me cast into the fire, but that

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some other interpretations: Bargigi: *vanità assai;* Landino, *vana cupidità;* Vellutello, *voglia assai.* Volpi, Lombardi, Fraticelli and Brunone Bianchi, *molta curiosità.* Di Siena thinks it means a strong desire not tempered by sense, as when in *Inf.* viii, 52-54, Dante expresses a malicious desire to see Filippo Argenti soused in the mire:—

"Ed io: 'Maestro, molto sarei vago
Di vederlo attuffare in questa broda,
Prima che noi uscissimo del lago.'"

Again *Purg.* x, 103-105:—

"Gli occhi miei ch' a mirar eran intenti,
Per veder novitadi, onde son vaghi,
Volgendosi vér lui non furon lenti."

And *Purg.* xv, 83, 84:—

"Vidimi giunto in sull' altro girone,
Sì che tacer mi fêr le luci vaghe."

* *l' arte:* That is, the art of flying, though some think *l' arte magica* is intended, as Albero might suppose that the black art would be the means employed to teach him.

† *Dedalo:* Dante alludes to this well-known tale of Mythology in *Inf.* xvii, 109-111:—

"Nè quando Icaro misero le reni
Sentì spennar per la scaldata cera,
Gridando il padre a lui: 'Mala via tieni.'"

‡ *a tal:* The *a* is for *da*, and Di Siena observes that it is so used in constructions in which the following verbs occur: *fare, lasciare, sentire, vedere, udire,* and such like. The *Voc. della Crusca* thinks that it is the sign of a sixth case. Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ii, Novella 6: "Amenduni gli fece pigliare a tre servidori."

§ *che l' avea per figliuolo:* This alludes to his supposed parentage as the son of the Bishop of Siena. On this Benvenuto sententiously observes: "licet forte non esset, quia genitus ex meretrice; et si erat, non audebat dicere quia saepe sacerdotes filios dixere nepotes."

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for which I died does not bring me here. The truth is that I said to him, speaking in jest, that I knew how to raise myself through the air in flight: and he, who had curiosity and little art, insisted that I should teach him the art (of flying); and only because I did not make him a Dædalus, he caused me to be burned by that man (the Bishop of Siena), who held him for his son. But to the last *Bolgia* of the ten, Minos, who cannot err, condemned me because of the alchemy I practised in the world."

Division IV.—Dante cannot forbear from expressing his contempt for the vanity of the people of Siena.*

Ed io dissi al Poeta:—"Or fu giammai
Gente sì vana come la sanese? †
Certo non la francesca sì d' assai."—

And I said to the Poet: "Now was there ever a people so vain as the Sienese? Certainly not the French so much by a long way."

Benvenuto thinks Dante's indignation was roused at the cruelty as well as at the absurdity of the Bishop, who, even more vain than his son, did not blush to have a man burned to death for a silly jest, which he ought merely to have laughed at, and if he wanted to consult his honour, he would have done far better to have concealed his pique. Benvenuto

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* *Siena:* Nothing more offends the Tuscan ear (I was told by Sir James Lacaita) than the habitual mispronunciation of this word by English people. It should be pronounced "Si—è—na," but nine English out of ten say "Sienner."

† *Gente sì vana come la sanese:* Compare *Purg.* xiii, 151-154, where Sapìa of Siena says to Dante:—

"Tu li vedrai tra quella gente vana
Che spera in Talamone, e perderàgli
Più di speranza, che a trovar la Diana;
Ma più vi metteranno gli ammiragli."

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adds that the vanity of the French has always been proverbial, that it is recorded in ancient times by Julius Celsus, and it is seen in Benvenuto's own time. No people are like them for the perpetual adornment of their persons with new forms of clothing and new habits. There is not a single limb to which they do not give its own particular costume; they have chains on the neck, bracelets on the arm, pointed tips to their shoes, etc. "And therefore I do wonder (concludes Benvenuto), nay it makes my blood boil, when I see Italians, and especially the Italian nobility, persist in endeavouring to follow in their footsteps, and learn the French language, asserting that no tongue is so beautiful as the French; * I confess I do not see it; for the Gallic language is merely a bastard of the Latin, as experience teaches."

The Danish comic dramatist, Ludwig Holberg, who is known as the Molière of Denmark, and who flourished about 1720, has in his celebrated drama *Jean de France*, turned into ridicule the absurdities of society at Copenhagen in his time, when even uneducated persons affected a knowledge of the French language which they did not possess, committing, in their attempts to converse in it, the most egregious errors in grammar.

Dante's sarcastic words have caught the ear, and

* As an instance in the nineteenth century of the subserviency of some Italians to the French language, which has here been so condemned by Benvenuto in the fourteenth century, the present writer recollects a young gentleman at Pisa, desirous of displaying his proficiency in French, saying to a Pisan lady: "Madame, j'ai vu votre *bois* à la porte cet après-midi," translating into literal French the Tuscan idiomatic word for a carriage [or for a ship] *legno!*

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excited the sympathy of Griffolino's companion, who, as we afterwards learn, is one Capocchio, himself a native of Siena, which however does not prevent him from vigorously attacking the folly of his countrymen, and especially assailing those of them who were members of the notorious *Brigata Spendereccia* referred to in *Inf.* xiii, 115 *et seq.* He feigns to beg Dante to except them from his general imputation of folly to the Sienese, meaning of course, that the persons he names are the most vain and foolish of all.

Onde l' altro lebbroso che m' intese,
Rispose al detto mio :—" Trammene Stricca,* 125
Che seppe far le temperate spese;
E Niccolò,† che la costuma ‡ ricca

---

* *Trammene Stricca:* Others read *Tranne lo Stricca.* The words express strong irony. Dante really means that the person in question, whose name in full was Stricca di Giovanni de' Salimbeni, Podestà of Bologna in 1276 and again in 1286 was one of the most foolishly lavish dissipators of wealth, even of the *Brigata Spendereccia;* so he says ironically: " Always, of course, excepting Stricca ! " Some say that Stricca is an abbreviation for Baldastricca, and that he was of the family of the Marescotti of Siena. Compare *Inf.* xxi, 41 :—

" Ognun v' è barattier, fuor che Bonturo."

† *Niccolò :* Nannucci (*Manuale della Letteratura,* vol. i, p. 341) says that Folgore da San Gemignano probably alludes to this personage in his *Sonetto Proemiale ad una nobile brigata di Sanesi* in the following lines :—

" In questo regno Niccolò corono,
Poich' elli è il fior della città Sanese."

Nannucci adds that Niccolò dei Salimbeni [who is also called *de' Bonsignori*] gave his whole mind to inventing new kinds of expensive food; and amongst other things he devised a stuffing for pheasants composed of cloves and other costly spices. Some Commentators go so far as to accuse him of using the cloves as the fuel wherewith he roasted his game, and Benvenuto thinks this supposition the most in character.

‡ *costuma* is, according to Di Siena, one of the many nouns of the masculine gender, which for the sake of uniformity come

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Del garofano prima discoperse
Nell' orto * dove tal seme s' appicca;
E tranne la brigata † in che disperse 130
Caccia d' Ascian ‡ la vigna e la gran fronda,

---

to be used in the feminine, such as *etera* for *etere; toraca* for *torace; orizzonta* for *orizzonte.* Early writers also wrote *costumo* and *costumio.*

* *Nell' orto:* Obviously we must take *orto* in the sense of "garden (*hortus*)." "Dice che seminò nell' orto, dove tal seme s' appicchia, il garofano, cioè mise tale uso tra li ghiotti e golosi." (Lana). Others have attempted to show that as the clove is indigenous in the East, Dante meant *orto* in the sense of *oriens.*

† *tranne la brigata:* For an account of the *Brigata Spendereccia* or *godereccia* the reader should turn back to Canto xiii (vol. i, pp. 479-481 of this work). Folgore da San Gemignano (who flourished in 1260) dedicated to the Brigata a series of sonnets, which Dante must certainly have known. He commences as follows:—

"Alla brigata nobile e cortese,
E a tutte quelle parte dove sono,
Con allegrezza stando sempre, dono
Cani, uccelli, e denari per ispese."

In one of the Sonnets written for Wednesdays, the day on which the *Brigata* gave their banquets, he writes:—

"Ogni Mercoledì corredo grande
Di lepri, starne, fagiani, e paoni,
E cotti manzi, ed arrosti capponi,
E quante son delicate vivande:
Donne e donzelle star per tutte bande,
Figlie di Re, di Conti e di Baroni,
E donzelletti giovani garzoni
Servir, portando amorose ghirlande:
Coppe, nappe, bacin d' oro e d' argento,
Vin greco di riviera e di vernaccia,
Frutta, confetti quanti li è 'n talento:
E presentarvi uccellagioni e caccia,
E quanti sono a suo ragionamento
Sieno allegri e con la chiara faccia."

‡ *Caccia d' Ascian:* Scartazzini (*Edizione Minore*, Milano, 1893) says this person was "degli Scialenghi del ramo dei Cacciaconti"; and he quotes the following from the *Commento di Graziolo de' Bambaglioli*, published at Udine in 1892: "Consumpsit omnes possessiones et alia bona in dicta brigata."

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E l' Abbagliato * il suo senno proferse. †

Whereat the other leprous one, who had heard me, answered my words: "Always excepting Stricca, who knew how to spend moderately; and Niccolò, who first discovered the costly use of the clove in the garden where such seed takes root (*i.e.* among the extravagant gluttons of the *Brigata Spendereccia*); and excepting that company in which Caccia d' Asciano dispersed his vineyards and vast forests (*lit.* the vine and the great bough), and Abbagliato displayed his great wisdom.

The shade now passes on to tell Dante of his own identity. Benvenuto remarks that in doing so he mentions his own name, his intelligence and his crime.

Ma perchè sappi chi sì ti seconda
Contra i Sanesi, aguzza vêr me l' occhio ‡
Sì che la faccia mia ben ti risponda; 135

---

* *l' Abbagliato:* Di Siena remarks that some have erroneously supposed *abbagliato* [dazzled] to be only an attribute of the *senno* of Caccia d' Asciano, and signifying that the latter expended the small wits he had in the *Brigata Spendereccia;* but the allusion is evidently to a real person, Bartolommeo di Ranieri dei Folcacchieri, who is said by Landino and the *Ottimo* to have been a man of small means but of good abilities, which however he entirely sacrificed from keeping company with so dissipated a set of spendthrifts.

† *il suo senno proferse:* Aquarone (*Dante in Siena*, Siena, 1865, p. 48) suggests that Abbagliato was the poor man of the "Spendthrift Club" who paid his way by his amusing jokes.

‡ *aguzza vêr me l' occhio* is literally: "sharpen thine eye towards me," *i.e.* look fixedly at me. Compare *Inf.* xv, 20, 21:—

"E sì vêr noi aguzzavan le ciglia
Come 'l vecchio sartor fa nella cruna."

And *Purg.* viii, 19-21:—

"Aguzza qui, Lettor, ben gli occhi al vero,
Chè il velo è ora ben tanto sottile,
Certo, che il trapassar dentro è leggiero."

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Sì vedrai ch' io son l' ombra di Capocchio,*
Che falsai li metalli con alchimia,
E ti dêi ricordar, se ben t' adocchio,
Com' io fui di natura buona scimia."—

But that thou mayest know who thus seconds thee against the Sienese, sharpen thine eye towards me, so that my face may give thee the right response (to thy wish to know my identity); so wilt thou see that I am the shade of Capocchio, who falsified metals by alchemy, and thou shouldest recollect, if I eye thee rightly, what an excellent ape of Nature I was (*i.e.* how admirably I counterfeited Nature)."

Benvenuto remarks that Dante, who calls Capocchio "an ape of Nature," really would seem to have been himself a more noble ape than any one else ever was, seeing that he knew so wonderfully and so subtly to discern and recognise the natures of men of every condition, profession or fortune whatsoever, as well as how to depict their habits, their ways, and their idiosyncrasies so usefully, and with a greater charm than had ever been done before.

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* *Capocchio:* There is some difference of opinion as to whether Capocchio was a Sienese or a Florentine. He is said by some to have been a fellow-student with Dante in the Schools of Natural Philosophy. Benvenuto tells us that he was an artist, and that one Good Friday Dante came upon him in the cloisters of a certain convent, and found that he had been painting on each of his nails, with the most marvellous art and minuteness, the different scenes of the Passion of our Lord. Surprised by Dante, he foolishly licked off with his tongue what had taken him such a long time to execute; and it is for this waste of his talents that Dante contemptuously terms him "a good ape of Nature."

END OF CANTO XXIX.

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CANTO XXX.

THE EIGHTH CIRCLE (CONCLUDED)—THE TENTH *BOLGIA* (CONCLUDED): CONTINUATION OF THE FALSIFIERS OF EVERY SORT—CATEGORY II, NAMELY, FALSIFIERS OF PERSONS—MYRRHA—GIANNI SCHICCHI—CATEGORY III, FALSIFIERS OF MONEY—MAESTRO ADAMO—CATEGORY IV, FALSIFIERS OF WORDS—SINON OF TROY.

IN this Canto the description of the various torments endured by other species of Falsifiers is continued, and the close of the Canto brings us at length to the end of *Malebolge.*

Benvenuto divides it into three parts.

In *Division* I from ver. 1 to ver. 45, Dante mentions the Falsifiers of Persons, among whom he notices Myrrha and Gianni Schicchi.

In *Division* II, from ver. 46 to ver. 90, he describes the torment of the Coiners, who are all afflicted with dropsy, conspicuous among them being the shade of Maestro Adamo da Brescia.

In *Division* III, from ver. 91 to ver. 148, Dante sees the Falsifiers of Words, suffering from burning fever, and among them Potiphar's wife and Sinon of Troy. An unseemly squabble between the latter and Maestro Adamo brings the Canto to an end.

Division I.—There is no break or interruption between the last Canto and this one. The same

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scene is before the reader, and we still have before us one of the actors. But whereas the Falsifiers of every sort are present, the description of their torments travels from one sort to another. Capocchio and Griffolino, the Falsifiers of Metals, are still on the scene, but two Falsifiers of Persons are now introduced, one of whom makes a violent onslaught upon Capocchio. The Falsifiers of Persons are attacked with acute mania, and Dante, wishing to describe adequately how furious that mania was, recalls two personages from mythology and ancient history, whose insanity took the most violent and dangerous form. These are Athamas, King of Thebes, and Hecuba, Queen of Troy.

Athamas is first mentioned.*

> Nel tempo che Junone era crucciata
> Per Semelè † contra il sangue tebano,
> Come mostrò una ed altra fiata,‡

---

* Lana gives very far-fetched interpretations of these similes, assigning to the different personages in the respective tales characters in which they are supposed to portray fire, air, earth, and water. Jupiter, he thinks, represents active virtue!

† *Semelè:* Dante alludes again to this fable in *Par.* xxi, 4-12 :—

> ". . . 'S' io ridessi,'
> Mi cominciò, 'tu ti faresti quale
> Fu Semelè, quando di cener fessi;
> Chè la bellezza mia, che per le scale
> Dell' eterno palazzo più s' accende,
> Com' hai veduto, quanto più si sale,
> Se non si temperasse, tanto splende,
> Che il tuo mortal potere al suo fulgore
> Sarebbe fronda che tuono scoscende.'"

Beatrice means that were she to display her glorified smile, it would consume Dante in a moment, just as Semele was consumed when her prayer to be allowed to see the glory of Jupiter was granted.

‡ *una ed altra fiata:* There is a marked difference between

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Atamante * divenne tanto insano,
Che veggendo la moglie con due figli 5
Andar carcata da ciascuna mano,
Gridò :—"Tendiam le reti, sì ch' io pigli
La leonessa e i leoncini al varco :"—
E poi distese i dispietati artigli,
Prendendo l' un che avea nome Learco,† 10
E rotollo, e percosselo ad un sasso ;
E quella s' annegò con l' altro carco. ‡

---

this expression, which means *on more than one occasion*, and "l' *una e* l' *altra fiata*," which signifies *on two occasions* only. This is explained in the defiant conversation that takes place between Dante and Farinata degli Uberti (*Inf.* x, 46-50), where, Farinata having said of Dante's ancestors :—

". . . 'Fieramente furo avversi
A me ed a' miei primi ed a mia parte,
Sì che per due fiate gli dispersi.'

[Dante replies scornfully]:

"'S' ei fur cacciati, ei tornâr d' ogni parte'
Rispos' io lui, 'l' una e l' altra fiata ;
Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell' arte.'"

* *Atamante :* For the mythological legend of the madness of Athamas, King of Thebes, brought about by the resentment of Juno against his race on account of the love of Jupiter for Semele the daughter of Cadmus, Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 212, 213), observes that Dante has quite evidently written the story with Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 511-529, before his eyes. Compare ll. 512-514 :—

" Protinus Æolides media furibundus in aula
Clamat, Io, comites, his retia tendite silvis !
Hic modo cum gemina visa est mihi prole leaena."

† *Learco . . . rotollo*, et seq : Compare Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 515-518 :—

". . . Parva Learchum
Brachia tendentem rapit, et bis terque per auras
More rotat fundae, rigidoque infantia saxo
Discutit ossa ferox."

‡ *quella s' annegò con l' altro carco :* The death of Ino is thus described by Ovid (*ibid.* 518-529) :—

". . . Tum denique concita mater
. . . . . .
Exululat, passisque fugit male sana capillis :
Teque ferens parvum, nudis, Melicerta, lacertis,

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At the time when Juno on account of Semele was incensed against the Theban race (*lit.* blood), as she showed more than once, Athamas became so maddened, that seeing his wife come laden on either hand with their two sons, he cried: "Let us spread the nets so that I may catch the lioness and the lion-cubs on the passage:" and then he stretched out his pitiless talons, seizing the one who was named Learchus, and whirled him round, and dashed him against a rock; and she (his wife) drowned herself with her other burden (*i.e.* child).

E quando la fortuna * volse in basso †

Evoe, Bacche, sonat. Bacchi sub nomine Juno
Risit; et Hos usus praestet tibi, dixit, alumnus.
Imminet aequoribus scopulus; pars ima cavatur
Fluctibus, et tectas defendit ab imbribus undas;
Summa riget, frontemque in apertum porrigit aequor.
Occupat hunc (vires insania fecerat) Ino;
Seque super pontum, nullo tardata timore,
Mittit, *onusque suum.*"

Dr. Carlyle favourably compares the terseness of Dante with the verbosity of detail in Ovid, and also "the fresh touches by which he shows the very heart of the story here and elsewhere."

* *fortuna:* We have here a parallel to what Dante says about Fortune in *Inf.* vii, 67-96. Note especially ll. 88-90:—

"Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue:
Necessità la fa esser veloce,
Sì spesso vien chi vicenda consegue."

And ll. 95, 96:—

"Con l' altre prime creature lieta
Volve sua spera, e beata si gode."

Compare also *Par.* xvi, 79-84:—

"Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte
Sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna
Che dura molto, e le vite son corte.
E come il volger del ciel della luna
Copre e discopre i liti senza posa,
Così fa di Fiorenza la fortuna."

† *volse in basso:* Implying that the prosperity of Troy, by a downward turn of the wheel of Fortune, was brought to the lowest depression.

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L' altezza de' Troian che tutto ardiva,*
Sì che insieme col regno il re fu casso; † 15
Ecuba ‡ trista misera e cattiva,§
Poscia che vide Polissena || morta,

---

* *che tutto ardiva:* This means, "which hesitated at nothing"; not even at such crimes as the treachery of King Laomedon to Hercules, or the rape of the Grecian Queen Helen by the Trojan Paris.

† *casso:* The verb *cassare* is to destroy, annihilate, blot out. Compare *Gen.* vii, 4: "and every living substance that I have made will I destroy [*marg. ref.* 'blot out'] from off the face of the earth." And *Ex.* xxxii, 33: "Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book." And *Deut.* ix. 14: "Let me alone, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven." In modern Italian telegraphy, the words *una parola cassata* written on a telegram, signify "one word erased." Benvenuto points out how very appropriate is the expression *casso*, for in this unhappy incident, king, queen, and the whole of the blood royal, perished with the kingdom. But, he says, that in most cases where a king is dethroned and his power destroyed, it usually happens that the realm continues entire, though transferred to another authority, as happened iu the cases of Tarquinius Superbus, and others.

‡ *Ecuba:* After the destruction of Troy, Hecuba, the widow of King Priam, was with her daughter Polyxena carried captive into Greece. Being bereaved of Polyxena, who was offered up as a victim upon the tomb of Achilles, and then finding on the sea-shore the dead body of her son Polydorus, who had been murdered by his treacherous protector Polymnestor, King of Thrace, Hecuba became insane from grief, and the lamentations she uttered were said to resemble the barking of a dog. See Euripides *Hecuba.* Also Ovid, *Metam.* xiii, 404-406:—

"Troja simul Priamusque cadunt: Priameïa conjux
Perdidit infelix hominis post omnia formam,
Externasque novo latratu terruit auras."

§ *cattiva:* The primary signification of *cattivo* is (from the Latin *captivus*) *prigioniero.* It next comes to mean "unhappy, miserable, discontented"; and eventually after several intermediate gradations takes the meaning by which it is generally known, namely, "the contrary of good, wicked." The Greek word πονηρὸς seems to have gone through a precisely similar change of meaning.

|| *Polissena:* Compare Ovid, *Metam.* xiii, 448:—

"Placet Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes."

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E del suo Polidoro * in sulla riva
Del mar si fu la dolorosa accorta,
Forsennata latrò sì come cane; † 20
Tanto il dolor le fe' la mente torta.

And when Fortune turned downward the pre-eminence of the Trojans who dared all things, so that the King (Priam) together with his realm was annihilated; (Queen) Hecuba, sad, broken-hearted, and a captive, after she had seen Polyxena dead, and when the sorrowing woman discovered her dead Polydorus on the sea-shore, she, out of her senses, barked like a dog; to such a degree did grief distort her mind.

Dante next shows how neither of these examples of raging madness can compare with the fury of the two shades whom he now describes.

Ma nè di Tebe furie nè Troiane
Si vider mai in alcun tanto crude,
Non punger bestie, non che membra umane,
Quant' io vidi in due ombre smorte e nude 25
Che mordendo correvan in quel modo
Che il porco quando del porcil si schiude.

But neither furies of Thebes (*i.e.* Athamas) nor of Troy (*i.e.* Hecuba) were ever seen in any one so cruel, not in goading beasts, much less human

---

* *Polidoro:* Compare Ovid. *Metam.* xiii, 536:—
"Adspicit ejectum Polydori in littore corpus."

† *latrò sì come cane:* Compare Ovid, *ibid.* 567-569:—
". . . At haec missum rauco cum murmure saxum
Morsibus insequitur; rictuque in verba parato
Latravit, conata loqui."

Cane is used here by Dante for *cagna*, a use which, though uncommon, is not wholly exceptional. In the *Rime* of Agnolo Firenzuola (*Opere*, 5 vols. 8vo, *Milano*, 1802, Vol. 4, p. 102), in the *Satira a S. Pandolfo Pucci*, the following passage occurs:—
"Donde le vien questa superbia adunque
A questa arpia, a questa furia, a questa
Rabbiosa cane, a questa orribil tigre."

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limbs, as I saw in two pale and naked shades, that ran about biting in that savage way that a boar does when he is let out of his sty.

The two shades, as we shall presently see, are those of Gianni Schicchi and Myrrha.

Capocchio is now set upon by one of the maniac shades, and his companion Griffolino tells Dante who is the aggressor.

L' una giunse a * Capocchio, ed in sul nodo
Del collo † l' assannò sì che tirando
Grattar gli fece il ventre al fondo sodo. 30
E l' Aretin, che rimase tremando,
Mi disse :—" Quel folletto ‡ è Gianni Schicchi,
E va rabbioso altrui così conciando."—

One seized upon Capocchio, and in the nape of his neck so fixed its fangs, that dragging him, it made his belly grate along the solid bottom (of the *Bolgia*). And the Aretine (*i.e.* Griffolino), who remained trembling, said to me: "That mad sprite is Gianni Schicchi, and rabid he goes about mangling others in that fashion."

The best and fullest account of the doings of

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* *giunse a:* Among the various significations of this verb given by the *Voc. della Crusca* (Manuzzi) the best seems to be § xi, *acchiappare*, Gr. καταλαμβάνειν. Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. vii, Nov. 6: "Messer Lambertuccio, messo il piè nella staffa, e montato su, non disse altro, se non 'Al corpo di Dio io il giugnerò altrove,' et andò via."

† *nodo del collo:* Some have tried to prove that Dante meant the *pomo d' Adamo* in the front of the throat, but all the best Commentators are agreed that the whole action of the two personages in the scene shows that the one ran after the other, and attacked him behind, fastening his teeth in the cervical vertebrae.

‡ *folletto:* Scartazzini says this is properly the epithet applied to certain malignant spirits, which, superstition averred, and still avers, went flying about through the air, and causing disturbance among the habitations of men.

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Gianni Schicchi is given by the *Anonimo Fiorentino*: "This Gianni Sticchi [most texts read Schicchi] was of the family of the Cavalcanti of Florence, and it is said of him that Messer Buoso Donati (see *Inf.* XXV, 140), being afflicted with a mortal illness, was desirous of making a will, inasmuch as he felt he had a good deal of other people's property of which he was bound to make restitution. His son Simone kept parleying with him to persuade him not to do so, and he parleyed so long that at last Buoso died [intestate]. When he was dead Simone kept him hid, and was in much tribulation lest he might have made a will before he fell ill, and many people said he had. Simone, not knowing whose advice to take, asked that of Gianni Sticchi. Now it so happened that Gianni had a talent for counterfeiting every man, both with voice and gestures, and especially Messer Buoso, with whom he was very intimate. So he said to Simone, 'Send for a notary, and tell him that Messer Buoso wants to make his will: I will get into his bed, and we will shove him behind, and I will wrap myself well up, and put his night-cap upon my head, and I will dictate the will in the terms thou desirest, though, to speak the truth, I want to get some profit out of it.' Simone agreed to this; Gianni got into bed, showed himself very ailing, and counterfeited the voice of Buoso so perfectly that he seemed to be his very self, and commenced to dictate his will and to say: "I leave twenty *soldi* to the building fund of Santa Reparata, five *lire* to the Minor Friars, and five to the *Predicatori*,' and in this way he began leaving legacies for works of charity,

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but for very small sums, at which Simone was rejoicing, when the testator added: 'And I leave five hundred florins to Gianni Sticchi.' At this Simone exclaimed: 'Yes, but thou must not put that in the will; I will give him whatever sum thou leavest!' Gianni replied: 'Simone, please to allow me to leave my property as I like; I trow thou shouldest be content, as I am going to leave thee so well off.' Simone, through fear, was constrained to hold his peace. Gianni went on: 'And I leave to Gianni Sticchi my mule'; for Messer Buoso had the best mule in all Tuscany. 'O Messer Buoso,' cried Simone, 'he does not care much for that mule, indeed he used not to be good friends with her.' 'Anyhow,' replied Gianni Sticchi, 'he cared more for her than you do.' Simone began to get very angry, and to writhe with rage, but fear kept him silent. Gianni Sticchi went on: 'And I leave moreover to Gianni Sticchi one hundred florins due to me from such and such a neighbour of mine: and for the remainder I constitute Simone my residuary legatee, on this proviso, that he must see every bequest executed within fifteen days, failing which the entire heritage is left to the Minor Friars of the Convent of Santa Croce.' Gianni then got out of the bed, in which they immediately replaced Messer Buoso, and they began lamenting, and announced his death."*

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* Readers of Charles Lever's novel *The Confessions of Con Cregan* will recollect a similar incident, in which Con's father accedes to the request of the younger son of a recently deceased farmer to personate the latter, and leave the property to the said younger son. The will is dictated before witnesses, and the counterfeit father concludes by leaving to himself the

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Dante seeing that Griffolino is evidently terrified lest the other raving shade should fasten on him, adjures him, by all his hopes of escaping the assault, to tell him who it is.

—"O,"—diss' io lui,—"se l' altro non ti ficchi
Li denti addosso, non ti sia fatica 35
A dir chi è, pria che di qui si spicchi."—*

"O," said I to him, "so may the other not set his teeth on thee, let it not weary thee to tell who it is before it departs from hence."

Griffolino tells Dante that the last shade is that of Myrrha, daughter of Cinaros, King of Paphos, guilty of abominable incest; and that both she, as well as her companion Gianni Schicchi, who (as we related above) helped to falsify a will, perpetrated their crimes by the successful personation of others.

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two most valuable acres on the whole farm. Charles Lever resided at Florence, must have known the story of Gianni Schicchi, and probably founded upon it the incident narrated in his novel.

**si spicchi:* Equivalent to the French *s' éloigner;* and the Latin *discedere.* Greek ἀποχωρεῖν. Compare *Purg.* xxi, 106-108:—

"Che riso e pianto son tanto seguaci
Alla passion da che ciascun si spicca, [*takes its origin*]
Che men seguon voler nei più veraci."

Compare also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* x, st. 26:—

"Ma i venti che portavano le vele
Per l' altro mar di quel giovane infido,
Portavano anco i prieghi e le querele
Dell' infelice Olimpia e 'l pianto e 'l grido;
La qual tre volte, a sè stessa crudele,
Per affogarsi si spiccò dal lido."

Compare also Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. vii, Nov. 2: "chè non fo il dì e la notte altro che filare, tanto che la carne mi s' è spiccata dall' unghia." *Spiccare* is the contrary of *appiccare.*

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Ed egli a me :—"Quell' è l' anima antica *
Di Mirra scellerata,† che divenne
Al padre, fuor del dritto amore, amica.
Questa a peccar con esso così venne 40
Falsificando sè in altrui forma,
Come l' altro che là sen va sostenne,‡
Per guadagnar la donna della torma,§
Falsificare in sè Buoso Donati,
Testando, e dando al testamento norma."—‖ 45

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* *antica:* Meaning that Myrrha was a personage of old time, of ancient history. The use of the word is frequent in the *Divina Commedia.* See *Inf.* i., 116: "gli antichi spiriti dolenti"; *Inf.* ii, 102: "l' antica Rachele"; and *Inf.* v, 71: "le donne antiche e i cavalieri."

† *Mirra scellerata:* This unsavoury story is related in Ovid, *Metam.* x, 300-503. In Dante's Epistle to Henry VII, (*Epist.* vii, ll. 146-148), he compares Florence to Myrrha: "haec Myrrha scelesta et impia, in Cinyrae patris amplexus exaestuans." Di Siena observes that there exists a very ancient translation of this epistle, in which the above passage runs as follows: "Questa è Mirra scelerata ed empia, la quale s' infiamma nel fuoco degli abbracciamenti del padre."

‡ *sostenne:* The full effect of the word here is not only the daring to do the deed, but to have the hardihood and constancy to go through so long an ordeal, and to keep up the imposture before many witnesses, Gianni himself dictating all the clauses, and discussing with the notary the legal forms.

§ *la donna della torma:* In the *Comento di Anonimo* (ed. Lord Vernon, Florence, 1848) the animal mentioned is a mare, known by the name of Madonna Tonina [*la più bella chavalla che fosse in una torma chera stata desso Buoso, la quale chavalla si chiamava Madonna Tonina*].

‖ *dando al testamento norma:* Di Siena remarks that Dante has first used the word *testando*, which signifies making a disposition according to the exact terms prescribed by law: *dare una norma* is the same as *dare una regola*, in accordance with which a thing has to be carried out. It might therefore be contended that Gianni may be said to have *dato norma al testamento*, in that he not only fulfilled all the duties of the testator, but even of a jurisconsult and a notary. Di Siena prefers the interpretation that *Buoso falsificò in atto di testare e dar norma al testamento*, taking *norma* not so much with the idea of *legal forms*, as of *regular order* in which we find the notary

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And he to me: "That is the ancient shade of abandoned Myrrha, who became her father's concubine in unhallowed love. She came to sin with him after this manner, falsifying herself into another's form, even as the other (Gianni Schicchi) who is going away there, had the hardihood, that he might gain the queen (*i.e.* the fairest mare or she-mule) of the stud, to counterfeit in his own person Buoso Donati, making a will, and giving to the will due legal form."

Division II.—We are now to witness the punishment of the Coiners, who are Falsifiers of Money. We are not specially introduced to them; Dante merely remarking that as Myrrha and Gianni Schicchi rushed away, he looked round to see who else there might be worthy of his notice.

E poi che i due rabbiosi fur passati,
Sopra cu' io avea l' occhio tenuto,

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taking down in writing and improving the testamentary act according to forms prescribed by the law, while the testator is dictating his wishes. In that way we see with what consummate fraudulent art Schicchi was able to keep up the scene for so long a time, and represent his part in a way to deceive every one. Di Siena thinks that the will in which Schicchi personated Buoso was a *nuncupative will*, and that Dante, by the words *dando al testamento norma*, intended, by poetic elocution, to signify the same; and by *norma* he only meant the declaration of the testator, in accordance with which the will would then be drawn up *in extenso* by the notary. Also that this *norma* is called in Justinian's *Codex*, Lib. vi, Tit. xxii, Lex 8, *moderamen voluntatis*: "Hac consultissima lege sancimus, ut carentes oculis, seu morbo [vitiove], seu ita nati, per nuncupationem suae condant moderamina voluntatis, [scilicet] praesentibus septem testibus . . . edoceant," etc. Di Siena contends that Dante has himself told us in this passage what the commentators had not observed, by determining the special testamentary form that Simone and Gianni Schicchi selected in order to accomplish their fraud.

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Rivolsilo a guardar gli altri mal nati.*

And when the rabid pair, upon whom I had kept my eye, had passed on, I turned it to look upon the other wretched (souls).

Dante next describes the chastisement of one particular coiner, Adamo da Brescia, his interview with whom lasts till the end of the Canto. He specifies the nature of the torment by comparing Adamo's appearance to that of a lute; because the shade in question is afflicted with dropsy, and therefore exhibits a long emaciated face and neck and a swollen belly. Benvenuto gives at great length various reasons for the peculiar adaptability of dropsy as a punishment for Coiners.

Io vidi un fatto a guisa di liuto,
Pur ch' egli avesse avute l' anguinaia 50
Tronca dal lato che l' uomo ha forcuto.
La grave idropisì, che sì dispaia
Le membra † con l' umor che mal converte,‡
Che il viso non risponde alla ventraia,

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* *mal nati:* The *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *malnato*, § 2, interprets the word *malnato*, as "Sciagurato." Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xvii, st. 3:—

"Di questo abbiam non pur al tempo antiquo,
Ma ancora al nostro, chiaro esperimento,
Quando a noi, greggi inutili e mal nati,
Ha dato per guardian lupi arrabbiati."

† *che sì dispaia le membra:* The effect of dropsy is to destroy the just proportion between the different parts of the body. Some become swollen, others emaciated.

‡ *converte:* Di Siena observes that nearly all the Commentators take the verb *convertere* in the sense of to transmute, to work out, to direct, to assimilate. He does not think Dante has wished to show himself more pathologist than poet from his having explained to us incidentally the nature of the disease, but has merely intended to draw attention to the fact, leaving

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Faceva a lui tener le labbra aperte, 55
Come l' etico fa, che per la sete
L' un verso il mento e l' altro in su riverte.*

I saw one shaped in fashion of a lute, if only he had had his groin cut short at that part which man has forked. The heavy dropsy, which so disproportions the limbs with the moisture which perverts all food, that the face no longer corresponds to the belly, forced him to keep his lips wide open, as does the hectic patient, who from thirst curls one (lip) towards his chin, and the other one upwards.

Dante makes the shade last mentioned manifest himself by his name, his crime, and his punishment.

—"O voi, che senza alcuna pena siete
(E non so io perchè) nel mondo gramo,"—†
Diss' egli a noi,—"guardate ‡ ed attendete 60

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it to others, if they so wish, to trace out the causes. Among the compounds of *vertere*, Dante does not use *avertere*, *pervertere*, *divertere*, or *invertere*, but only *convertere*, which properly signifies *volgere più cose insieme a un luogo;* meaning, that dropsy throws the different members into disproportion, and causes the face to be out of proportion to the belly; and for the reason that *mal converte l' umore*, that is, that the dropsy, to the hurt of the body, collects all the moisture into one part, and causes other parts to have a deficiency of it.

* *riverte* or *rinverte:* The *Vocabolario della Crusca* (Manuzzi) says this verb is the same as the Latin *convertere* or the Greek *συστρέφειν*. Venturi asserts that the word is exclusively Dantesque, but Lombardi disputes this, affirming that it is used both by Frezzi, and Beato Jacopone.

† *gramo:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) derives the word from the German *Gram*, grief; Scartazzini says the word is an adjective, and has the sense of *misero*, *dolente*. In the present passage *mondo gramo* signifies *mondo doloroso*, *i.e. Inferno*.

‡ *guardate*, et seq.: Dante makes the coiner use the words of Jeremiah in *Lamentations* i, 12: "Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow." Di Siena remarks that it ought not to be made a reproach to Dante that he has here put the words of Scripture into the mouth of such a sinner, for the Italian language draws many of its beauties from the

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Alla miseria del maestro Adamo; *
Io ebbi vivo assai di quel ch' io volli,†
Ed ora, lasso! un gocciol ‡ d' acqua bramo.

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ancient classics, and also from the Bible, and early Italian writers extracted many grave conceptions and expressions from them without any thought of desecrating holy things by applying them to the profane.

**maestro Adamo:* This notorious coiner was a native of Brescia. He was employed by the Counts Guido of Romena to coin for them a large number of false Florentine florins. Some time later, a house at Borgo San Lorenzo in the Mugello being burnt down, an immense hoard of these false florins was discovered. Troya (*Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, Florence, 1826, p. 25) says the house in question belonged to the Anchioni. There are some, however, who contend that the house of this family was not in the *town* of Borgo San Lorenzo in the district of the Mugello, but in the street *at Florence* called Borgo San Lorenzo. Maestro Adamo, having been identified as the coiner, was burned alive on the public road that leads from Florence to Romena, and which crosses a mountain near there that ever after bore the name of *La Consuma.* And Troya adds: "The spot is still to be seen where it is believed that Maestro Adamo suffered death. It is known as *la Macià dell' uomo morto* [the cairn of the dead man]: the passer-by is wont to cast a stone upon it, and calls to mind the beautiful lines by means of which Dante condemned the coiner to perpetual infamy." These words of Troya may also remind us of the cairn under which Manfred's body lay, as described by his shade to Dante (*Purg.* iii, 127-129):—

"L' ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In co' del ponte presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora."

Troya says that in the time of Dante this false money was a pest which was defiling the whole of Tuscany. Adamo is called *Maestro* here and *Mastro* further on to denote his conspicuous pre-eminence in his evil art. We have already explained in a note on *Inf.* xxvii, 95, that the primary sense of *maestro* is an expert in anything."

†*ebbi vivo assai di quel ch' io volli:* Compare *Luke* xvi, 24, 25.

‡*gocciolo* is less frequent than *gocciola*, but is much used in Tuscany still; particularly its diminutive *un gocciolino.* Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. viii, Nov. 3: "E ivi presso correva un fiumicel di vernaccia, della migliore che mai si bevve, senza avervi entro gocciol d' acqua."

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Li ruscelletti che dei verdi colli
Del Casentin * discendon giuso in Arno, 65
Facendo i lor canali freddi e molli,
Sempre mi stanno innanzi,† e non indarno; ‡
Chè l' imagine lor vie più m' asciuga,
Che il male ond' io nel volto mi discarno.
La rigida giustizia che mi fruga,§ 70

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* *Casentin:* The beautiful hill district of the upper valley of the Arno is known as the Casentino. In it are situated the great and ancient monasteries of Camaldoli and La Verna, and the range of the Prato Magno separates them from Vallombrosa. Ampère (*Voyage Dantesque*) says of the Casentino: "Il y a dans ces vers intraduisibles un sentiment de fraîcheur humide. Je dois à la verité de dire que le Casentin était beaucoup moins frais et moins verdoyant dans la realité que dans la poésie de Dante, et qu' au milieu de l'aridité qui m'entourait, cette poésie, par sa perfection même, me faisait éprouver quelque chose du supplice de Maître Adam."

† *mi stanno innanzi:* Tasso is said to have imitated this passage in the following beautiful lines (*Ger. Lib.* xiii, 60):—

"S' alcun giammai tra frondeggianti rive
Puro vide stagnar liquido argento,
O giù precipitose ir acque vive
Per alpe, o 'n piaggia erbosa a passo lento;
Quelle al vago desio forma e descrive,
È ministra materia al suo tormento;
Chè l' immagine lor gelida e molle
L' asciuga e scalda, e nel pensier ribolle."

‡ *non indarno:* Horace (2 *Carm.* ii, 13-16) compares a miser to one suffering from dropsy:—

"Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
Fugerit venis, et aquosus albo
Corpore languor."

In the miser the insatiable thirst for gold is only increased by its gratification, and in the dropsical man the drinking of water, so far from slaking thirst, only aggravates it tenfold.

§ *fruga:* Compare *Purg.* iii, 3:—

"Rivolti al monte ove ragion ne fruga."

The primary meaning of *frugare* is to hunt about, search for anything, to stimulate, to incite, but the *Gran Dizionario* s.v. *frugare*, § 9, gives to both the above passages the sense of *pungere, castigare;* Donkin (*Etym. Dict.*) has: "FRUGARE It.,

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Tragge cagion del loco ov' io peccai,
A metter più li miei sospiri in fuga.*

"O ye, who are without any punishment—and I know not why—in the world of anguish (*i.e.* Hell)," said he to us, "behold and contemplate the misery of Maestro Adamo. When alive I had abundance of what I wished for, and now alas! I long for a drop of water. The little brooks, which from the green hills of the Casentino run down into the Arno, making their channels cool and moist, are ever before me, and not in vain; for their image dries me up far more than the malady through which I lose the flesh of my face. The inexorable justice that torments me, takes its opportunity from the very place where I sinned, to set my sighs the more on the wing.

Maestro Adamo means that his memories add to his torment; for the recollection of the cool and refreshing streams flowing through the green pastures of his native hills, only serves to render more intolerable the raging thirst that is burning his vitals. He goes on to tell Dante the name of the precise spot in the Casentino where his crime was perpetrated (*loco ov' io peccai*).

Ivi è Romena,† là dov' io falsai

Sp. *hurgar*, Pg. *forcar*, N. Pr. *furgá*, O. Fr. *furgier*, to stir with a stick, sound, probe, search; with inserted vowel, Ven. *furegare*, Sard. *forogai*. *Cf.* Ital. *rinvergare* from *verga*, Piedm. *fustignè* from *fustis*, Lat. *percontari*, which is perhaps from *contus*."

* *A metter più li miei sospiri in fuga:* Benvenuto interprets this: "id est, mea desideria magis longe a me, ut non valeam consequi quod opto." Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) thinks that in this passage *fuga* has the sense of *foga*, *la fougue*, the ardour, impetuosity, of Adamo's desires.

† *Romena:* Lord Vernon (*Inferno*, vol. iii, tavola xci) says that this was a castle of the Conti Guidi, and before them

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La lega * suggellata del Batista,
Perch' io il corpo su arso lasciai. 75

There is Romena, where I falsified the coinage stamped with the Baptist, for which up above (on earth) I left my body burnt (at the stake).

The golden florin of the Florentine State bore on the one side the effigy of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the city, and on the other the lily flower (*fiore*) from which the coin (*fiorino*) took its name.

Adamo now speaks with bitter vindictiveness of the Counts Guidi, his former employers, declaring that he would even give up the prospect of quenching

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it belonged to a branch of the Conti Alberti. It is now half ruined. It is situated in the valley of the Arno, called the Casentino, upon a hill about a mile to the S.W. of Prato-vecchio. The eastern slopes of the hill in question are washed by the Arno, and to the S. and S.W. the Fosso delle Pilozze forms its boundary. The castle gave the title of Count of Romena to one of the scions of the Conti Guidi. In 1247 Count Guido di Aghinolfo di Romena obtained privilege from the Emperor Frederick II. He was the father of the three brothers mentioned in l. 77.

* *falsai la lega:* This means that Maestro Adamo fraudulently altered the legal proportions of the metals, so as to diminish the intrinsic value of the currency. I find in Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary*, "*Lega* It., Sp. *ley*, Fr. *loi aloi*, standard of metals." The signification of "*alloy*" (as in *Par.* ii, 139) is of much later date. The gold florin of Florence bore the image of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the city. I find in the *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *lega*, § 16 and § 26, a quotation from Vincenzio Borghini (*Della Moneta Fiorentina*), which shows that *lega* signified "the coinage, the standard, the currency": "E quanto alla lega, pare che l' anno 1372 la variassono, conducendola a once due d' argento, diece di rame." Compare also the sarcastic allusion in *Par.* xviii, 133-135:—

". . . I' ho fermo il disiro
Sì a colui che volle viver solo,
E che per salti fu tratto al martiro."

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his burning thirst, if only he could see them suffering beside him.

> Ma s' io vedessi qui l' anima trista
> Di Guido, o d' Alessandro, o di lor frate,*
> Per fonte Branda non darei la vista.

> But could I just see here the miserable soul of Guido, or of Alessandro, or of their brother (Aghinolfo), I would not give up the sight for the Fonte Branda.

Di Siena remarks that a more savage hatred is not conceivable; and at the same time it is one of those not unfrequent touches in which the gigantic power of Dante's mind, and his marvellous art, blazes forth.

In Lord Vernon's great folio edition of the *Inferno* (Vol. iii, plates xcv, and xcvi) there are representations of three different fountains bearing the name of Fonte Branda. They are: (1) the Fontebranda di Borgo alla Collina, in the Valdarno Casentinese; (2) the Fontebranda which lies to the South of the outer walls of the Castle of Romena, once a spring of much celebrity, but now nearly dried up; and (3) the Fontebranda in Siena, the waters of which are exceedingly abundant and limpid. Almost all the Commentators, who probably knew no other Fontebranda than that

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* *Guido . . . Alessandro . . . lor frate:* Tommaséo remarks that the allusion to the waters of the Casentino, and to the Lords of Romena, through whose territory the said waters flowed, was probably because Dante took part in a campaign against Arezzo, waged from the Casentino in 1289 (see G. Villani, vii, 131), when he fought for the first time at the battle of Campaldino. Later on he received the hospitality of the Counts during his exile; but afterwards, being irritated at their inefficiency [*dappocaggine*] during the disastrous expedition against Florence, he left them.

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of Siena, took it for granted that Maestro Adamo was alluding to that spring; but there can be little doubt that he meant the Fontebranda of Romena.

We are to infer from the lines that follow, that Maestro Adamo must have heard of the death of one of the brothers Guidi, from some of the other shades, and either knows or conjectures that he is in Hell, but Adamo explains that mere knowledge of the suffering will not glut his vengeance, as he cannot witness it.

Dentro c' è l' una già, se l' arrabbiate
Ombre * che van dintorno dicon vero: 80
Ma che mi val, ch' ho le membre legate?
S' io fossi pur di tanto ancor leggiero
Ch' io potessi in cent' anni andare un' oncia,†
Io sarei messo ‡ già per lo sentiero,
Cercando lui tra questa gente sconcia, 85
Con tutto ch' ella volge undici miglia,§
E men d' un mezzo di traverso non ci ha. ||

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* *arrabbiate ombre:* This refers to the Falsifiers of Persons, such as Gianni Schicchi, Myrrha, and others, who rush about the *Bolgia* in maniacal frenzy, biting every Alchemist on whom they can set their teeth.

† *un' oncia:* The English word *inch* is the equivalent to *oncia* the twelfth part of a foot, in more modern Italian called *pollice.* In *Par.* ix, 57, Dante uses *oncia* to express the twelfth part of a pound weight like the English *ounce:*—

"E stanco chi il pesasse ad oncia ad oncia."

‡ *Io sarei messo:* The full sentence would be *io mi sarei messo in cammino.*

§ *volge undici miglia:* See Canto xxix, 9.

|| *non ci ha:* Dante has introduced these three words by a poetic license to rhyme with *oncia* and *sconcia,* and they must be pronounced as if they were written *nóncia.* We have two similar cases, namely, in *Inf.* vii, 28, where *pur li* is made to rhyme with *urli* and *burli;* and in *Purg.* xx, 4, where we find *per li* rhyming with *piacerli* and *merli*

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Io son per lor tra sì fatta famiglia; *
Ei m' indussero a battere i fiorini,
Che avean tre carati di mondiglia." 90

Within (this *Bolgia*) there is one of them already, if the raging shades that circle round speak true; but what does that avail me, who have my limbs bound (by disease)? If I were only still so light that I could in a hundred years move one inch, I should already have set forth along the path, seeking him out amid this squalid rabble, although it (the *Bolgia*) has a circumference of eleven miles, and has not less than a half-mile across. Because of them (the three brothers) am I among a troop so circumstanced: they led me on to coin the florins which had three carats' weight of alloy."

The *Ottimo*, in the *Proemio* to Canto xxix, draws attention to the contrast between Dante's treatment of Alchemists and that of Coiners. The former are made to suffer from skin irritation, the latter are crushed down with dropsy. "Not only by Alchemy can money be falsified: Fraud can be especially perpetrated in casting and stamping it of less value than usual, and this is a public fraud; for, as the Philosopher shows in his fifth book of the *Ethics*, money was invented for the common utility and benefit of mankind; and therefore, in this, fraud is committed, and disorder and injustice are introduced into the

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**famiglia:* The word is often used, as here, to express a band, a troop, as in *Inf.* iv, 132, where a group of philosophers is styled *filosofica famiglia;* and in *Inf.* xv, 22, where Dante describes how he was eyed closely by the band in which he found his old friend Brunetto Latini:—

"Così adocchiato da cotal famiglia."

The city-guard, the watch, was in the time of Dante commonly spoken of as "La famiglia". See note on *Geri del Bello, Inf.* xxix, 27.

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use of money, where, before, its use had been upright and orderly." Tommaséo thinks that Dante must certainly have had in his eye the passage in the *Ethics* here alluded to, and looked upon forgery as a crime that disturbed social order and commerce, for which reason we find him visiting it with so tremendous a penalty. Scartazzini says that the Florentine florins ought to have twenty-four carats of pure gold. Landino explains that these florins of Maestro Adamo, which should have contained twenty-four carats of pure gold, were really only of twenty-one, with three carats of base metal.

Division III.—Dante remarks two shades lying hard by, and he asks Maestro Adamo who they are. He learns that they were Falsifiers of Words, and are Potiphar's wife, and Sinon who persuaded the Trojans to take the wooden horse into Troy. Their penalty is a raging fever, which consumes the brain, and causes the limbs to smoke from the evaporation of their burning sweat. They are lying close to the coiner, for we read further on that he and Sinon are near enough to exchange blows.

Ed io a lui :—"Chi son li due tapini *

**tapini:* Compare *Inf.* xxiv, 11 :—

"Come il tapin che non sa che si faccia."

And in the Apocryphal *Credo* attributed to Dante, ll. 64, 65 :—

"Dalle quai pene noi alme tapine
Ci guardi e campi lo Spirito Santo."

Donkin (*Etym. Dict.*) has: "TAPINO and Fr. TAPIR (*se tapir*) to squat, to crouch, O. Fr. *s'atapir*, to hide oneself, O. Fr. *tapin*, Pr. *tapi*, hidden, disguised, *a tapi*, O. Fr. *en tapin*, in disguise, espec. of pilgrims, hence O. Fr. *tapin*, a pilgrim, *tapiner*, to hide, disguise, Fr. *en tapinois*, by stealth, secretly, O. Fr. *en tapinage*, L.L. *tapinatio.* From a Greek root widely found in Rom. *zapf*

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Che fuman come man bagnate il verno,*
Giacendo stretti a' tuoi destri confini ? "—
—" Qui li trovai, e poi volta non dierno,"—†
Rispose,—" quand' io piovvi in questo greppo, 95
E non credo che dieno in sempiterno.‡
L' una è la falsa che accusò Joseppo ; §
L' altro è il falso Sinon || greco da Troia
Per febbre acuta gittan tanto leppo."—

= a peg, wedge, etc., Fr. *tapon* = bundle, Swed. *tapp ; tapir* = to form into a bundle, huddle together, *cf.* Fr. *cacher.* Ducange derives from *talpa*, the influence of which is certainly seen in Champenois *taupin*, secret. Ital. *tapino*, poor, is probably from ταπεινός ; *talpino, taupino* owe their forms to *talpa.*"

**come bagnate il verno :* Di Siena observes that the natural warmth of the hand dissolves into vapour the water that has moistened it, which vapour is not visible in summer because it is rarefied by atmospheric heat ; but in winter, being condensed by the cold, one is able to see it. The same phenomenon occurs with the breath. *Fuma come d' inverno una man bagnata* is a well-known proverb in Tuscany.

†*volta non dierno :* Bargigi paraphrases this : " Non si voltarono dall' un costato sull' altro." *Dar volta* is the same as *volgersi.* Compare *Purg.* viii, 107, 108 :—

" Fuggì 'l serpente, e gli angeli dier volta
Suso alle poste rivolando eguali."

And *Inf.* xxi, 136 :—

" Per l' argine sinistra volta dienno."

Compare *Purg.* vi, 149-151, where the sick woman is said to seek an alleviation of her suffering by turning over in bed :—

" Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma,
Che non può trovar posa in sulle piume,
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma."

‡*non credo che dieno in sempiterno :* In *Inf.* xv, 37-39, Brunetto Latini tells Dante what a terrible aggravation of punishment the sinners undergo, if condemned to motionlessness :—

"' O figliuol,' disse, ' qual di questa greggia
S' arresta punto, giace poi cent' anni
Senza arrostarsi quando il fuoco il feggia.' "

The extra penalty in the case of Brunetto and his fellow-sinners would be for one hundred years, but Sinon and Potiphar's wife will have to remain motionless to all eternity.

§ *la falsa che accusò Joseppo :* See *Gen.* xxxix.

|| *Sinon :* The story of Sinon is told by Virgil (*Æn.* ii, 57-

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And I to him: "Who are the abject two lying close together on thy right hand side, that are steaming like wet hands in winter?" "I found them here when I fell headlong into this chasm," he answered, "and since then they have not given a turn, and I do not believe they will give one to all eternity. One is the false woman who accused Joseph; the other is Sinon, the false Greek of Troy: by reason of acute fever they emit so foul an odour."

Benvenuto, with his usual quaint ingenuity, points out that there is a marked contrast in the way that passion influenced these two in their respective falsehoods, the wife of Potiphar showing excessive love, and Sinon excessive hate.

Sinon, the Greek, has listened with much impatience to Maestro Adamo's reference to himself, and he at once interposes with warmth. A squabble, styled by Benvenuto *lites jocosa*, ensues, in which

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194). In ll. 148, 149, Priam, after ordering Sinon's fetters to be removed, spares his life on the condition of his betraying his fellow-countrymen:—

"Quisquis es, amissos hinc jam obliviscere Graios;
Noster eris; mihique haec ediscere vera roganti."

The long account in the *Æneid* is summed up by Æneas (ll. 195-198):—

"Talibus insidiis perjurique arte Sinonis
Credita res, captique dolis lacrymisque coactis,
Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissaeus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae."

Compare also *Inf.* xxvi, 55-60, where Dante witnesses the punishment of Ulysses and Diomede as the originators of the stratagem which Sinon carried out.

Chaucer alludes to Sinon in *The Squire's Tale*:—

"Or elles it was the Grekes hors Sinon,
That brought Troye to destruction."

And in *The Nonnes Preestes Tale*:—

"O false dissimulatour, O Greek Sinon,
That broughtest Troye al utterly to sorwe!"

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mutual recrimination and an interchange of blows takes place.

E l' un di lor, che si recò a noia * 100
Forse d' esser nomato sì oscuro,†
Col pugno gli percosse l' epa croia : ‡
Quella sonò come fosse un tamburo :
E mastro Adamo gli percosse il volto
Col braccio suo che non parve men duro,§ 105
Dicendo a lui :—" Ancor che mi sia tolto
Lo mover, per le membra che son gravi,
Ho io il braccio a tal mestiere sciolto."—

And one of them (Sinon), who took offence perchance at being named so darkly (*i.e.* with so much obloquy), with his fist smote him (Adamo)

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* *si recò a noia :* Blanc says that *noia* is derived from the Latin *noxia.* It is, properly speaking, the opposite to *gioia,* and hence it comes to mean *tristezza,* "sadness, woe." It is used in that sense in *Inf.* i, 76-78, where Virgil says to Dante :—

" Ma tu perchè ritorni a tanta noia ?
Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte,
Ch' è principio e cagion di tutta gioia ? "

† *nomato sì oscuro :* I follow the interpretation of Landino and other Commentators, namely, that Sinon was irritated at hearing himself branded with such infamy. Blanc thinks that Sinon was highly indignant at being passed over with such contemptuously slight mention.

‡ *croia :* The idea of *croia* is the property of having the hardness of a piece of leather, dried after being wetted. Tommaséo remarks that in Romagna, *croio* has the force of *infermo* and *povero. Croeuz,* fem. *croja,* in the Milanese dialect signify *crudo, duro.* Compare Jacopo da Lentino :—

" La mia vita è croia [*dura*]
Senza voi vedere."

The *Vocabolario della Crusca* derives the word from *corium.*

§ *men duro :* Some think *non men duro* refers to Adamo's arm being as much swollen as his paunch, but there is a marked contrast between the impotence of his lower limbs, and the nimbleness of his arms, for Sinon, in ll. 109, 111, taunts Maestro Adamo as to his arms having been much less vigorous when they were bound as he was being dragged to the place of execution.

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upon his hardened paunch: it resounded as though it had been a drum: and Maestro Adamo struck him on the face with his arm which did not seem less hard (than the other's fist), saying to him: "Even though the (power of) moving be taken from me, by reason of my limbs that are heavy (with dropsy), I have an arm free for such need."

Sinon's reply is to this effect: "Yes, you have got your arms free now, as you are only bowed down with dropsy in the body, and your arms were free when you were coining the false money; but as you were being led to the stake your arms were tied behind your back."

Ond' ei rispose *:—"Quando tu andavi
Al foco non l' avei tu così presto; 110
Ma sì e più l' avei quando coniavi."—
E l' idropico:—"Tu di' ver † di questo;
Ma tu non fosti sì ver testimonio,
Là 've del ver a Troia fosti richiesto."—

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* *Ond' ei rispose:* Scartazzini notices how each of these two wretches exerts himself to attenuate the gravity of his own sin by aggravating that of his adversary: and thinks so vile a proceeding accords admirably with such vile personages. The dialogue reminds Scartazzini of the celebrated reply of Cecco Angiolieri to a sonnet of Dante:—

"S' io pranzo con altri, e tu vi ceni;
S' io mordo il grasso, e tu ne cucchi il lardo."

Di Siena remarks that by Dante having represented a contest of words between a Greek and a Tuscan, he has wished to show that his countrymen were fully able to hold their own with, if not to surpass, the Greeks in smartness of retort. Those who have lived in Tuscany will probably share this opinion! We have already in *Inf.* xxvi, l. 70 *et seq.*, discussed the question of what language was supposed to be the *Lingua Franca* among the spirits in Hell, and wondered in what tongue this squabble between Sinon, an ancient Greek, and Adamo, a mediæval Tuscan, was carried on.

† *ver:* Contrast *ver* in three consecutive lines of one *terzina*, and *falso*, *falsasti*, and *fallo* in the following *terzina*.

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—"S' io dissi 'l falso, e tu falsasti il conio," *— 115
Disse Sinone,—"e son qui per un fallo, †
E tu per più che alcun altro demonio."—

On which he (Sinon) retorted: "When thou wast going to the fire thou hadst it not so ready; but thus much and more hadst thou it when thou wast coining." And the dropsied one: "As to this thou sayest true; but thou wast not so true a witness, there where thou wast questioned as to the truth at Troy." "If I did speak falsely, well, thou didst falsify the coin," said Sinon, "and I am here for only one offence, and thou for more than any other demon."

Blanc and others have by *demonio* understood a lost soul, but Scartazzini points out that in his opinion the expression means a great deal more, as Sinon not only accuses Adamo of having committed more crimes than any of the other lost souls, but more even than the very devils in Hell. He implies that his own sin was one merely of words, but that the coiner committed a separate crime of great enormity every time that a false florin issued from his mould.

**e tu falsasti il conio:* I have followed the Oxford text in reading *e tu falsasti*, which Dr. Moore found in 193 MSS., whereas of the two alternative readings, *tu falsasti* was found in eighteen MSS., and *e falsasti* in only two. Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 354), observes that the reading *e tu*, "which is that of the large majority of MSS., is evidently to be preferred to the *lectior facilior* which omits '*e*.' Its idiomatic use here is the same as that illustrated under *Inf.* xix, 3, to which reference can be made. The erroneous reading is in this case so rare that I have placed this passage in the second class, though entertaining no doubt as to the correctness of the reading *e tu*."

† *son qui per un fallo*, et seq.: "questo finge Sinone, accrescendo la infamia al maestro Adamo, come è usanza de' bugiardi." (Buti).

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The two wretches continue their disgusting recrimination.

—" Ricordati, spergiuro,* del cavallo,"—
Rispose quel ch' avea enfiata l' epa;
—" E siati reo † che tutto il mondo sallo."— 120
— " E te sia rea ‡ la sete onde ti crepa,"—
Disse il Greco,—" la lingua, e l' acqua marcia
Che il ventre innanzi a gli occhi sì t' assiepa."—§
Allora il monetier:—" Così si squarcia
La bocca tua per suo mal || come suole; 125
Chè s' i' ho sete ed umor mi rinfarcia, ¶

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* *spergiuro:* Sinon's false oath is recorded by Virgil, *Æn.* ii, 152-156:—

". . . Ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasga,
Sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas:
Vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum
Testor numen, ait; vos, arae, ensesque nefandi,
Quos fugi, vittaeque deûm, quas hostia gessi."

† *reo:* The usual signification of *reo* is "guilty," but in the *Gran Dizionario* I find that it can also be used to mean "cruel." Fraticelli renders *rea* as *tormentosa.* Sir James Lacaita once advised me in cases of doubtful or disputed meaning to prefer the interpretation of Fraticelli, a Tuscan of Tuscans, as in nine cases out of ten he would probably be right.

‡ *E te sia rea:* We must understand that *te* is used here as the Latin dative *tibi.* Some read *A te sia rea.*

§ *t' assiepa:* The literal meaning *assiepare* is to enclose with a hedge (*siepe*), but Blanc says that it must be taken here in the figurative sense of the belly rising up like a hedge before Adamo's eyes, and consequently acting as an impediment to his sight.

|| *per suo mal:* Others read *per dir mal,* by which Adamo would mean that Sinon is as usual opening his mouth wide to speak evil; but the first reading is the best supported.

¶ *rinfarcia:* Benvenuto amplifies this as follows: "idest, si humor putrefactus replet et inflat mihi ventrem." Blanc derives the word from *infarcire,* which however is now obsolete. Di Siena says it is one of the many verbs of the third conjugation which are converted into the first, as *e.g.* we have *addolcia* for *addolcisce.*

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Tu hai l' arsura e il capo che ti duole,
E per leccar * lo specchio di Narcisso,†
Non vorresti a invitar molte parole."—

"Bethink thee of the horse, thou perjurer," replied he who had his belly swollen, "and be it a torment to thee that all the world knows thereof." "And to thee be a torment the thirst," said the Greek, "with which thy tongue cracks, and the putrid water which rears up thy belly into such a hedge before thine eyes." Then the coiner: "Thus is thy mouth gaping to its own ill as it is wont; for if I have thirst, and humour stuffs me up, thou hast the burning, and thy head that aches, and, to lick the mirror of Narcissus (*i.e.* a limpid spring), thou wouldest not want many words of invitation."

Dante has been listening with all his ears to the altercation, in which, by the way, the Tuscan has

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* *leccar:* Dante uses this word three times, and always as a term of opprobrium in describing despicable beings. The other two instances are, *Inf.* xvii, 74, 75:—

"Qui distorse la bocca, e di fuor trasse
La lingua, come 'l bue che il naso lecchi."

And *Purg.* viii, 101, 102, where Dante describes the serpent:—

"Volgendo ad or ad or la testa al dosso,
Leccando come bestia che si liscia."

Maestro Adamo is evidently made to use the expression here by way of implying that he holds Sinon in no higher esteem than a dog who laps the water when he drinks.

† *specchio di Narcisso* simply means clear water, like that of the fountain in which Narcissus, according to Mythology, seeing himself reflected, became enamoured of his own image. (See Ovid, *Metam.* iii, 407, *et seq.*). Dante refers to this fable again in *Par.* iii, 10-30, when, seeing through the hazy light of the Heaven of Venus the spirits of nuns torn from their vows, he imagines that what he sees in front of him is the reflection of real objects that are behind him, and thus falls into the contrary error to that of Narcissus, who seeing his reflection, thought it was a real person. Note especially ll. 16-18:—

"Tali vid' io più facce a parlar pronte,
Perch' io dentro all' error contrario corsi
A quel ch' accese amor tra l' uomo e il fonte."

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characteristically managed to have the last word, and has become so absorbed in it, that he has almost forgotten his Leader and their journey. Virgil sharply reprimands him for his abstraction.

> Ad ascoltarli er' io del tutto fisso, 130
> Quando il Maestro mi disse:—" Or pur mira,*
> Che per poco † è che teco non mi risso."—

> I was wholly fixed in listening to them, when my
> Master said to me: "Now just do go on staring!
> for it lacks but little that I quarrel with thee!"

Dante is so abashed, that he declares himself unable to forget the humiliation that he feels. The meaning of the lines that follow is somewhat intricate, but is well expressed by Benvenuto: "A man will always blush most for an error in the presence of a wise man who has a good opinion of him. And Dante shows how immense was his confusion by a comparison that is really most subtle: briefly, he wishes to relate that what now befell him was what will occasionally happen to one in a dream, who fancies he sees some great danger or misfortune; and while dreaming says to himself within his narrowed mind: 'O how I wish this were but a dream and not reality!' and thus his wish is granted to him, because it really is a dream; and yet he does not

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* *Or pur mira:* Landino remarks: "spesso pare che concediamo quel che neghiamo." The idea seems to be that Virgil sarcastically encourages Dante to continue to give his purposeless attention to the quarrel. *Pure* may be used in an ironical sense in modern Italian after any verb in the imperative mood, *e.g. Guardi pure; faccia pure; entri pure;* much in the same way as the English "Now *only do.*"

† *per poco* has its equivalent in the Provençal *per pauc*, the Latin *parum abest*, and the Italian *poco manca.*

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take in that his desire is accomplished, because he really and truly believes that the thing is as he sees it; and thus Dante means to say, 'I was wishing to exculpate myself, and *was* exculpating myself, though with much self-abasement, and yet I did not think my exculpation was sufficient.'"

Quand' io 'l senti' a me parlar con ira,
Volsimi verso lui con tal vergogna,
Ch' ancor per la memoria mi si gira. 135
E quale è quei che suo dannaggio * sogna,
Che sognando desidera sognare,
Sì che quel ch' è, come non fosse, agogna; †

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* *dannaggio:* The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says: "Lo stesso che *Danno*, Lat. *damnum, detrimentum.* Compare Giov. Villani (ix, 158): "Grandissimo dannaggio vi ricevettono quegli del capitan di Melano"; and again in the following chapter (159): "E così sanza nullo acquisto fare si tornò il Re d' Inghilterra con sua oste addietro del mese di settembre con grande vergogna e dannaggio di 20 mila uomini morti di fame e d' infermità." And Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. x, Nov. 10, in the *Canzone* at the end:—

"In questo mio dannaggio,
Cerchi, o procuri, s' io il risapraggio."

A note on this passage in Boccaccio explains that *dannaggio* and *risapraggio* are both Sicilian words, equivalent to *danno* and *risaprò.* Nannucci (*Manuale,* vol. ii, p. 416, note 9) says that *dannaggio* is the same as *danno.* But in his *Analisi Critica de' Verbi,* p. 360, note 4, he only remarks that the *Vocabolario* has it so, but that he does not agree with it because in Buonagiunta Urbiciani we find:—

"Un amor m' ha mandato
Lo danno e lo dannaggio."

Therefore, Nannucci thinks, there must evidently be some error, which the *Accademia della Crusca* ought to correct. He finds in Fra Guittone:—

"Che piace lei per mia morte dampnaggio."

Dampnaggio is derived from the Low Latin *dampnatio.* The Provençals have *dampnatge,* the Old French *dampner* for *damner.*

† *agogna:* The *Voc. della Crusca* says of *agognare:* "Bramar con avidità, e quasi struggersi di desiderio." Again: "quasi agonizzare, e morir d' ansietà e di desiderio." (Biagioli).

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Tal mi fec' io, non potendo parlare,
Che desiava scusarmi, e scusava 140
Me tuttavia, e nol mi credea fare.

When I heard him speaking to me with anger, I turned towards him with such shame, as even now is still circling through my memory. And as is he who dreams of his harm, and who dreaming wishes he might dream, so that he is longing after that which is, as though it were not; such became I, who, being unable to speak, wished to excuse myself, and all the while I *was* excusing myself (by my evident shame), and did not know I was doing so.

Virgil is touched at the manifest sincerity of Dante's recognition of his error. His wrath vanishes at once, and he absolves his pupil with much kindness; reminding him, however, that he may possibly find himself again witnessing some similar dispute, but that he, Virgil, who symbolizes Reason, will ever be at his side to lend him a helping hand. From *Purg.* v, 10, *et seq.*, we see that Virgil is here speaking with much foresight, for there again he has to reprove Dante for giving heed to idle chatter, and a second time does Dante merit Virgil's pardon by his self-accusing blush of shame.

—"Maggior difetto* men vergogna lava,"—
Disse il Maestro,—"che il tuo non è stato;
Però d' ogni tristizia ti disgrava:

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* *Maggior difetto*, et seq.: Compare *Purg.* iii, 7-9:—
"Ei mi parea da sè stesso rimorso:
O dignitosa coscienza e netta,
Come t' è picciol fallo amaro morso!"
And Petrarch, *Son.* 1:—
"Di me medesmo meco mi vergogno:
E del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,
E 'l pentirsi."

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E fa ragion * ch' io ti sia sempre allato, 145
Se più avvien che fortuna t' accoglia †
Ove sien genti in simigliante piato; ‡
Che voler ciò udire § è bassa voglia."—

"Less shame washes away a greater fault than thine has been," said the Master, "therefore disburden thyself of all sorrow; and make reckoning that I am always by thy side, if it happens again that chance conduct thee to where there may be people in a similar wrangle; for to wish to listen to this is a base desire."

Daniello notices how much this squabble between Adamo and Sinon resembles that between Sarmentus, the freedman of Mæcenas, and Cicirrhus, related by Horace in the celebrated account of the journey to Brundusium (1 *Sat.* v, 51-70).

The Poets now take their leave of *Malebolge.* They

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* *fa ragion:* This is equivalent to the Latin *existimare, sibi persuadere,* "to believe, to take into account." Compare *Par.* xxvi, 8-9:—

". . . e fa ragion che sia
La vista in te smarrita e non defunta."

† *t' accoglia:* There are various interpretations given to this word in the old commentaries. Tommaséo prefers that of *Volpi:* "*Accogliere* per *condurre* o *cogliere.*" Blanc thinks it has the sense of "to encounter, to meet, to come across."

‡ *piato:* The proper meaning of this word is "a litigation before a magistrate," and it is said to be derived from the Low Latin word *placitare.* In the Bolognese and Mantuan dialects it is *Plèit,* and is equivalent to the French *Plaid.* Compare G. Villani, ix, 183: "Onde piato fu a Parigi dinanzi al Re di Francia."

§ *Che voler ciò udire,* et seq.: Compare *Prov.* xxvi., 17: "He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears." And *Prov.* xx., 3: "It is an honour for a man to cease from strife: but every fool will be meddling."

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have looked down from the last of the bridges on the last repulsive scene, and they would now seem to be descending the slope of the bridge, from which they will emerge on to the plateau lying between the rampart of the Tenth *Bolgia* and the brink of the Pit (*Pozzo*), at which spot, as we shall see in the next Canto, they will find the Giants.

END OF CANTO XXX.

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CANTO XXXI.

THE BRINK OF THE *POZZO* OR LOWEST PIT—THE GIANTS—NIMROD—EPHIALTES—ANTÆUS—DESCENT INTO THE NINTH CIRCLE.

BENVENUTO observes that Dante has now concluded his description of *Malebolge*, which is, taken as a whole, the second of the three Circles that lies immediately within the city of Dis; the first of these Circles being that in which various degrees of Violence are punished, while in *Malebolge* there are ten degrees of Fraud located in the ten *Bolge* or Valleys of which that Circle is made up. In this Canto, however, he relates how, before making their descent into the Great Pit, the Poets found surrounding its brink a number of the Giants of heathen Mythology.*

Benvenuto divides this Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 45, the forms and stature of the Giants are minutely described.

In *Division* II, from ver. 46 to ver. 81, a special description is given of Nimrod.

Division III, from ver. 82 to ver. 111, is devoted to Ephialtes.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 112 to ver. 145, after speak-

* See an article *I Giganti nella Divina Commedia* by Professor Michele Scherillo of Naples and Milan in *Alcuni Capitoli della Biografia di Dante*, Torino, 1896.

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ing of the immense size of Antæus, Dante relates how that giant took up the Poets in his hands, and deposited them safely at the bottom of the Pit.

Division I.—Dante begins this Canto by relating what took place at the end of the last, where Virgil reproved him for his curiosity in listening to the squabble between Adamo and Sinon, but immediately afterwards forgave him on seeing his penitence. He tells us that Virgil's tongue was, at one and the same time, that which caused him a wound, and that which healed the wound. The idea is familiar in the popular story wherein Peleus bestowed on his son Achilles a lance, from the thrust of which there was but the one remedy of sprinkling the wound with the rust scraped from the lance's point.

Una medesma lingua pria mi morse,
Sì che mi tinse l' una e l' altra guancia,
E poi la medicina * mi riporse.
Così od' io che soleva la lancia
D' Achille † e del suo padre esser cagione 5

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* *medicina :* Compare *Deut.* xxxii, 39 : "See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me : I kill, and I make alive ; I wound, and I heal."

† *la lancia d' Achille :* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante,* i, pp. 302, 303) writes : "A question has been raised as to the source of Dante's statement that the spear possessing the power to heal as well as to wound belonged to the father of Achilles in the first instance. This appears, it is true, in Homer (*Il.* xvi, 143, 144), but not, as far as I can ascertain, in any *Latin* authority such as Dante can have had access to, *e.g.* Virgil, Ovid, the notes of Servius, or the Trojan history of Dictys and Dares. There may have been, doubtless, other channels through which the Homeric tradition may have flowed. But

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Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia.*

One and the same tongue (of Virgil) first wounded me, so that it dyed both my cheeks (with shame), and then supplied me with the remedy (namely, forgiveness). Thus have I heard that the lance of Achilles and of his father was wont to be the cause, first of a harmful and then of a beneficent gift.

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as Dante seems to have had in his mind here a passage in Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 47, 48:—

'Vulnus in Herculeo quae quondam fecerat hoste,
Vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit,'

I think it is at least possible that he may have misunderstood, or perhaps imperfectly recollected, the expression 'Pelias hasta' which occurs here, and also elsewhere in Ovid." Pietro di Dante quotes these lines of Ovid in illustration of this passage of Dante, and Dante himself shows that he knew the *Remedium Amoris*, as he quotes l. 2 of the same book in *Viva Nuova*, § 25. Dante also especially mentions (*Conv.* iv, 27, ll. 192-195) that Peleus was the father of Achilles. Compare also Chaucer, *The Squire's Tale*, ll. 58-62:—

"And other folk han wondred on the swerd,
That wold percen thurghout every thing:
And fell in speche of Telephus the King
And of Achilles for his queinte spere,
For he coude with it bothe hele and dere."

And Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, Part II, Act v, sc. 1:—

"That gold must round engirt these brows of mine,
Whose smile and frown, like to Achilles' spear,
Is able with the change to kill and cure."

* *mancia:* Compare *Par.* v, 64-66:—

"Non prendan li mortali il voto a ciancia:
Siate fedeli, ed a ciò far non bieci,
Come Jeptè alla sua prima mancia."

Mancia means any kind of gift, and is the same as *regalo*, *strenna*. Compare also *Purg.* xxvii, 118-120, where *strenne* is used in the same sense as *mancia*. For an illustration of the whole of this line *Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia*, compare Ovid, *Rem. Amor.*, 43, 44:—

"Discite sanari per quem didicistis amare:
Una manus vobis vulnus opemque feret."

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The Poets now finally quit *Malebolge*, and begin walking in silence across the plateau that intervenes between the last rampart of the Tenth *Bolgia* and the brink of the lesser circumference of the Pit, at the bottom of which is the Frozen Lake, formed by the waters of Cocytus, and wherein are the Traitors.

> Noi demmo il dosso al misero vallone
> Su per la ripa * che il cinge dintorno,
> Attraversando senza alcun sermone.

We turned our backs to the great valley of woe (*i.e.* the Tenth *Bolgia*) up by the embankment that circles it around, crossing (the plateau) without any speech.

Dante's meaning, according to Benvenuto, is that he and Virgil were absorbed in silent meditation upon the spectacle which they were about to see, but in the dim twilight they were still too far off to descry anything. Their ears however first admonish them of the proximity of the Giants.

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* *Su per la ripa:* We may remember that this difficulty is discussed in Canto xxix, 52-55:—

> "Noi discendemmo in su l' ultima riva
> Del lungo scoglio, pur da man sinistra,
> Ed allor fu la mia vista più viva
> Giù vêr lo fondo."

We decided that among the conflicting ideas as to the meaning of this, we should understand that the bridgeways, after crossing the *Bolge*, continued to run across the intervening ramparts at a higher level, and that the Poets had descended from the elevated causeway on to the solid rampart. According to that interpretation, *su per la ripa* would mean that they have regained the causeway which comes to an end as they reach the level plateau that leads them to the Central Pit. We decided to consider this plateau as having a breadth of three-quarters of a mile.

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Quivi era men che notte e men che giorno,* 10
Sì che il viso † m' andeva innanzi poco : ‡
Ma io senti' sonare un altro corno,
Tanto ch' avrebbe ogni tuon fatto fioco,
Che, contra sè la sua via seguitando,§

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* *men che notte e men che giorno :* "idest, erat crepusculum, quod idem est quod dubia lux, quia tenet medium inter diem et noctem ; ex quo autor non poterat multum videre a longe, sed audire sic." (Benvenuto). Compare Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 399-401 :—

"Jamque dies exactus erat, tempusque subibat,
Quod tu nec tenebras, nec possis dicere lucem,
Sed cum luce tamen dubiae confinia noctis."

Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 84, 85), does not think any Time Reference is indicated here, such as evening twilight, but that a general condition of this portion of the *Inferno* is thus described, as is seemingly implied in l. 37 "forando l' aura grossa e scura." There was a permanent gloom like the "aria senza tempo tinta" of *Inf.* iii, 29. Dr. Moore thinks the passage in the text may be compared conjecturally with *Zechariah* xiv, 6, 7 (in the *Vulgate*): "Non erit lux, sed frigus et gelu. Et erit dies una quae nota est Domino, non dies neque nox." But Dr. Moore thinks the reference very doubtful.

Compare *Purg.* xxxii, 58-60, where, as here, the colour or subject of *men* and *più* is left to be supplied :—

"Men che di rose, e più che di viole
Colore aprendo, s' innovò la pianta,
Che prima avea le ramora sì sole."

† *viso* is used by Dante in the sense of eye-sight, or the eyes, in various passages. See *Inf.* xviii, 126, 127 :—

". . . 'Fa che pinghe,'
Mi disse, 'il viso un poco più avante.'"

In the *Canzoniere*, Sonnet xxxv, Dante uses *viso* to express each separate eye :—

"Io son sì vago della bella luce
Degli occhi traditor che m' hanno anciso
Che là, dov' io son morto e son deriso,
La gran vaghezza pur mi riconduce.
E quel che pare e quel che mi traluce,
M' abbaglia tanto l' uno e l' altro viso,
Che da ragione e da virtù diviso
Segue solo il disio come mio duce."

‡ *innanzi poco :* "Quasi dica io vedevo poco più là, che dove io ero." (Landino).

§ *seguitando :* Both Tommaséo and Scartazzini draw attention to the occasional use, by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and

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Dirizzò gli occhi miei tutti ad un loco: 15
Dopo la dolorosa rotta,* quando
Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta, †
Non sonò si terribilmente Orlando.

Here it was less (dark) than night, and less (light) than day, so that my eye-sight went but little before me: but I could hear the blast of a horn so loud that it would have made every thunderclap (seem) weak, which turned my eyes, following its course in the contrary direction, wholly to one spot. Not so terrible a blast did Orlando blow after the lamentable rout (at Roncesvalles), when Charlemagne lost the sacred host (of his paladins).

Dante now catches his first sight of the Giants. They are so placed within the Great Pit that their

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Ariosto, of the gerund having the sense of the present participle. Tommaséo says the sentence runs literally as follows: "Dirizzò a un luogo gli occhi miei seguitanti a andare di contro alla parte ond' esciva il suono del corno; ch' era la via del suo suono." The effect of the sound of the horn was to make Dante turn his eyes towards the source whence it came (in a contrary direction naturally to the course taken by the sound), and concentrate his gaze upon the one spot whence the sound issued.

* *dolorosa rotta:* At the famous defeat of Charlemagne by the Saracens at Roncesvalles, according to the tradition told by Archbishop Turpin, the horn blown by Orlando made so great a sound, that its noise split all other horns.

"O for a blast of that dread horn,
On Fontarabian echoes borne,
That to King Charles did come,
When Rowland brave, and Olivier,
And every paladin and peer,
On Roncesvalles died!"

(Sir Walter Scott, *Marmion*, vi, 33). See also Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, xxviii, 38 *et seq.*

† *la santa gesta:* The more usual meaning of *gesta* is *impresa, azione*, Lat. *res gesta*. But it has also another signification, namely, *Turba, Gente*, etc., and is applied here to the band of Paladins fighting for the Faith. Scartazzini says that in the time of Dante this signification of *gesta* was far more common than that of *impresa*.

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bodies from the waist downwards are out of his sight, while from the waist upwards they soar up to such an immense height, that he mistakes them for the lofty towers engirdling some great city, of which he asks Virgil the name. Virgil tells him that in the thick gloom he is straining his eyes to see things that are too far off for him to discern, and that consequently he falls into error.

Poco portai in là volta la testa,
Che mi parve veder molte alte torri; 20
Ond' io:—"Maestro di', che terra * è questa?"—
Ed egli a me:—"Però che tu trascorri †
Per le tenebre troppo dalla lungi,
Avvien che poi nel 'maginare aborri. ‡
Tu vedrai ben, se tu là ti congiungi,§ 25
Quanto il senso s' inganna di lontano:
Però alquanto più te stesso pungi."—||

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* *terra:* One of the many instances in the *Divina Commedia*, as also among the early Italian writers, where *terra* signifies a city. Dante speaks of Ravenna as *la terra* (*Inf.* v, 97); and other cities are similarly alluded to, such as Florence, Mantua, Lucca, Forlì, Rimini, etc. See note on *Inf.* xxvii, 43; pp. 378, 379 of this volume.

† *trascorri:* Di Siena observes that *trascorrere* here is clearly intended to allude, not to the imagination, as Tommaséo thinks (both in his Commentary and in the *Gran Dizionario*), but to the eyes, which, endeavouring to transpierce too great a space of the thick gloom (*forando l' aura grossa e scura*, l. 37), are unable to receive a clear and distinct image of the objects before them. Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) explains this passage to signify: "Porter ses regards, seine Blicke tragen."

‡ *aborri:* See note on Canto xxv, 144, pp. 322, 323 of this volume, though in that passage the word is spelt *aborra*.

§ *congiungi:* Tommaséo observes that in the *Convito*, Dante uses the word *disgiunto* in the sense of *allontanato*, "Lo viso disgiunto nulle vide"; and therefore we may take it for granted that in this passage by *giungere* he means *arrivare*.

|| *pungi:* Compare *Conv.* iv, 26, ll. 56-59: "E questo sprone si chiama *Fortezza* ovvero *Magnanimità*, le qual virtute mostra lo loco ove è da fermarsi e da pugnare."

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Not long did I hold my head turned thitherward, when I seemed to see many lofty towers; whereupon I: "Master, say, what city is this?" And he to me: "Because (with thine eyes) thou penetratest through the darkness, from too great a distance, it follows that thou dost err in thy conception. Thou wilt see well enough, if thou bringest thyself near there, how much the sense (of eyesight) by distance is deceived: therefore spur thyself somewhat more on."

Virgil, anxious no doubt to encourage Dante, and to efface any painful impression which his reproof may have caused, now addresses him with great kindness, and tells him what are the huge objects which he can partially descry through the gloom.

Poi caramente mi prese * per mano,
E disse:—"Pria che noi siam più avanti,
Acciocchè il fatto men ti paia strano,† 30
Sappi che non son torri, ma giganti,

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* *caramente mi prese:* Benvenuto thinks Virgil did this to strengthen Dante's wavering resolution, which the sight of such terrible beings might well daunt (*ad firmandum se dubium, vel contra timorem nasciturum ex terribili conspectu istorum*). He feels sure that the Giants are introduced here as emblems of arrogant pride, as Dante has at the end of the *Purgatorio* represented Philip *le Bel* as such. Pietro di Dante and Jacopo di Dante both express the same opinion. Professor Scherillo also enlarges upon this view.

† *men ti paia strano:* Landino paraphrases this: "Tutte le cose che si preveggono, danno meno alterazione che quando vengono alla sprovveduta." In *Par.* xvii, 22-27, Dante asks Cacciaguida to tell him what is the ill-fate which has been foretold him:—

"Dette mi fûr di mia vita futura
Parole gravi, avvenga ch' io mi senta
Ben tetragono ai colpi di ventura.
Per che la voglia mia saria contenta
D' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa;
Chè saetta previsa vien più lenta."

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E son nel pozzo * intorno dalla ripa
Dall' umbilico in giuso tutti e quanti."—

Then he took me tenderly by the hand, and said: "Before we advance farther, in order that the fact may seem to thee less strange, know that these are not towers, but Giants, and they are all of

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* *nel pozzo:* Tommaséo points out that in old French dramas Hell was depicted as a pit or well, constructed of black stones. Dante may however have taken the idea from *Ezek.* xxxii, especially in verses 21-23: "The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the middle of hell with them that help him: they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword. Asshur is there and all her company: his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword: Whose graves are set in the sides of the pit, and her company is round about her grave: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused terror in the land of the living." See also *Job* xxvi, 5 (*Vulgate*): "Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis, et qui habitant cum eis." Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante* i, p. 173) says: "Another anomaly occurs in the position assigned to the Giants surrounding the lowest pit of Hell. This is, I think, to be explained by a reference to Virgil. Their crime was surely one of violence against the gods, like that of Capaneus, and we should have expected to find them also in the third *Girone* of the Seventh Circle, yet they are in an intermediate place between the two Circles of Fraud. They are not exactly guardians of the Ninth Circle, nor yet, though chained and bound, are they sharers in the punishment of the sinners inhabiting that circle, with whose particular type of sin they have indeed nothing in common. I think the explanation is that here, as often elsewhere, Dante was influenced by Virgil, whose language in *Æn.* vi, 580, 581, seems to suggest this position for the Giants:—

'Hic genus antiquum terrae, Titania pubes,
Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur *in imo.*'

Dante, it is true, does not adopt *volvuntur*, proposing to deal with the Giants in a more striking and picturesque manner, but we have *fundo in imo* represented by *pozzo* in ll. 32, 42; and *fulmine dejecti* finds at least an echo in the statement in l. 45:—

'cui minaccia
Giove nel cielo ancora quando tuona,'

which implies that they were *fulmine dejecti* originally."

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them in the Pit around its bank from the navel downwards."

Dante, to describe how the forms of the Giants came more fully into view as the Poets drew nearer to them, compares the situation in which he finds himself to that of one who in a dense mist is unable to discern in detail the objects of which he catches sight; but should the fog disperse, he is then able to recognize by degrees what was hidden from his eyes. Dante finds the Giants standing in the circular aperture of the Pit, above which the upper half of their bodies are seen, and their appearance collectively reminds him of a certain castle called Montereggione (*castrum montis regionis*), in the Val d' Elsa, about six miles from Siena, which, we learn from Benvenuto, was on the road to Florence, and was begirt by many a tower. It was built in 1213, and demolished in the sixteenth century.

Come, quando la nebbia si dissípa,
Lo sguardo a poco a poco raffigura 35
Ciò che cela il vapor che l' aere stipa:
Così forando* l' aura grossa e scura,
Più e più appressando invêr la sponda,
Fuggíemi errore, e cresce' mi paura.
Perocchè come in sulla cerchia † tonda 40
Montereggion di torri si corona,
Così la proda che il pozzo circonda,

**forando:* Cesari (*Bellezze*) thinks Dante says *forando* on account of the inconvenience and fatigue to the eye which he felt at straining to see through the dense mist, and therefore he sharpened his sight as though he would pierce the vapours with a gimlet.

† *cerchia:* In *Inf.* xviii, l. 3 (*footnote*); and *ibid.* l. 72 (*footnote*) and in a long paragraph following l. 72, I have fully discussed the word *cerchia*, as "an enclosure, *enceinte* of

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Torreggiavan * di mezza la persona
Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
Giove del cielo ancora quando tuona. 45

As when the mist is dispersing, the gaze by slow degrees puts into shape what the vapour which thickens the air conceals: so, as I pierced through the thick and murky air, as we drew nearer and nearer to the bank, error fled from me, and fear grew upon me. For as upon the round circuit of its walls Montereggione is crowned with towers, so the horrible Giants, whom Jove still continues to menace from Heaven when he thunders, with half their bodies crowned as with towers the rampart that encompasses the Pit.

Benvenuto says we know from history that many great potentates have been frightened by thunder. No one in the world was so powerful as Cæsar Augustus, and yet when he saw the lightning and heard the thunder, he would immediately shut himself up in his room and hide under the bed. So it was with Nero, so with Caius Caligula, and with many other mighty princes. In the same way Jupiter is well described as threatening the Giants when he thunders, for, applying this in its moral sense, the proud ones when they hear of, or call to mind, the ruin of their kind, may well be terrified, as for instance the case of Nebuchadnezzar, a most haughty sovereign, who, like some new species of animal, ate

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walls, line of circumvallation," as distinguished from *cerchio* a "circle." To translate *cerchia* "a circle" is a great inaccuracy. Mr. Edward Wilberforce in his recent scholarly translation (*Dante's Inferno and other Translations*) happily renders the present passage "her belt of circling ramparts."

* *Torreggiavan:* I adopt Mr. Tozer's translation, which seems very appropriate: "crowned as with towers."

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hay in a cavern beneath the earth (*pascebat foenum in caverna terrae*); also Xerxes, the King of Persia, who looked upon the destruction of himself and his army, and so with many others.

Division II is entirely taken up with the description of Nimrod,* who made himself heard by Dante by the blast of his horn. He is the Giant whom the Poets first discern. Dante speaks of his immense stature, of his confused speech, and of his bestial stupidity; and rejoices that human beings of so stupendous a size are no longer created in the world; since having reasoning powers, they would constitute a danger to man, a danger which, in the case of huge mammals such as whales and elephants, does not exist.

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* *Nimrod:* Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 290, *et seq.*) discusses what could have been Dante's reasons for placing the Giants here on the brink of the Pit, and he mentions also how prevalent in the Middle Ages was the belief in the Semitic legend, that it was Nimrod who originated the audacious thought of building the Tower of Babel. Blanc agrees with such ancient commentators as Buti, the *Ottimo*, and Landino, who saw in the Giants an emblem of Pride, by which also the rebel Angels fell. If we compare the pains of Hell with the expiations of Purgatory, we cannot help noticing that they correspond to each other in inverse order. In Hell we pass from the lightest sins, which are those of Sensuality, to the blackest crimes, and we must certainly consider rebellion against God as the worst of all, and therefore Lucifer, who represents it, lies in the very nethermost pit of Hell. On the other hand, in Purgatory we see a continuous progression from the gravest sins to the lightest, and so we find sins of Sensuality the last to be purged. It cannot but excite wonder, that whereas in Purgatory Pride is looked upon as the gravest of all sins, in Hell no mention whatever is made of any part of this fountain-spring of all sin. Blanc thinks it possible that Dante may himself have noticed this anomaly, and as according to the order of his poem, the Traitors must

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Ed io scorgeva già d' alcun la faccia,
Le spalle e il petto, e del ventre gran parte,
E per le coste giù * ambo le braccia.
Natura certo, quando lasciò l' arte †

---

positively be punished in the lowest Hell, consequently the only special place possible in which to relegate Pride was in the very centre of the Earth, with Lucifer as the sole representative of it, as we read in *Par.* xxix, 55-57 :—

"Principio del cader fu il maledetto
Superbir di colui, che tu vedesti
Da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto."

Many Commentators think that Pride is punished among the Violent against God, such as Capaneus (*Inf.* xiv, 46, *et seq.*). But Blanc feels sure that, as throughout his poem Dante has done everything in systematic order, he certainly must have intended to give a definite place to Pride, and Blanc believes he has discovered it here in the position of the Giants. In *Purg.* xii, 34-36, the pride of Nimrod is distinctly alluded to :—

"Vedea Nembrot appiè del gran lavoro,
Quasi smarrito, e riguardar le genti
Che in Sennaar con lui superbi fôro."

In the same way as the heavenly choirs of Angels surround the throne of God, so here the Giants close in round their chief, as though they were his body-guard, just as the Furies defend the gates of the city of Dis.

* *per lo coste giù :* The Giants' arms were hanging down at full length along their thighs, and in ll. 86-8 we read that each had his arms bound to his body by a chain, one arm before him and one behind his back.

† *Natura . . . l' arte :* Compare *Inf.* xi, 97-100 :—

"Filosofia . . . a chi la intende,
Nota non pure in una sola parte
Come natura lo suo corso prende
Dal divino intelletto e da sua arte."

And *ibid.* 103-105 :—

"Che l' arte vostra quella, quanto puote,
Segue, còme il maestro fa il discente,
Sì che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nipote."

And *Purg.* xxv, 70-72 :—

"Lo Motor primo a lui si volge lieto
Sopra tanta arte di natura, e spira
Spirito nuovo di virtù repleto,"

And *Par.* viii, 122-129 :—

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Di sì fatti animali,* assai fe' bene, 50
Per torre tali esecutori a Marte:
E s' ella d' elefanti e di balene
Non si pente, chi guarda sottilmente,
Più giusta e più discreta la ne tiene:
Chè dove l' argomento della mente † 55
S' aggiunge al mal volere ed alla possa,
Nessun riparo vi può far la gente.

". . . Dunque esser diverse
Convien dei vostri effetti le radici:
Per che un nasce Solone, ed altro Xerse,
Altro Melchisedech, ed altro quello
Che volando per l' aere il figlio perse.
La circular natura, ch' è suggello
Alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte,
Ma non distingue l' un dall' altro ostello."

* *animali:* Meaning "whatever has in it the breath of life," whether human being, or beast. As applied to a human being, compare *Inf.* v, 88:—

"O animal grazïoso e benigno."

† *l' argomento della mente:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 101, 102) says that there can be little doubt that Dante had here in his mind either one or both of the following passages of Aristotle: *Pol.* I, i, 15, 16 (1253ª 31-35): "*ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ τελεωθὲν βέλτιστον τῶν ζῴων ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ χωρισθὲν νόμου καὶ δίκης χείριστον πάντων· χαλεπωτάτη γὰρ ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα· ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ὅπλα ἔχων φύεται φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ, οἷς ἐπὶ τἀναντία ἔστι χρῆσθαι μάλιστα.*"

Also *ibid. Nic. Eth.* VII, vi, 7 (1150ª 4, 5): "*ἀσινεστέρα γὰρ ἡ φαυλότης ἀεὶ ἢ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἀρχή.* (This is to show that *θηριότης* is *ἔλαττον κακίας, φοβερώτερον δε*)."

"The comparison of these passages is interesting, as it may bear on the interpretation of the difficult word *argomento.* It is sometimes explained as if equivalent to "Reason," but other Commentators take it as equivalent to "instrument" or "*ὅπλον*," and among these Benvenuto, who translates and comments: "instrumentum rationis in homine, qui est armatus ratione." He then proceeds to quote the above passage from the *Politics* (as does also Pietro di Dante). Dr. Moore thinks that the language of Aristotle, which was clearly in Dante's mind, seems to him very strongly to support this interpretation. It may be defended by Dante's own use of *argomento* elsewhere,

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And already did I discern the face of one (of them), his shoulders and his breast, and great part of his belly, and both his arms down along his sides. Surely Nature did very right, when she abandoned the art (of making) living beings of such vast proportions, so as to deprive Mars of such executioners: and albeit that she does not repent (the creation) of elephants and whales, whoever ponders deeply, will hold her to be more just and more prudent: for where the faculty of the mind is joined to evil intent and to power, the race of men can make no defence against it.

Pietro di Dante says: "Gigantes figurative pro superbis accipiantur affectibus seu motibus; Unde istos gigantes accipe pro motibus et affectibus humanae superbiae." And Jacopo di Dante: ". . . i quali, come nelle filosofiche e poetiche scritture alle dette superbie qui figurate sono."

Dante now gives a circumstantial account of the height of Nimrod, the size of whose face he compares to the famous bronze Pine of St. Peter's, now in the gardens of the Vatican at Rome. He also shows how immensely his stature exceeds that of the inhabitants of Friesland, with whose lofty stature Dante would seem to have been much struck when journeying through their country.

La faccia sua mi parea lunga e grossa

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as *e.g.* in *Purg.* xxx, 136; "Tutti *argomenti* . . . Alla salute sua eran già corti," etc. And *Purg.* ii, 31: "Vedi che sdegna *argomenti* umani," where the context shows it to be equivalent to instruments, such as oars or sails. It is probable that it means "equipment" also in *Inf.* xix, 110: "dalle dieci corna ebbe *argomento.*" In many passages of Boccaccio, and Villani, *argomento* simply means *instrumentum*, such as engines of war, crowbars, agricultural implements, etc.

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Come la pina di san Pietro * a Roma;
Ed a sua proporzione eran l' altr' ossa: 60
Sì che la ripa, ch' era perizoma †
Dal mezzo in giù, ne mostrava ben tanto
Di sopra, che di giungere alla chioma

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* *la pina di san Pietro:* This is a huge fir-cone, made of bronze, which originally formed the summit of the *Moles Hadriana* (Castle of St. Angelo). In the time of Dante it was standing under a *baldacchino* in the outer court of the old Basilica of St. Peter's, and is said to have been removed thither in the sixth century by Pope Sylvester. When, however, the present fabric was built, the *Pina* was transported into the garden of the *Belvedere* or *Giardino della Pina*, which lies in the midst of the museums of the Vatican. In Lord Vernon's *Inferno* (Vol. iii, tavola 51) in a print of the ancient Basilica, the *Pina* is shown standing under its canopy in front of the cathedral. There was said to be a fountain erected there by Pope Damasus for the convenience of pilgrims, and some say that the *baldacchino*, with its porphyry columns, was placed there by Pope Symmachus with the *Pina* under it, as shown in the print, but, according to others, above it. Galileo estimated the height of the *Pina* at 5½ *braccia* (ells). *Philalethes* [John, King of Saxony] caused it to be very accurately measured, and found it to be 10 *palmi*, which is equivalent to 3½ *braccia*. [The *braccio* contained 3 *palmi*]. Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 294) considers the measurements taken by the King of Saxony to be by far the most reliable, and he computes that counting the head as one-ninth of the human body, the entire giant would be 90 *palmi* in height, *i.e.* 54 feet of Paris measure. Ten *palmi* would be equivalent to six feet of Paris. Blanc observes that Dante has given three modes of calculating the height of Nimrod, *viz.:* (*a*) the *Pina;* (*b*) the three Frisons; and (*c*) the 30 full palms as the distance between the throat and the navel. Blanc thinks, however, that the *Pina* is the only standard on which we can rely.

† *perizoma:* This word, derived from the Greek περίζωμα, an apron, must have been taken by Dante from *Gen.* iii, 7 (in the *Vulgate*): "Cumque cognovissent se esse nudos, consuerunt folia ficûs, et fecerunt sibi perizomata." Dr. Moore on this (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 77) observes: "Dante certainly did not know enough Greek to have invented this word for himself by transliteration, and he probably had no notion why it should bear this meaning." He meant it to signify the rocks that surround and cover the lower part of the Giants' bodies. In the Gene-

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Tre Frison * s' averian dato mal vanto:
Perocch' io ne vedea trenta gran palmi 65
Dal loco in giù, dov' uomo affibbia il manto.

His face appeared to me as long and as large as the Pine of St. Peter's at Rome, and his other bones were in due proportion to it, so that the bank, which was an apron from his middle downwards, showed us so large a portion of it (his body) above, that three Frisons (standing one on the top of the other) would have made but a vain boast to reach up to his hair: for downward from the place where a man buckles his cloak (*i.e.* the neck), I could see of him thirty full palms (*i.e.* more than eleven ells or about twenty-two feet).

According to Antonelli, there were at least four different species of *palmi* in Italian measurements, of which the largest was the architectonic *palmo* of 0.5105 Florentine *braccia* or ells.

Let us then imagine the height of the Giant, from head to foot, as about fifty or sixty feet—Casini puts it at seventy feet. This Giant is Nimrod, who now in impotent rage blurts out a confused jargon of gibberish, in which, notwithstanding the many explanations attempted by Commentators both ancient and modern, there does not appear to be any intelligible sense. As mediæval belief always designated Nimrod as the builder of the Tower of Babel, Dante most probably wished to give a sample of the inco-

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van version of the English Bible *perizomata* is translated "breeches," from which that version came to be known as the "Breeches Bible."

* *Tre Frison:* Two episodes related in the first chapter and in the last chapter of Thomas Colley Curran's novel *Jacqueline of Holland* (Bentley 1831) remind one alike of the dykes of the Flemings between Wissant and Bruges, mentioned in *Inf.* xv, 4-6, and the gigantic stature of the Frisons alluded to here.

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herent utterances which might be supposed to have accompanied the Confusion of Tongues.

—" Rafel maì * amech zabì almi,"—
Cominciò a gridar la fiera bocca,
Cui non si convenian più dolci salmi.

" Rafel mai amech zabì almi," began to bellow forth that brutish mouth, to which sweeter psalms were unfitted.

Virgil silences Nimrod with the utmost contempt, telling him to blow his horn if he wants to make a noise.

E il Duca mio vêr lui :—" Anima sciocca, 70
Tienti col corno, e con quel ti disfoga,
Quand' ira o altra passìon ti tocca.
Cércati al collo, e troverai la soga †

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* *Rafel mai*, et seq.: Benvenuto says: "Ad cujus intelligentiam est hic notandum, quod ista verba non sunt significativa, et posito quod in se aliquid significarent, sicut aliqui interpretari conantur, adhuc nihil significarent hic, nisi quod ponuntur ad significandum quod idioma istius non erat intelligibile alicui, quia propter ejus superbiam facta est divisio labiorum. Et haec est intentio autoris quam expresse ponit in litera." Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 297), after discussing the legion of interpretations, sums up: "But just on account of this disparity we feel far more disposed to agree with the opinion of all the ancient Commentators, that in this sentence there are not to be found forms of any true human language, but merely a jumble of strange harsh sounds, invented by caprice, and without any signification whatever. And the best proof of this is to be found in ll. 79-81, where Virgil says:—

' Lasciamlo stare, e non parliamo a voto :
Che così è a lui ciascun linguaggio,
Come il suo ad altrui ch' a nullo è noto.'

If Nimrod (Blanc concludes) could understand no language, and if his own was not intelligible to anyone, the best thing we can say about this mysterious line is to repeat with Virgil: ' Lasciamlo stare.' "

† *soga:* Tommaséo states that in Tuscany *sogatto* and *sogattolo* mean a leathern strap. In some other dialects they mean a cord.

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Che il tien legato, o anima confusa,
E vedi lui che il gran petto ti doga."—* 75

And towards him my Leader: "Stupid soul, keep to thy horn, and with that give thyself vent, when fury or other passion assails thee. Search at thy neck, and thou wilt find the strap that holds it tied, O bemuddled soul, and see it (the horn) which engirds thy huge breast."

Benvenuto remarks that the Giants are represented by Dante as undergoing a very real punishment in that they are bound, and he thinks that Virgil is here taunting Nimrod with his inability to do any physical mischief, and to be only able to make a noise by roaring with his mouth or blowing with his horn. He also taunts him, who was the cause of the confusion of tongues, with the confusion in himself both of mind and speech. Benvenuto sees an allegorical sense also in the resemblance of the Giants to mighty princes; who, while seeming to have more freedom than anyone else, and to wield so much power over others, yet are impotent slaves, because they are bound with the chain of their sins. It was for this cause that Diogenes the cynic, used to style Alexander the Great, powerful as he was, the slave of his slaves, because Alexander was under the dominion of those vices which Diogenes himself had brought

* *doga:* From the verb *dogare*, which is derived from *doga* (subst.) "the stave of a cask." Tommaséo points out that in *Inf.* xxviii, 22, the body of Mahomet is likened to a cask that lacks part of its head. In the present passage the horn is the *doga*, that is, the curved object that bends round Nimrod like a curved stave on a cask. In *Purg.* xii, 104, 105, Dante himself uses the word *doga*:—

" . . . le scalee che si fèro ad etade
Ch' era sicuro il quaderno e la doga."

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into subjection by his virtue. Alexander, who conquered so many thousands of men in one battle, was subdued by one cup of wine and a little outburst of rage.

Virgil now names Nimrod to Dante, telling him that the very fact of his gibbering nonsense, as unintelligible to himself as it is to others, proclaims him to be Nimrod.

> Poi disse a me :—" Egli stesso s' accusa ;
> Questi è Nembrotto,* per lo cui mal coto †
> Pure un linguaggio nel mondo non s' usa.

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* *Questi è Nembrotto :* Compare *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, cap. 7, ll. 24-33 : " Praesumpsit ergo in corde suo incurabilis homo, sub persuasione gigantis [*i.e.* Nimrod], arte non solum superare naturam, sed etiam ipsum naturantem, qui Deus est ; et coepit aedificare turrim in Sennaar, quae postea dictus est Babel, hoc est confusio, per quam coelum sperabat ascendere : intendens inscius non aequare sed etiam superare factorem." Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 73) observes that Dante goes beyond the account of Nimrod in Scripture (*Gen.* x, 9, 10) by making him (1) a giant, (2) the deviser of the tower of Babel. But the same points are quite commonly found both in patristic and mediæval authorities, from several of which they may have found their way to Dante. St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xvi, 3) alters the *Vulgate* " robustus venator *coram* Domino " into " Hic erat *gigas* venator *contra* Dominum," and insists (ch. 4) on the reading *contra*, declaring that the rendering *ante Dominum* arises from the ambiguity of the Greek word *ἐναντίον*. St. Augustine adds : " Erigebat ergo cum suis populis turrem contra Dominum qua est impia significata superbia." " And in the same chapter : ' Unde colligitur, gigantem illum Nebroth fuisse illius conditorem . . . quamvis perfecta non fuerit usque in tantum modum quantum superba *cogitabat* impietas.' " Compare *coto* in the text of Dante with this word *cogitabat*. Both St. Augustine and Dante lay stress upon the *superbia* of Nimrod. Among other authors likely to have been familiar to Dante, Isidore, Orosius, Hugh of St. Victor, and Brunetto Latini recognise the same tradition as to Nimrod.

† *coto* = *pensiero*. Nannucci (*Manuale*, vol. i, p. 74) quotes the following from the *Canzoni* of Guido delle Colonne, the well-known author of the *Historia Trojana* (A.D. 1270-1284) :—

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Lasciamlo stare e non parliamo a voto:
Chè così è a lui ciascun linguaggio,* 80
Come il suo ad altrui ch' a nullo è noto."—

Then he said to me: "He utters his own accusation; he is Nimrod, because of whose evil thought (it is that) one language only is not used in the world. Let us leave him alone, and not speak in vain (*i.e.* waste words upon him): for such to him is every language, as is to others his (language), which is known to no one."

Division III.—The Poets now quit Nimrod, turning away as usual to their left, and walking along the circular brink of the Pit, at the distance of a bow-shot, find Ephialtes, a giant of heathen mythology, who with Briareus, attempted to war against Jupiter, whereupon the god destroyed them both with his thunderbolts.

"Ch' ho più durato—ch' io non ho possanza,
Per voi, Madonna, a cui io porto lianza,
Più che non fa Assassino in suo *cuitato*,
Che si lascia morir per sua credanza."

On the words *in suo cuitato* Nannucci has the following note: "In suo credere, in suo pensiero, in provenzale *en soy cuidad;* e lo Spagnuolo *cuidado.* Dal. lat. *cogitare* gli antichi formarono il verbo *coitare*, pensare, *coitato* o *cuitato*, in provenzale *coitos.*" And in his *Analisi Critica*, p. 119, note 3, Nannucci, commenting on *doas cuidas* from an old Italian writer, says: "*Cut, cuit, cuida, cuda.* Da *cut* è il *coto* di Dante, *Inf.* xxxi, 77, che ha suscitato tanta guerra tra i commentatori. Vedi le mie *Voci e locuzioni*, etc., e le mie *Osservazioni sopra la parola Coto.*" Compare *Par.* iii, 25, 26:—

"'Non ti maravigliar perch' io sorrida,'
Mi disse, 'appresso il tuo pueril coto.'"

Benvenuto explains it *cogitamen*, but some of the old Commentators, such as Landino, Buti, Bargigi and Tasso in his Commentary on the *Divina Commedia* (ed. Pietro da Tino, Venice, 1568), not understanding the meaning of *coto*, read *voto.*

* *così è a lui ciascun linguaggio:* Scartazzini shrewdly asks: "Why, then, did Virgil speak to Nimrod, if he knew that his words would not be understood by him?"

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Facemmo adunque più lungo viaggio
Vôlti a sinistra; ed al trar d' un balestro
Trovammo l' altro assai più fiero e maggio.*
A cinger lui, qual che fosse il maestro † 85
Non so io dir, ma ei tenea succinto ‡
Dinanzi l' altro, e dietro il braccio destro
D' una catena, che il teneva avvinto
Dal collo in giù, sì che in sullo scoperto
Si ravvolgeva infino al giro quinto. 90

We therefore made a longer journey round, turning to the left; and at a cross-bow's shot (further on) we found the next (Giant) far more fierce and huge. Who could have been the master-hand for binding him I am unable to say, but he had his right arm close pinioned behind him, and the other (the left) in front, with a chain which held him

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* *maggio:* For the use of this now nearly obsolete form of *maggio* for *maggiore*, compare *Inf.* vi, 48; *Par.* xxvi, 29; *Par.* xxviii, 77; *Par.* xxxiii, 55. L' altro [*gigante*] *assai più fiero e maggio* is Ephialtes, son of Neptune and Iphimedìa. Paget Toynbee (*Dante Dictionary*, s.v. *Fialte*) says the only place in the classical writers with whom Dante was acquainted, where the giant Ephialtes is mentioned, is Virgil, *Culex*, line 234.

† *qual che fosse il maestro non so io dir:* Compare *Inf.* xv, 10-12, where Dante, after likening the hardened banks of the Phlegethon to dikes in Holland, or flood-banks in the Chiarentana, says:—

"A tale imagine eran fatti quelli
Tutto che nè sì alti nè sì grossi
Qual che si fosse, lo maestro felli."

‡ *ei tenea succinto*, et seq.: All the Commentators that I have seen, take the second clause first, and construct the sentence in the following order: *ei tenea dietro il braccio destro succinto d' una catena, e l' altro dinanzi.* Di Siena notices that similar transmutations are to be found in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. And let me here observe that the *Decameron* is full of idiomatic expressions that are also found in the *Divina Commedia.* Buti remarks on the present passage: "Questo finge l' autore, per dare ad intendere che l' opere spirituali, diritte e buone ebbe di rietro, cioè le pospose; e le sinistre cioè le ree corporali, ebbe d' inanzi che le elesse e seguitolle."

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shackled from the neck downwards, so that on the part (of his body) that was visible (above the bank) it wound round as many as five coils (*lit.* to the fifth turn).

Benvenuto says that Dante wishes to express his admiration at the effective way in which Ephialtes is bound, and it is as if he said : " Whoever it was that bound him must have been a master-hand at the work, by which he means the Unknown God, the Incomprehensible Artificer." Benvenuto further remarks that while Dante has represented Nimrod as bound only with a cord, he has to Ephialtes, who was so much bigger and fiercer, given a chain, to restrain his greater fury with greater and stronger bonds. The chain passed five times round the upper part of the body of Ephialtes, which was visible above the brink of the Pit. Ingenious was the method of tying one hand behind him and one in front, on account of the enormous strength he could have put forth, had he been able to bring both hands together.

Virgil now names Ephialtes to Dante, and tells him for what sin of presumption he is punished.

—" Questo superbo * voll' esser esperto
Di sua potenza contra il sommo Giove,"—†
Disse il mio Duca,—" ond' egli ha cotal merto.

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* *Questo superbo :* Iphimedìa, the wife of the giant Aloëus, was said to have had two sons, Ephialtes and Otus, of whom Neptune was the real father. These two brothers, according to Mythology, grew nine inches every month. They were known as the Aloïdae, and by that name are mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 582-584 :—

" Hic et Aloïdas geminos, immania vidi
Corpora : qui manibus magnum rescindere coelum
Aggressi, superisque Jovem detrudere regnis."

† *il sommo Giove ;* This may either mean the true God, or

Fialte ha nome; e' fece le gran prove,
Quando i giganti fêr paura ai Dei: 95
Le braccia ch' ei menò giammai non move."—*

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the heathen god Jupiter. In the former sense Dante uses it in *Purg.* vi, 118-119:—

"E se licito m' è, o sommo Giove,
Che fosti in terra per noi crocifisso," etc.

"Non men della santa Bibbia, la mitologia pagana caccia nell' inferno quegli smisurati figli della Terra, che ebbero la temeraria idea di dar la scalata al Cielo. . . . Ognuno intende come qui importi soprattutto spiegare e illustrare il concetto etico e mitologico di Dante, che confondeva i *Titani* coi *Giganti*, e non insistere su distinzioni ed interpretazioni estranee a quella concezione." (Scherillo, *op. cit.*). Professor Scherillo is probably here quoting from *Isaiah* xiv, 9-15 (Vulgate): "Infernus subter conturbatus est in occursum adventus tui; suscitavit tibi gigantes."

Scartazzini points out that the Giants in the Biblical mythology wished to build a tower, the summit of which should reach to heaven; and the Giants of Pagan mythology tried to pile mountains one on the top of another till they should reach Olympus. Dante perchance only saw in the two fables the tradition of the same fact. See Virg. I *Georg.* 281-283:—

"Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum:
Ter pater exstructos disjecit fulmine montes."

And Hor. iii, *Carm.* iv, 49-52:—

"Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens juventus, horrida brachias,
Fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo."

The battle of Phlegra, in which Jupiter destroyed the Giants with his thunderbolts, is mentioned by the arrogant Capaneus in *Inf.* xiv, 51-60:—

"Qual io fui vivo, tal son morto.
Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro, da cui
Crucciato prese la folgore acuta
Onde l' ultimo dì percosso fui;
O s' egli stanchi gli altri a muta a muta
In Mongibello alla fucina negra,
Chiamando: 'Buon Vulcano, aiuta aiuta,'
Sì com' ei fece alla pugna di Flegra,
E me saetti con tutta sua forza,
Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra."

* *Le braccia ch' ei menò giammai non move:* On this line Di

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"This presumptuous one wished to make trial of his power against mighty Jove," said my Leader, "wherefore he has such requital. Ephialtes is his name; he made his great efforts when the giants caused terror to the gods: the arms that he (then) swayed nevermore will he move."

Dante remembering that Briareus—a far more terrible giant than Ephialtes in that he had a hundred hands, and fifty heads with flaming mouths—took part with Ephialtes at the battle of Phlegra (see Virg. *Æn.* x, 565-568), expresses an earnest desire to see Briareus. Virgil tells him that that giant stands bound at too great a distance for them to go near him, and besides, except that his mien is more ferocious, he closely resembles Ephialtes. They will presently see Antæus, nearer at hand, and he, being unbound, will lower them down to the bottom of the Pit.

Ed io a lui:—"S' esser puote, io vorrei
Che dello ismisurato Briareo *
Esperïenza avesser gli occhi miei."—

Siena observes of Ephialtes: "His combats are at an end for ever; the strength that he abused in his life-time is quelled to all eternity; if in life he moved and agitated his arms to the destruction of others, they are now bound eternally." Compare *Psalm* xxviii, 4: "Give them after the work of their hands; and render to them their desert." Again *Psalm* xliv, 3: "For they got not the land in possession by their sword, neither did their own arm save them."

* *ismisurato Briareo:* Compare Virg. *Æn.* vi, 285-287:—

"Multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,
Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllaeque biformes,
Et centumgeminus Briareus."

Also Statius, *Theb.* ii, 596:—

"Armatum immensus Briareus stetit aethera contra."

And Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* xviii, st. 35 and 36:—

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Ond' ei rispose:—"Tu vedrai Antee 100
Presso di qui, che parla, ed è disciolto,*
Che ne porrà nel fondo d' ogni reo.
Quel che tu vuoi veder più là è molto,
Ed è legato e fatto come questo,
Salvo che più feroce par nel volto."— 105

And I to him: "If it were possible I would that mine eyes might have experience of the immeasurable Briareus." Whereupon he answered: "Hard by here thou shalt see Antæus, who speaks (intelligibly), and is unfettered, who will set us down in the lowest depth of all guilt (*i.e.* in the Pit). He whom thou wishest to see (Briareus) is much further on, and is fettered as well as formed like this one, save that in countenance he appears more ferocious."

Benvenuto remarks that to understand this fiction we should recollect that Dante feigned to have come across one of the Centaurs, Chiron, who was less evil than the others; so now he lets his readers suppose that among the Giants he has found one of a less

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"Crebbe in gigante altissimo, e si feo
Con cento armate braccia Briareo.
Cinquanta spade impugna, e con cinquanta
Scudi risuona, e minacciando freme."

This passage in Tasso seems to be borrowed from Virgil, *Æn.* x, 565-568:—

"Ægeon qualis, centum cui brachia dicunt
Centenasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem
Pectoribusque arsisse, Jovis cum fulmina contra
Tot paribus streperet clypeis, tot stringeret enses."

**parla, ed è disciolto*: The condition of Antæus, who speaks articulately and intelligibly, is in direct contrast to that of Nimrod, who is closely pinioned, does not speak, but blows his noisy horn and blurts out inarticulate and brutish sounds devoid of sense. Di Siena observes that as it was necessary that there should be some one to set the Poets down on the frozen surface of Cocytus, Dante has represented one of the Giants unbound for that purpose.

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malevolent disposition than the others, namely, Antæus, whose sins he pictures to have been less against God than against man, and he therefore represents him as unbound.

Ephialtes has heard Virgil's words, and gives way to a frenzy of brutal rage.

> Non fu tremoto già tanto rubesto *
> Che scotesse una torre così forte
> Come Fialte a scotersi fu presto.
> Allor temett' io più che mai la morte,
> E non v' era mestier più che la dotta,† 110
> S' io non avessi viste le ritorte.‡

Never was earthquake so tremendous that it could rock a tower as violently, as Ephialtes was quick at shaking himself (*i.e.* struggling to be free). Then feared I death more than ever, and for it (my death) nothing beyond my terror was needed, had I not seen his bonds.

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* *rubesto:* Compare *Purg.* v., 124, 125, where the impetuous stream of the Archiano is described as *rubesto:*—

> "Lo corpo mio gelato in sulla foce
> Trovò l' Archian rubesto."

† *dotta:* Benvenuto says of *dotta:* "idest timor; nam dotare est timere." The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says it is the same as the Latin *timor, metus, suspicio,* and comes from *dottare,* to fear, to doubt. Scartazzini derives it from the Provençal *doptar* (Lat. *dubitare*). The early writers used *dottare* for *dubitare, dottanza* for *dubitanza,* etc. Compare *Vita Nuova,* § vii, Sonnet ii, ll. 30-33:—

> "Ora ho perduta tutta mia baldanza,
> Che si movea d' amoroso tesoro;
> Ond' io pover dimoro
> In guisa, che di dir mi vien dottanza."

And Dante, *Canzoniere,* § iv, Son. 41:—

> "Ditemel, s' a voi piace, in cortesia:
> Ch' i' ho dottanza che la Donna mia
> Non vi faccia tornar così dogliose."

‡ *ritorte:* A full note on this word will be found in *Inf.* xix, 27.

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Division IV.—The Poets now move onwards until they reach the spot where they find Antæus standing, but not bound like the other Giants. Benvenuto, commenting on the text, which states the height of Antæus from his throat to his waist to have been five ells [*alle*]—the ell being "a kind of cloth measure in Flanders like the *canna* at Florence—remarks that many have denied that any man can exceed seven feet in height, but during the reign of Augustus it was notorious that there were two men who were twelve feet high: and it is also said of St. Christopher that his height was twelve feet (*cannæ*). St. Augustine, too, in his work *De Civitate Dei* declares that he had seen in that very country (near Zama in Africa) where Antæus reigned, the tooth of a single giant from which one hundred teeth of ordinary size might have been made.

Noi procedemmo più avanti allotta,
E venimmo ad Anteo,* che ben cinqu' alle †

**Anteo:* Antæus, said to have been a giant of sixty feet in height, was the son of Neptune and Terra. He lived in a cave in the valley of Bagrada near Zama, where he fed upon lion's flesh, and by sleeping upon the bare earth ever had his flesh renewed by Terra, his mother. In his combat with Hercules, the latter, by holding him off the ground, caused his strength to wane, and so conquered and killed him. The place where he dwelt is mentioned by Lucan, *Phars.* iv, 587-588:—

"qua se
Bagrada lentus agit siccae sulcator arenae."

Of his strength, Lucan (*ibid.* 598-605) says:—

"Hoc quoque tam vastas cumulavit munere vires
Terra sui foetus, quod, cum tetigere parentem,
Jam defecta vigent, renovato robore, membra.
Haec illi spelunca domûs: latuisse sub alta
Rupe ferunt, epulas raptos habuisse leones.
Ad somnos non terga ferae praebere cubile
Assuerunt, non silva torum; viresque resumit
In nuda tellure jacens."

† *alle:* "*Alla* è nome di misura Inglese di due braccia alla

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Senza la testa uscía fuor della grotta.*

We then pursued our way further on, and came to Antæus, who besides his head, stood out a good five ells above the rocky edge.

Virgil now addresses Antæus, asking him to lift him and Dante down on to the frozen surface of Cocytus at the bottom of the Pit; but first, by way of propitiating him, he reminds him of his former prowess in slaying lions in the valley of Bagrada, where in after ages Scipio Africanus won his great

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fiorentina." (Landino). "Alla est genus mensurae panni in Flandria, sicut canna Florentiae." (Benvenuto). "*Alle* corrisponde a due braccia: il braccio è tre palmi; dunque trenta palmi come dissi più sopra [= cinqu' alle]. La favola gli dà braccia quaranta." (Tommaséo). Di Siena says that according to the computations of the learned Padre Antonelli, the *Alla*, which is believed to be the same as the *Aune* of Paris, is of Florentine *braccia* 2.063. Therefore 30 *palmi*, according even to the smallest measure, would be more than eleven *braccia;* five *alle* would scarcely be ten *braccia:* therefore Nimrod was bigger than Antæus. Besides, one *Alla* is equivalent to 2.063 Florentine *braccia:* and as the *palmo architettonico*, which was the largest, was equivalent to 0.5104 of a *braccia*, ergo, a *braccio* must be less than two *palmi:* and *braccia* 10.315 would give little more than twenty *palmi* as the stature of Antæus. Di Siena thinks that Tommaséo has computed the height of Antæus higher than Dante himself intended. And although mythology states the height of Antæus as having been forty *braccia*, Di Siena feels sure he is right, according to Dante's conception, in computing it at less, and that we must take him to have been shorter than Nimrod.

**grotta:* Casini explains *grotta* in this passage as "la roccia che forma l' argine tra l' ottavo e il nono cerchio," as in *Inf.* xxi, 110:—

"Andatavene su per questa grotta,"

where *grotta* means "embankment, rampart."

See my note on *Purg.* i, 48, in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, Second Edition, 1897, vol. i, p. 17. See also Serravalle, who gives his readers their option of "bank" or "pit":—

"qui . . . exibat extra gruptam, idest
ripam, vel putheum."

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victory over Hannibal at Zama. Benvenuto narrates this campaign at immense length.

—"O tu, che nella fortunata valle* 115
Che fece Scipïon di gloria ereda,†
Quando Annibàl co' suoi diede le spalle,
Recasti già mille leon per preda,
E che, se fossi stato all' alta guerra
De' tuoi fratelli, ancor par ch' e' si creda,‡ 120
Che avrebber vinto i figli della terra;
Mettine giù (e non ten venga schifo)
Dove Cocito la freddura § serra.

**fortunata valle:* See *Inf.* xxviii, 8, note on *fortunata terra di Puglia*, where *fortunata* is, as in the present passage, used in the same sense of "fateful." Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 233) says it is clearly seen that Lucan is Dante's chief source of information for the story of Antæus, which was a favourite one with Dante. In ll. 115-118 he describes the home of Antæus as being in the valley where Scipio defeated Hannibal. Lucan without mentioning this battle says (*Phars.* iv, 590), that Curio placed his camp at Bagrada:—

"Antaei quae regna vocat non vana vetustas,"

and thence goes off to a description of Antæus and his fabulous history. Bagrada was the site of the victory referred to by Dante, and he has substituted for the name of the place the great event which made it celebrated.

†*ereda:* Some texts have *reda*. According to Di Siena the word is of common gender, used by Dante as he used *Duca* for *duce*. We also meet among the older writers with such forms as *seta* for *sete* (thirst); *nuba* for *nube;* and *froda* for *frode*. Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, etc. p. 22) remarks that in Tuscany the peasants use *roda* to signify the male offspring of their beasts. Di Siena states that in the dialect of Brescia, *Rès* signifies a new-born babe; *Ràis*, a little boy; and *Ères*, a male child. Compare G. Villani, iv, cap. 21, where it is said of the Countess Matelda of Canossa: "e ella rimase ereda, si diliberò di maritare."

‡*ancor par ch' e' si creda:* Dante does not say *si creda*, but *par che si creda*, and almost hesitates before asserting that there could be any one who would believe in the possibility of the Giants being victorious in warring against Heaven.

§*freddura:* The early writers used *freddura* for *freddo; calura*

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Non ci far ire a Tizio nè a Tifo: *
Questi può dar di quel che qui si brama: 125
Però ti china, e non torcer lo grifo.†
Ancor ti può nel mondo render fama;
Ch' ei vive, e lunga vita ancor aspetta,
Se innanzi tempo grazia a sè nol chiama."—‡

"O thou who in the fateful valley (of the Bagrada) —which made Scipio heir of glory when Hannibal with his (hosts) took to flight—didst once bring a

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for *caldo;* and *gelura* for *gelo.* In Guido delle Colonne (*Canzoni*) we find:—

"Amor non cura—di far suoi dannaggi,
Che li coraggi—mette in tal calura,
Che non pon rifreddar già per freddura."

* *Tizio . . . Tifo:* Compare Lucan, *Phars.* iv, 595-597:—

"Nec tam justa fuit terrarum gloria Typhon,
Aut Tityos Briareusque ferox: coeloque pepercit,
Quod non Phlegraeis Antaeum sustulit arvis."

"Un altro dei giganti dell' inferno pagano è Tizio, lungo disteso sur una superficie di ben nove jugeri." (Scherillo, *op. cit.*). Compare Homer, *Odyss.* ii (Λ), 576, 577:—

"καὶ Τιτυὸν εἶδον, Γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν,
κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ, ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα."

† *non torcer lo grifo* is the same thing as saying *non far lo sdegnoso.* In the *Tesoretto* of Brunetto Latini we find:—

"O s' hai tenuto a schifo
La gente, o torto 'l grifo
Per tua gran materia."

Scartazzini thinks that Antæus really had turned up his nose on hearing Virgil's request, whereupon Virgil upbraids him for his arrogance, and repeats at greater length that Dante being alive, can really extol his fame in the world.

‡ *innanzi tempo grazia a sè nol chiama:* Di Siena remarks that God vouchsafes a real act of grace when he calls men away from the miseries of this world. Nothing demonstrates the sublimity of the Dantesque verses more than the fact that they are so frequently derived both from Biblical conceptions and from the perfect Christianity that inspired the Poet. No atheist or pagan would have written a verse of such worth, nor do they understand Dante who think him a poet of fashion (*un poeta di moda*).

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thousand lions for thy spoil, and who, if thou hadst been in the mighty war of thy brethren (against Jove), it seems still to be believed that the Sons of Earth (*i.e.* the Giants) must have conquered; set us down below—nor be disdainful of doing so—where the cold freezes Cocytus. Do not make us go to Tityos nor to Typhon: this man can give of that which is longed for here (*i.e.* mention in the world): stoop then, and curl not thy lip (in disdain). He (Dante) can yet restore fame to thee in the world; for he is alive and still expects long life, unless Grace summon him to itself before his time."

Benvenuto here remarks that although Dante represents Virgil as saying this about the duration of his life in the year 1300, the supposed year of his vision, yet when Dante wrote his poem, several years had elapsed since that epoch.

Virgil's flattering words about the valour and strength of Antæus, and his suggestion of the probably different result had he been present in the combat of the Giants against Jupiter, are not without their intended effect, and he at once complies with the request, taking up the two Poets on his immense hands. Benvenuto observes that he showed himself much more tractable than Charon, Phlegyas, Nessus or Geryon had done, when requested to transport the Poets from one Circle to another.

Così disse il Maestro: e quegli in fretta 130
Le man distese, e prese il Duca mio,
Ond' Ercole sentì * già grande stretta.

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* *Ond' Ercole sentì*, et seq.: Compare Lucan, *Phars.* iv, 617 *et seq.*, and especially l. 633:—

"Constitit Alcides stupefactus robore tanto."

Some Commentators seem to have felt an absurd reluctance to

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Virgilio, quando prender si sentio,
Disse a me :—" Fátti in qua, sì ch' io ti prenda : "—
Poi fece sì, che un fascio er' egli ed io. 135

Thus spake the Master : and he (Antæus) in haste stretched out the hands, of which in olden time Hercules felt the mighty clutch, and took up my Leader. Virgil, when he felt himself grasped, said to me : "Come thou this way, that I may take thee." Then he so acted, that he and I were one bundle (*i.e.* clasped together).

Virgil has embraced Dante in his arms, pressing him to his breast, being probably afraid that the grasp of the Giant, however kindly in intention, may be too potent for the perishable frame of his beloved companion.

Antæus, having taken up the Poets in his hands, now bows his immense body, and as Dante looks up at the huge monster bending over him, he is reminded of a phenomenon that may not infrequently

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follow the reading *ond' Ercole sentì*, which is however supported on overwhelming authority, because Mythology states that it was Hercules who mastered Antæus ; consequently it was Antæus who had painful experience of the grip of Hercules, and not as it is put in the text. They have attempted various alternative readings, of which the favourite one appears to be :—

"Ond' ei d' Ercole sentì grande stretta."

But as Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 299) observes, we ought never to forget that our business is to adapt ourselves to what Dante has written, and try to understand it, but never to have the pretension to imagine that we can improve upon it. Might we not take the text as it stands, as meaning that before Hercules succeeded in slaying Antæus he gained a severe experience of the tenacity of his grasp ? Any victor, after a contest with " a foeman worthy of his steel," would be likely to feel unpleasant effects of his conquered adversary's prowess. Wellington overcame Napoleon at Waterloo, but he would have been the last to deny that he had felt Napoleon's "mighty clutch." He used to say : " It was a battle of giants ! "

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be seen by any person who has been either at Bologna or Pisa. For if one stands under one of the leaning towers with its inclined side towering above one, should a cloud pass over the summit going the opposite way, the tower seems to totter, as though about to fall.*

Qual pare a riguardar la Carisenda †
Sotto il chinato, quando un nuvol vada
Sopr' essa sì, che ella incontro penda ;

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* An instance of this phenomenon occurred to the present writer, when in June 1889 he attended the Octocentenary Celebration of the University of Bologna as one of the Delegates of the University of Oxford. During the procession through the streets of Bologna of the representatives of the different Universities of the World, a pause occurred just when the Oxford Delegates were under the inclined side of the Tower of Carisenda. The sky was one uniform expanse of blue, and not a cloud was visible. While the writer was describing to his companion, Professor Erskine Holland, the simile mentioned by Dante in this Canto, the phenomenon actually occurred. A white cloud came up behind the procession, and passed exactly as described by Dante. The lofty tower appeared about to fall upon those beneath. Benvenuto states as a fact that Dante had witnessed the occurrence when as a young man he was a student at Bologna.

† *la Carisenda :* Landino says of it : " È una torre in Bologna grossa e non molto alta : ma molto piegata, così detta dalla famiglia dei Carisendi, ed è presso alla torre degli Asinelli." Tommaséo says of the optical illusion referred to, that it had been observed and related to himself by some one who had never read Dante. Lord Vernon (*Dante Inferno*, fol. vol. iii, tavola xcviii) remarks that according to the History of Bologna by Gherardacci, the Torre degli Asinelli, the highest in all Italy, was erected by Gherardo degli Asinelli ; and that in 1109 Filippo and Oddo dei Carisendi or Garisendi on their return from the Crusades, erected alongside of it the Torre della Carisenda. In the time of Dante it was much more lofty than it is now, but about thirty-five years after the death of Dante (1355) it was in part demolished by order of the tyrant Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio. Scartazzini (*Edizione Minore*) observes that its present height is 47·51 metres,

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Tal parve Anteo a me che stava a bada *
Di vederlo chinare, e fu tal ora 140
Ch' io avrei vo'ut' ir per altra strada:
Ma lievemente al fondo che divora
Lucifero con Giuda ci sposò; †
Nè sì chinato lì fece dimora,
E come albero ‡ in nave si levò.§ 145

Benvenuto writes: "Et hic nota quod comparatio bene facit ad factum; quia sicut Garisenda curvata videtur cadere super respicientem, et tamen non cadit, ita Antheus velut alta turris curvatus videbatur nunc cadere super Dantem respicientem eum, et tamen non cadebat."

* *stava a bada:* This is interpreted, *stava attento a guardare; guardare con occhi spalancati.* Compare Frezzi, *Quadriregio,* Lib. ii, cap. 12:—

"Et ognuna dell' Alme in alto bada
Un grande sasso, che cader minaccia
Tanto, che par che tosto in capo cada.
Per questo alzata in su tengon la faccia,
Temendo che non cada con ruina
Il sasso a lor in testa, e che li sfaccia."

The *Vocabolario della Crusca* says: "stare a bada tanto vale quanto *stare a speranza o in aspettativa di checchesia.*"

† *sposò:* Compare *Inf.* xix, 130:—
"Quivi soavamento spose il carco."

‡ *come albero:* Rossetti remarks that this vivid picture comes home to any one who has been on board a ship during a storm. See L. Venturi, *Sim. Dant.* p. 220, Sim. 368. Compare Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore,* x, st. 152:—

"E parve nel cader quel terrione,
Ch' un albero cadesse di gran nave," etc.

§ *si levò:* Mr. Tozer, in his Commentary, remarks that the ten-syllable line with its abrupt termination, especially as it concludes the Canto, is probably an adaptation of sound to sense, being intended to express the suddenness of the rebound. Possibly the three other instances in the poem of ten-syllable lines, which cannot otherwise be accounted for, may be explained in this manner, for in each case one of the rhyming lines expresses something sudden or abrupt; *viz. Inf.* xxiii, 145: "Appresso il Duca a gran passi sen gì"; *Purg.* vii, 10: "Qual' è colui che cosa innanzi sè Subita vede"; *Par.* xxv, 100: "Poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì."

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Such as the Carisenda seems to one's view beneath the leaning (side), when a cloud is going over it in such wise that it (the tower) hangs over in the contrary direction; such did Antæus seem to me, as I stood on the watch to see him stoop, and it was a moment when I could have wished to go by another road. But gently in the depths which engulfs Lucifer with Judas he set us down; nor thus bowed made he there long delay, but like the mast of a ship he raised himself.

END OF CANTO XXXI.

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CANTO XXXII.

THE NINTH CIRCLE—THE TRAITORS—COCYTUS, THE LAKE OF ICE—FIRST RING, *CAINA*, TRAITORS TO KINDRED—THE COUNTS OF MANGORA—CAMICION DE' PAZZI—SECOND RING, *ANTENORA*, TRAITORS TO THEIR COUNTRY—BOCCA DEGLI ABATI—BUOSO DA DUERA—COUNT UGOLINO.

THE Poets have been deposited in safety on the ice-floor of the *Pozzo* by their huge bearer, but before commencing a description of the new horrors that he witnesses, Dante pauses, and tells his readers how he shrinks from the extreme difficulty of the undertaking. He finds it necessary to indite a new Pröoemium, followed by a fresh Invocation to the Muses.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, after the Exordium and Invocation just alluded to, Dante relates how he and Virgil took their way over the frozen surface of Cocytus, traversing the First Ring of the Ninth Circle called *Caina*, in which are punished Traitors to their Kindred.

In *Division* II, from ver. 40 to ver. 69 he converses with Camicion de' Pazzi, and learns from him that two other shades, in close contiguity to each other, and who refused to reveal their identity, are the two brothers, Counts of Mangona.

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In *Division* III, from ver. 70 to ver. 123, the Poets pass on into *Antenora*, the Second Ring of the Ninth Circle, where they see the penalty of Traitors to their own Country.

In *Division* IV, from ver. 124 to ver. 139, Dante relates the ghastly juxtaposition of two of the shades, who are (though Dante will only learn their names in the next Canto) the Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, and Ruggieri, Archbishop of Pisa.

Division I.—Readers must understand that the terrible region in which the Poets now find themselves is a glassy lake of ice formed by the freezing of the river Cocytus.* This lake is subdivided into four concentric Rings (*giri*), in which are placed, in varying degrees of torment, four classes of Traitors, namely, in (*a*) *Caina*, Traitors to Kindred; in (*b*) *Antenora*, Traitors to their Country; in (*c*) *Tolomea*, Traitors to Hospitality and Friendship; and in (*d*) *Giudecca*, Traitors to Benefactors.

The dimensions of these Rings are computed approximately by Agnelli (*Topo-Cronografia del Viaggio Dantesco*, Milan, 1891) to be, *Caina*, 1 mile; *Antenora*, ¾ of a mile; *Tolomea*, ½ a mile; and *Giudecca*, ¼ of a mile; make in all a diameter of 2½ miles for the entire Ninth Circle. These several Rings slope down towards the centre, though Agnelli is of opinion that the ease with which the Poets strike across the Rings and walk direct to the centre, where Lucifer stands

* It will be well here to refer back to Canto xiv, where (pp. 513-521) will be found a full discussion of the rivers of Hell, and the alternative opinions as to the origin of Cocytus.

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fixed in the ice, disproves such a conjecture, and that the whole are horizontal. I follow however the opinion of the majority of the Commentators. We are not informed of what nature are the lines of demarcation between the several Rings.

Dante begins the Canto by telling of his difficulty in finding words adequate to give an idea of the weird spectacle that met his eyes.* In a general way speech is uttered about what one hears or what one sees or what one thinks, and he is at a loss to know with what signs he can express to others that which surpasses human imagination, and was never before presented to the senses of a living man.

S' io avessi le rime † aspre e chiocce,

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* In *Par.* xxxiii, 67-75, Dante records a similar difficulty in describing scenes of surpassing sanctity and glory :—

"O somma luce, che tanto ti levi
Dai concetti mortali, alla mia mente
Ripresta un poco di quel che parevi,
E fa la lingua mia tanto possente,
Ch' una favilla sol della tua gloria
Possa lasciare alla futura gente;
Chè per tornare alquanto a mia memoria,
E per sonare un poco in questi versi,
Più si conceperà di tua vittoria."

† *rime:* "Le mot *rime* signifie ici *vers*, *poésie*, et c' était aussi une des acceptions du mot 'rimes' dans notre ancienne langue, à laquelle les Italiens l' ont emprunté. Aucun autre ne rendrait exactement la pensée de Dante." (Lamennais).

Dante claims this as one of the senses of *rima* in *Conv.* iv, 2, ll. 101-110: "Saper si conviene che *rima* si può doppiamente considerare, cioè largamente e strettamente. *Strettamente*, s' intende per quella concordanza che nell' ultima e penultima sillaba far si suole; *largamente*, s' intende per tutto quel parlare che in numeri e tempo regolato in rimate consonanze cade." Compare also *Inf.* xiii, 46-48 :—

"S' egli avesse potuto creder prima,
. . . , anima lesa,
Ciò ch' ha veduto pur con la mia rima," etc.,

where *rima* evidently signifies Virgil's poetry generally.

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Come si converebbe al tristo buco,
Sopra il qual pontan * tutte l' altre rocce,
Io premerei di mio concetto il suco
Più pienamente; ma perchè io non l' abbo, 5
Non senza tema a dicer mi conduco.

Had I but the lines as harsh and raucous, as would accord with the gloomy Pit upon which all the other rocky circles rest their weight, I would press out the juice of my conception more fully. But since I have them not, not without fear bring I myself to tell (thereof).

Dante goes on to say that the scenes he has to bring before his readers are such as will tax to the uttermost his powers as a poet, and therefore he must be careful to weigh his words well, and to clothe his ideas with such language as befits the horror of the subject.

Chè non è impresa da pigliare a gabbo,
Descriver fondo † a tutto l' universo,
Nè da lingua che chiami mamma e babbo.‡

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* *Sopra il qual pontan*, et seq.: "Al tristo centro dell' inferno, sopra il quale gravitano appoggiandosi tutti cerchi infernali e tutto l' universo." (Casini). Compare *Par.* xxix, 55-57:—

"Principio del cader fu il maledetto
Superbir di colui, che tu vedesti
Da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto."

† *Descriver fondo:* This is equivalent to *descriver lo fondo.* Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 301) says: "We will confine ourselves to remarking with Nannucci that the omission of the article was exceedingly common among the early writers, and is not uncommon with Dante himself." Compare *Par.* xviii, 42:—

"E letizia era ferza del paleo." [*ferza* being for *la ferza*].

‡ *lingua che chiami mamma e babbo:* In *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, cap. 7, ll. 25-32, we are told what is the courtly and cultivated style of language: "Si vulgare illustre consideres . . . sola vocabula nobilissima in cribro tuo residere curabis. In quorum nùmero,

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For to describe the bottom of the whole universe is not an enterprise to be undertaken in jest, nor for a tongue that cries *Mamma* and *Babbo* (*i.e.* Papa).

Benvenuto remarks: "Quia ista materia non est pro infante, qui nondum scit mature loqui, nedum pulcre et ornate."

Dante now entreats the Muses to give him the faculty he professes to lack. His Invocation is almost as though he were beginning a new poem. In the opening lines of the *Purgatorio* he invokes their aid to treat of a more agreeable matter, as if in direct contrast with the Invocation in this present passage, where after describing all the horrors of Hell, he calls upon the Muses to assist him in a narrative far more terrible.

Ma quelle Donne aiutino il mio verso, 10

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nec puerilia propter sui simplicitatem, ut *mamma* et *babbo*, *mate* et *pate*." Compare also *Par.* xxxiii, 106-108:—

"Omai sarà più corta mia favella,
Pure a quel ch' io ricordo, che di un fante
Che bagni ancor la lingua alla mammella."

Lord Vernon (*Inferno*) interprets the line as implying that the matter Dante had in hand was not one for children, nor for a man who was not both learned and eloquent. The same Commentator (*footnote*) gives an alternative interpretation that the matter could not be adequately treated in a language which, as Italian was then, was still in its infancy, literary compositions before the time of Dante being usually written in Latin.

Lorenzo Lippi (*Malmantile*, canto iv, st. 12) has a passage that reminds one of the words in the text:—

"Avendo ereditato il genio antico,
Costui teneva in man prima le carte
Che legato gli fosse anche il bellico:
E pria che mamma, babbo, e poppe,
Chiamò spade, baston, danari, e coppe."

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Ch' aiutâro Amfion * a chiuder Tebe,
Sì che dal fatto † il dir non sia diverso.

But may those Ladies give aid to my verse, who assisted Amphion to wall-in Thebes, so that the tale be not at variance with the fact.

On finding himself in the lowest Pit of Hell, Dante addresses his thoughts to its wretched inmates.

O sopra tutte mal creata plebe,‡
Che stai nel loco onde 'l parlare è duro,
Me' foste state qui pecore o zebe! § 15

O ye, above all (in the other Circles) ill-begotten rabble, who are in the place whereof it is hard to speak, better were it, had you here in the world been sheep or goats.

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* *Amfion:* Compare Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 394-401 :—

"Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor arcis,
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit haec sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis,
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno:
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit."

† *Sì che dal fatto:* Compare *Inf.* iv, 145-147 :—

"Io non posso ritrar di tutti appieno:
Perocchè sì mi caccia il lungo tema,
Che molte fiate al fatto il dir vien meno."

‡ *mal creata plebe:* Compare *Inf.* v, 7: "l' anima mal nata;" and *Inf.* xviii, 76: "questi altri mal nati;" and *Inf.* xxx, 48:—

"Rivolsilo a guardar gli altri mal nati."

§ *zebe:* "Chiamò le capre zebe, perchè così le chiamano i pastori nostri." (Landino). "Capre sic dicte a *zebello, zebellas*, quod idem est quod *salto, saltas*." (*Codice Cassinese, Chiose Sincrone*). "Zebe sono li capretti saltanti; e sono dette *zebe*, perchè vanno zebellando, cioè saltando." (Lana). Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says the word is beyond a doubt derived from *Zibbe*, a corrupt form for *Ziege* used by the peasants.

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Dante's attention is suddenly arrested by a voice proceeding from beneath him, bidding his foot be merciful and avoid trampling upon two of the as yet unseen helpless throng. These are the two brothers the Counts of Mangona, but he has yet to learn who they are.

Come noi fummo giù nel pozzo scuro
Sotto i piè del gigante, assai più bassi,
Ed io mirava ancora all' alto muro,*
Dicere udimmi:—"Guarda, come passi;
Va sì che tu non calchi con le piante 20
Le teste † de' fratei miseri lassi."—

When we were down in the darksome Pit beneath the feet of the Giant, at a much lower level (because the ice-floor slopes to the centre), and I was still gazing up at the lofty wall, I heard said to me: "Take heed how thou passest; see that with thy feet thou tread not on the heads of the weary miserable brothers."

Be it observed that this entreaty is addressed to Dante alone, as the feet of Virgil are those of an impalpable spirit. It is more generally considered that the words are those of one of the two brothers of whom Dante is about to speak, namely, the

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* *all' alto muro:* The lofty perpendicular cliff which formed the line of circumvallation to the Pit.

† *Va sì che tu non calchi . . . le teste:* We are to infer that the shade was unaware of Dante being a living man; and anyhow the spirits of Dante's Hell do not seem to have had impalpable forms like those in Purgatory, and what this shade dreaded for himself, actually occurred (see ll. 76-79), where Dante's foot strikes the head of Bocca degli Abati. Scartazzini quotes from St. Thom. Aq. (*Com. theol.* Part i, cap. 176): "Erunt igitur corpora damnatorum integra in sui natura, non tamen illas conditiones habebunt, quae pertinent ad gloriam beatorum: non enim erunt subtilia et impassibilia, sed magis in sua grossitie et passibilitate remanebunt, et augebuntur in eis."

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Counts of Mangona, but Benvenuto thinks the voice is that of Camicione de' Pazzi interceding for them. This view I do not follow. If Camicione interceded at all, it is more probable that he would do so for himself, as unselfishness and sympathy had no existence in Dante's Hell.

Dante would seem to have been still engaged in watching the retreating form of the Giant, as, like the mast of a ship, he upreared his huge bulk, until he had resumed his previous stationary attitude, and we must remember that from where Dante is now standing, the lower half of the Giant's body would no longer be concealed, but every part of him would be visible. Dante says he was still gazing in wonder at the lofty cliff, from the summit of which he had been lifted down. He must have wondered indeed at the stature of Antæus, who overtopped that cliff from his waist up to the crown of his head. At the sound, however, of the unknown voice, Dante starts from his reverie, and his eyes getting more accustomed to the darksome air, is able to discern the objects at his feet. He proceeds to describe the ice-lake by two sets of similes, the first relating to the solidity to which the cold has frozen the water, and the second to the position of the miserable beings seen on its surface.

> Perch' io mi volsi, e vidimi davante
> E sotto i piedi lago,* che per gelo

**lago:* On the moral signification of the Frozen Lake, Pietro di Dante says: "qui lacus significat statum frigidissimum, odiosum, in quo immerguntur proditores. . . . Fingendo tales in luto glaciato ita stare, ut dicit textus, idest in statu frigidissimo ab amore et charitate." In the *Chiose Anonime*

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Avea di vetro e non d' acqua sembiante. *
Non fece al corso suo sì grosso velo 25
D' inverno la Danoia in Osteric
Nè Tanai là sotto il freddo cielo,
Com' era quivi: chè, se Tambernic †
Vi fosse su caduto, o Pietrapana,‡
Non avria pur dall' orlo fatto cric.§ 30

Whereupon I turned round, and saw before me, and under my feet, a lake, which through frost had the semblance of glass and not of water. Never in winter did the Danube in Austria form so thick a veil for its course, nor the Don far away beneath the frigid sky, as there was here:

(known as the *Falso Boccaccio*) I find: "Tu sai che la carità e l' amore si dipinge in fuoco, imperocchè l' amore e la carità è ardentissima, e per lo contrario . . . il nostro altore [*autore*] gli mette in una ghiaccia grossissima e freddissima sotto i piedi di giughanti [giganti]."

Cary observes that "the same torment is introduced into the Edda, compiled in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." See quotations from Shakespeare and Milton in footnote on *Inf.* iii, 82.

* *Avea di vetro . . . sembiante:* Compare Dante's Canzone, *Io son venuto*, ll. 59-61, p. 166 in the Oxford Dante:—

"La terra fa un suol che par di smalto,
E l' acqua morta si converte in vetro
Per la freddura, che di fuor la serra."

† *Tambernic:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) remarks that it is not very certain to what precise mountain Dante is here alluding, but it is most probably either the *Frusta Gora* near Tovarnicho, in Sclavonia, or the Javornick, the Mountain of the Maple Trees, Abornberg, near the famous grottoes of Adelsberg in Carniola.

‡ *Pietrapana:* A corruption of Petra Apuana, a chain or group of mountains lying between Lucca and Modena, and between the Serchio and the Magra, in the region that is now known as the Garfagnana.

§ *cric:* Cesari (*Bellezze della Divina Commedia*, Verona, 1824) asks if this is not the exact sound made by either glass or ice when cracked; and observes that had Dante used some definite verb, such as *scricchiolare*, he would not have made his readers to realise his meaning in the way they do now, almost fancying they can hear the ice crack.

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for, if Tambernich had fallen upon it, or Pietrapana, it would not even at the edge have given a creak.

Di Siena paraphrases this: "If upon this ice of Hell there had fallen the lofty rocks of Tabernich or Pietrapana, it would not have given the slightest crack, not even at the edges, where frozen water most easily splits up."

Dante now brings clearly before us the mode of punishment specially allotted to the shades in *Caina*, who have been guilty of murderous treachery against their kindred. These are fixed in the ice in an upright position, with their heads alone exposed. Dante compares them to the frogs, which in the South of Europe are heard in the hot nights in harvest time croaking in every stream, pool, or ditch in which water remains, and lie in the water with no part of them above the surface but their mouths.

E come a gracidar si sta la rana *
Col muso fuor dell' acqua, quando sogna
Di spigolar sovente † la villana:

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* *la rana:* This is the second time in the *Divina Commedia* that Dante alludes to the frogs. In *Inf.* ix, 76-80, he compares the shades in the Stygian marsh diving down on the appearance of an Angel, to frogs diving when they see a snake:—

"Come le rane innanzi alla nimica
Biscia per l' acqua si dileguan tutte,
Fin che alla terra ciascuna s' abbica;
Vid' io più di mille anime distrutte
Fuggir così dinanzi ad un," etc.

† *quando sogna di spigolar sovente:* There is great force in the word *sovente* here. In Italy there are other seasons than the reaping-time in summer when gleaning may be done, but it is during the summer harvest that the peasant woman would have the most frequent opportunities.

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Livide * insin là dove appar vergogna †
Eran l' ombre dolenti nella ghiaccia, 35
Mettendo i denti in nota di cigogna.
Ognuna in giù tenea vôlta la faccia:
Da bocca il freddo, e dagli occhi il cor tristo
Tra lor testimonianza si procaccia.

And as the frog to croak sits with its nose out of the water, when (in summer) the peasant woman dreams of frequent gleanings: (so) were the doleful shades in the ice, blue-pinched up to where (the blush of) shame appears (*i.e.* in the face), setting their teeth to the measure of the stork. Each held his face bent downwards: from the mouth the cold procures itself evidence among them (by their chattering teeth), and from the eyes the affliction of the heart (by their tears).

Benvenuto remarks that it is the usual demeanour of a traitor not to look you straight in the face, but to cast his eyes down. In this place the Traitors turn their faces from God.

Division II.—Dante's eyes travel over the scene, and after a cursory inspection, he turns his attention to the shade at his feet who had addressed him. He does not know who the speaker is, but it turns out to be one of the two brothers whose terrible fate he now describes. In vain does he seek to know from them who they are. They are either unable or un-

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* *Livide:* Perhaps for the interpretation, compare *Purg.* v, 20, and see my note upon it in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, vol. i, pp. 162, 163.

† *insin là dove appar vergogna:* Scartazzini thinks the livid and wailing shades were submerged in the ice as far as the face, where shame manifests itself by the blush. The simile, by which the shades are compared to frogs with their mouths out of the water, renders it certain that this is Dante's meaning. Other objectionable interpretations must be rejected.

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willing to answer, but turn their impotent rage in silence against each other.

Quand' io ebbi * d' intorno alquanto visto, 40
Volsimi a' piedi, e vidi due sì stretti †
Che il pel del capo avieno insieme misto.
—"Ditemi voi, chè sì stringete i petti,"—‡
Diss' io,—"chi siete."—E quei piegaro i colli;
E poi ch' ebber li visi a me eretti, 45
Gli occhi lor, ch' eran pria pur dentro molli,
Gocciâr su per le labbra, e il gielo strinse
Le lagrime tra essi, e riserrolli: §

---

* *Quand' io ebbi*, et seq.: Dante's action in looking round him first, and then peering down to his feet, seems just what a man might do who found himself in a new place in the dark. He had already heard the voice, but had not at first made out whence it came.

† *stretti:* Benvenuto draws particular attention to the fact that this close embrace of the two brothers must by no means be taken as implying affection, but quite the reverse; for it was the grip of deadly hatred with which in life they grappled one with another, and after exchanging many poinard thrusts, fell dead, locked in each other's arms in the frenzy of rage.

‡ *stringete i petti:* Although the shades were submerged from the face downwards, yet the transparency of the ice enabled Dante to see down as far as their breasts.

§ *Gocciâr su per le labbra . . . tra essi, e riserrolli:* Some read *gocciâr giù* instead of *su*. The latter, however, is supported by overwhelming authority, and I follow the Oxford text in adopting it. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 355) says this is a typical instance of the just application of the *difficilior lectio*. There is also much discrepancy of opinion as to the meaning of *labbra*. I follow Dr. Moore, who (p. 356) writes: "What are the actual facts? (1) *Labbra* does not mean "lips" here, but "eyelids," as is perfectly clear from a consideration of the context, since *essi* and *riserrolli* in l. 48 obviously refer to the eyes, which were fast bound by the instant freezing of the tears which welled up through the eyelids. (2) Though the sinners generally have their faces downwards (ll. 37, 53), yet it has just been stated that these two had raised their heads in the vain attempt, frustrated by the freezing tears, to see who the strange visitors were, *e.g.* ll. 44, 45:—

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Con legno legno mai spranga non cinse
Forte così; ond' ei, come due becchi, 50
Cozzâro insieme: tant' ira li vinse.

When I had looked round for a while, I turned towards my feet, and saw two so closely pressed together, that they had the (very) hair of their heads intermingled (*i.e.* frozen into a lump). "Tell me, ye who so press your breasts (together)," said I, "who are ye?" And they bent (back) their necks; and after they had turned their faces up towards me, their eyes, which before had only been moist within (now) brimmed over through the eyelids, and the frost congealed the tears between them (the lids) and locked them up. Never did trenail rivet plank to plank so firmly; whereupon, like two goats, they butted at one another; such fury overcame them.

Another spirit here interposes, and with an intention worthy of the place where all are traitors, not only gives Dante the information about the identity of the brothers which they are seeking to withhold, but at the same time says everything to their disadvantage which malice can dictate, declaring them worse than some of the vilest traitors known, two of whom he mentions by name.

Ed un * ch' avea perduti ambo gli orecchi

'E quei piegâro i colli,
E poi ch' ebber li visi a me eretti,' etc.

Thus we see that *su* and not *giù* precisely expressed the effect intended." Blanc (*Saggio*, pp. 304, 305) writes exactly in the same sense. Camerini points out that in the tremendous cold, the tears would have frozen instantaneously, and would never have flowed as far as the lips. Benvenuto takes *labra* [so spelt] quite as a matter of course as referring to the eyes, and says: "et humor perveniens ad oculos subito coagulabatur."

* *Ed un*, et seq.: This shade, we learn in l. 68, was Messer Alberto Camicione de' Pazzi di Valdarno, who treacherously slew his kinsman Ubertino. Some Commentators say he was his uncle, others his cousin.

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Per la freddura, pur col viso in giue
Disse:—"Perchè cotanto in noi ti specchi?*
Se vuoi saper chi son cotesti due,† 55
La valle onde Bisenzio ‡ si dichina,
Del padre loro Alberto e di lor fue.
D' un corpo usciro: e tutta la Caina
Potrai cercare, e non troverai ombra §
Degna più d' esser fitta in gelatina:‖ 60
Non quelli a cui ¶ fu rotto il petto e l' ombra

---

* *ti specchi:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) interprets this particular passage as meaning "to gaze fixedly as in a mirror." Others think that the glassy surface of the ice acted like a mirror, but Blanc's interpretation is to be preferred.

† *cotesti due:* From the *Postillatore Cassinese*, as well as from the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, we gather that these two brothers were Napoleone and Alessandro degli Alberti, Counts of Mangona; who, having quarrelled as to the possession of certain strong places in the Valley of the Bisenzio, contrived to slay each other. Napoleone was a Ghibelline, Alessandro a Guelph.

‡ *Bisenzio:* This is a small river that flows by Prato, and falls into the Arno near La Lastra, below Florence.

§ *ombra:* Observe that *ombra* is used here in the sense of "shade," *i.e.* one of the spirits of the Lost in Hell. Two lines further down, it is used in the sense of the shadow cast by the human body. Except the word CRISTO, Dante never introduces the same word twice in a *terzina* as a rhyme, unless, as here, the two uses of it have different significations.

‖ *fitta in gelatina:* Scartazzini remarks that Camicion de' Pazzi, in using such a jocular term as "fixed in the jelly," shows that even in Hell his spirit of fun has not deserted him.

¶ *quelli a cui*, et seq.: Mordred, son of King Arthur, having been detected treacherously plotting to dethrone and slay his father, the latter transfixed him with so vigorous a stroke of his lance, that a ray of sunshine passed through Mordred's dead body, thereby causing a disruption of his shadow. The story is told in the Romance of *Lancelot du Lac.* The fact is also related in the old French Romance (MS. Brit. Mus. *Add.* 10,294, Cent. xiv, and quoted in Dr. Paget Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*, s.v. *Artù*): "Si dist l' estoire qu' apres l' estors [*withdrawal*] del glaive passa parmi la plaie uns rais de soleil si apertement que Girflet le vit. Dont cil del pais distrent que ce avoit fait Nostre Sires par coros [*courroux*] qu' il avoit a lui."

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Con esso un colpo per la man d' Artù:
Non Focaccia:* non questi che m' ingombra
Col capo sì ch' io non veggio oltre più,
E fu nomato Sassol Mascheroni:† 65
Se Tosco se', ben sa' omai chi fu.

And one who from the cold had lost both his ears, with his face still bent downward, said: "Wherefore dost thou gaze so fixedly at us? If thou desirest to know who are these two, the valley from which the Bisenzio flows down belonged to their father Albert and to them. From one body they issued: and throughout all Caina mayest thou search, and not one shade wilt thou find more deserving to be fixed in the jelly: not him (Mordred) whose breast and shadow were cleft at one and the same blow by the hand of Arthur: not Focaccia, not this one here who so encumbers me with his head that I cannot see beyond it,

---

* *Focaccia* was of the noble family of the Cancellieri of Pistoja. Landino calls him a *giovane audacissimo*, and of evil habits. By way of retaliation for a piece of boyish impertinence on the part of a cousin of his to one of his uncles, he dragged the boy into a stable, and cut off his hand on the edge of the manger. Not contented with this atrocity, he rushed into the house of the boy's father, who was brother to his own father, and cut his throat. The story is related somewhat differently by the various Chroniclers and Commentators, but from this act of violence by one branch of the Cancellieri against the other branch, there sprung up the deadly feud, which ripened into the factions of the "Whites (*Bianchi*)" and the "Blacks (*Neri*)," and which divided, first Pistoja and afterwards Florence. The *Bianchi*, and Dante among them, were expelled and banished from Florence in 1302, by the *Neri*, who were aided by Charles of Valois, and eventually in their banishment they (the *Bianchi*) identified themselves with the Ghibellines.

† *Sassol Mascheroni* was of the Toschi of Florence. He treacherously murdered the only son and heir of an aged uncle, and took possession of his wealth. The crime having been eventually brought home to him, he was shut up in a cask studded with sharp nails, and amid the execrations of the citizens, was rolled about the streets of Florence and then beheaded.

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and was called Sassol Mascheroni: if thou art a Tuscan, now knowest thou well who *he* was.

Benvenuto remarks that at this point, the shade who is speaking to Dante replies by anticipation to a possible question that Dante might put to him, as to who he is that of his own accord has named so many traitors. To this he virtually answers: "I quite understand what you want to ask me, and therefore I will tell you." In doing so, however, with characteristic treachery, he takes care to tell Dante that he is on the look-out for the arrival of one of his own blood relations, whose crimes will make even his own appear less dark.

—E perchè non mi metti in più sermoni,
Sappi ch' io fui il Camicion de' Pazzi,*
Ed aspetto Carlin † che mi scagioni."—‡

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* *Camicion de' Pazzi:* See note on l. 52.

† *Carlino*, kinsman of Camicione, was likewise of the family of the Pazzi of Valdarno, and being bribed by the *Neri* of Florence, he betrayed to them the castle of Piano di Trevigne, which was holding out for the *Bianchi*, at the time that that party, exiled from Florence, and with Dante among them, had made a fruitless attempt to carry La Lastra by a *coup-de-main*. Carlino, after profiting by the bribes of the *Neri*, sold the castle back again to the *Bianchi*. See G. Villani, viii, cap. 52; and Dino Compagni, lib. ii, cap. xxviii.

‡ *che mi scagioni:* Note that Camicione de' Pazzi is speaking in *Caina*, his crime being the treacherous murder of a kinsman. He exults that his kinsman Carlino is worse than himself as being a traitor to his country, and by being condemned to *Antenora* will make his own crime seem less atrocious. Di Siena says that *scagionare* is the contrary of *accagionare*, which is equivalent to *imputare*, *incolpare*. *Ex-cusare* from *excausare*, "to purge from a fault, to justify." In *Ezek.* xvi, Judah is accused by God of having played the harlot, and of having sinned so greatly, that by comparison her wickednesses have made her sisters Sodom and Samaria seem good and modest; see ver. 51: "Neither hath Samaria committed half of thy

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And that thou mayest not put me to further speech, know that I was Camicion de' Pazzi, and I await Carlino (de' Pazzi) to exonerate me (by comparison)."

Dante seems to have turned from the pitiful miscreant in silent contempt, and with Virgil to have passed onward.

Division III.—We are left to infer that the Poets have now moved forward into the Second Ring of the *Pozzo*, which we shall find (l. 88) is called *Antenora*, and wherein Dante sees the punishment of traitors to their native country. There is no boundary line mentioned between the First and Second Rings. These traitors, like those in *Caina*, have their faces projecting out of the ice, and their eyes are blinded by their frozen tears. The horror of the scene appears to augment at every step.

Poscia vid' io mille visi, cagnazzi * 70
Fatti per freddo: onde mi vien riprezzo,
E verrà sempre, de' gelati guazzi.†

---

sins; but thou hast multiplied thine abominations more than they, and has justified thy sisters in all thine abominations which thou hast done."

* *cagnazzi:* There are two ways of interpreting this word. I follow Benvenuto, Landino, Vellutello and Scartazzini, who understand it that with their teeth chattering with cold the shades were grinning like dogs. Others think it refers to the hue on their faces. Buti says: "livid"; Tommaséo: "rossi scuri"; Di Siena and Fraticelli: "quel colore tra il paonazzo e il nero che . . . assimigliasi al color morello delle lividure e delle cangrene."

† *de' gelati guazzi:* Benvenuto reads *di gelati guazzi*, and seems to understand "any frozen ponds." Dr. Moore, in a letter to me, remarks that, whatever be the reading, surely Benvenuto's explanation is infinitely preferable. There is tremendous poetic force in saying that the abiding horror of

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After this I perceived thousands of faces made dog-like (*i.e.* grinning) by the cold: whereat there comes over me—and evermore will come—a shuddering dread of frozen pools.

At this point an episode takes place which Dante has doubtless introduced by way of representing the darkest act of treachery to one's country that was known to him. Be it remembered that although at the time of writing the Poem, Dante's sympathies had become almost Ghibelline, and although he was undergoing the most merciless persecution from the Guelphs, yet when the battle of Montaperti was fought in 1260, five years before Dante was born, his ancestors were Guelphs; and some of them, who were in the Florentine ranks, participated in the rout of that fatal day, as Farinata degli Uberti (*Inf.* x, 46-48) pointedly reminded him. At the most critical moment in the battle, the traitor Bocca degli Abati, whom Dante now brands with infamy, rode stealthily up behind the standard-bearer of the Florentine cavalry Messer Jacopo del Nacca de' Pazzi, and with his sword smote off the hand that bore the standard, so that it fell to the ground. The Florentines, seeing their standard fall, were seized with a panic, and their discomfiture became a rout. This deed is recorded by Ricordano Malespini (cap. clxvii); and by Giov. Villani (vi, 78). No name throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries excited more horror than that of this double-dyed traitor, and

the awful scene so continually haunts him, that he can never now even look at a frozen pond without a shudder. The other interpretation is positively commonplace. It comes only to saying that he shudders when he thinks of the scene itself.

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Dante has rightly selected him as a prominent figure among the traitors punished in *Antenora.* We have already seen the penalty of Bocca's brother, Buoso degli Abati, among the robbers changed into serpents in Canto XXV, 34-151.

E mentre che andavamo in vêr lo mezzo,
Al quale ogni gravezza si raduna,*
Ed io tremava nell' eterno rezzo,† 75
Se voler ‡ fu, o destino, o fortuna,
Non so: ma passeggiando tra le teste,
Forte percossi il piè nel viso ad una.

---

* *Al quale ogni gravezza si raduna:* Compare *Inf.* XXXIV, 110, 111:—

"Quando mi volsi, tu passasti il punto
Al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi."

I find in Tommaséo on this line: "gravezza di pesi e di peccati. Gravezza *materiale,* perchè tutti i pesi tirano al centro; *morale,* perchè giù si puniscono i peccati più gravi."

† *rezzo:* Dr. Moore writes to me: "*Rezzo* is, I think, a very interesting word. I believe it is a curtailed form of *orezzo* or *orezza,* which is equivalent to the Latin *auritium,* being formed, like a very large number of words in Romance languages, from the diminutive forms of classical words. Hence it would mean, *at first,* a little breeze. Compare *Purg.* XXIV, 150, where *orezza* signifies, 'a waft, or breath' (*venticello,* Buti). *Secondly,* breeziness and coolness being associated, it comes to mean 'coolness,' as *adorezza* in *Purg.* I, 123. Hence *rezzo* = 'cold' in the present passage. *Thirdly,* coolness and shadiness being associated, it comes to mean 'shade,' as in *Inf.* XVII, 87. Hence I think we have (1) breeze; (2) cold; (3) shade; the several meanings being connected by association of ideas. At least this seems to me the best way of connecting the different usages of the word, and so I explained it lately in a Lecture."

‡ *voler:* Some have attempted to show that by *voler* Dante meant to insinuate that he gave Bocca a sly kick "on purpose." But as Scartazzini points out, that supposition is absurd, for if Dante had done it of his own free will, how could he say that he did not know how it had chanced? He makes no secret of his subsequent violence.

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Piangendo mi sgridò : *—"Perchè mi peste ? †
Se tu non vieni a crescer la vendetta 80
Di Mont' Aperti, perchè mi moleste ?"—

And while we were going towards the centre (of the Earth), at which all gravity unites, and I was shivering in the eternal cold: whether it was (divine) will, or destiny, or chance, I know not; but while stepping among the heads, I struck my foot heavily in the face of one of them. Weeping he yelled out (in anger) at me: "Why dost thou kick me? Unless thou comest to increase the vengeance of Mont' Aperti, why dost thou molest me?"

As soon as Dante's ears catch the word "Mont' Aperti," it suddenly flashes upon him that he is in the presence of the foul traitor whose memory was loathed by every patriotic citizen of Florence, irrespective of politics, and he entreats Virgil to give him full time to assure himself on this point. Virgil complies, and an interchange of fierce recriminations

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* *sgridò:* Note that *sgridare*, "to cry angrily, to upbraid," is not the same as *gridare*, "to cry, to shout."

† *Perchè mi peste?:* This expostulation of Bocca reminds one of that of Pier delle Vigne in *Inf.* xiii, 33: "Perchè mi schiante?" and *ibid*, 35: "Perchè mi scerpi?" but with this difference, that Pier delle Vigne utters mournful lamentations without anger, whereas all Bocca's words are spoken in rage and spite, for in ll. 85, 86, Dante thinks of him as

"colui
Che bestemmiava ancora," etc;

and (l. 87) shows his irritation by replying to him:—

"Qual se' tu, che così rampogni altrui?"

Pestare is the regular word for "to kick any one." There is a story in Tuscany of an unwelcome swain trying to establish an understanding with a lady in society by pressing her foot under the table, but she, wishing to crush him once and for ever, said to him in a loud voice before every one: "Se mi vuole bene, me lo dica, ma non mi pesti! [*If you love me, tell me so, but don't kick me!*]"

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takes place between Dante the patriot, and Bocca the traitor.

Ed io:—"Maestro mio, or qui m' aspetta,
Sì ch' io esca d' un dubbio per costui:
Poi mi farai, quantunque vorrai, fretta."—
Lo Duca stette; ed io dissi a colui 85
Che bestemmiava duramente ancora:
—"Qual se' tu, che così rampogni altrui?"—
—"Or tu chi se', che vai per l' Antenora *
Percotendo,"—rispose,—"altrui le gote
Sì che, se fossi vivo, troppo fora?"—† 90
—"Vivo son io, e caro esser ti puote,"—
Fu mia risposta,—"se domandi fama,
Ch' io metta il nome tuo tra l' altre note." ‡

---

* *l' Antenora:* Antenor had the reputation of having betrayed his country, because he had recommended that Helen, the sole cause of the war which was threatening the very existence of Troy, should be given up and restored to Menelaus. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 189, 190) thinks Dante must in this case, as in others, have derived his information from the Commentary on Virgil of Servius Honoratus Marus, who flourished in the reigns of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius. There is only one allusion to Antenor in Virgil in *Æn.* i, 242 *et seq.*, where *Æneas* contrasts his unhappy and futile wanderings with the successful settlement of Antenor at Patavium. But Servius in his note *h.l.*, explains the point of this complaint to be that Antenor betrayed his country on more occasions than one, and yet he prospered, while Æneas was persecuted by fate. Dante may have learnt the story from the Trojan history of Dictys and Dares.

† *Sì che, se fossi vivo, troppo fora:* Bocca, whose eyes are closed, and who has not seen his assailant, has no idea that it is a living human foot that has struck his face, and wonders how the foot of a shade is able to use such violence.

‡ *note:* I follow most of the Tuscan Commentators in understanding *note* (I quote Fraticelli): "*tra l' altre note*, tra l' altre cose da me notate quaggiù, e ch' io un giorno narrerò." Benvenuto gives the same interpretation: "inter alias literas quibus notavi alios dignos fama." Other Commentators interpret as follows: "Cose da me notate." (Biagioli and Bianchi). "Catalogi, ruoli di persone degne di memoria." (Venturi). "Ricordi scritti." (Volpi). "Ombre notate in Inferno." (Vellutello).

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Ed egli a me:—"Del contrario ho io brama:
Lèvati quinci, e non mi dar più lagna: 95
Chè mal sai lusingar per questa lama."—*

And I: "My Master, now wait here for me, so that I may issue from a doubt respecting him: then thou shalt hurry me on as much as thou wilt." My Leader stopped; and I said to the shade, who still continued to curse vehemently: "Who art thou that thus revilest others?" "And prithee who art thou," he answered, "that goest through *Antenora* smiting other people's cheeks, so that, if thou wert alive, it would be too much?" "Alive I am," was my answer, "and it may be precious to thee, if thou desireth renown, that I should put down thy name among my other notes." And he to me: "The contrary do I desire: take thyself hence, and give me no further cause of complaint: for ill knowest thou how to flatter in this depth."

Dante has fallen into the error of thinking that the shades in the Pit desire to have their names published in the world; whereas all that they desire is to remain unknown, and his promise of proclamation is just what prevents them from revealing themselves.†

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* *lama:* Compare *Inf.* xx, 79, 80:—
"Non molto ha corso, che trova una lama,
Nella qual si distende e la impaluda."
And *Purg.* vii, 88-90:—
"Di questo balzo meglio gli atti e i volti
Conoscerete voi di tutti e quanti,
Che nella lama giù tra essi accolti."
Lama means a low-lying land that may either be uncovered, or, in the sense of a lagoon, covered with water.
Compare Horace, 1 *Epist.* xiii, 10:—
"Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas."

† The most remarkable instance of this is where Guido da Montefeltro tells Dante his name and his story upon the erroneous supposition that he is telling them to a shade, who under no circumstances can reach the world above (*Inf.* xxvii, 61-66).

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It is not without regret that one reads of the storm of rage with which Dante now falls upon the miserable wretch who lies powerless at his feet. Bocca's face is, we know, like the others in this ring, bent downwards. Dante, on hearing his refusal to tell his name, seizes him by the nape of the neck, and with great violence tries to force his head back so as to disclose his features. Benvenuto thinks that Dante's reason for recounting such intemperate behaviour on his part is done purposely. He wishes to record his opinion that traitors, more than all other criminals, ought to be condemned by the most merciless tortures (*sæva quæstione tormentorum*) to confess their treachery, in order that they may undergo the ordinary penalties which justice inflicts on traitors, as well as the contumely which all persons express, both by word and deed, for crimes of such peculiar baseness.

Dante continues to assault Bocca, and endeavours to extort confession from him by reiterated threats, to which Bocca replies by howls of defiance, when another sinner addresses him by name; whereupon Dante looses his hold, and promises Bocca to proclaim his infamy.

Allor lo presi per la cuticagna,*
E dissi :—" E' converrà che tu ti nomi,
O che capel qui su non ti rimagna."—

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* *la cuticagna :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) thinks this must rather be understood as the hair on the back of the head, than as merely the nape of the neck. Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xv, st. 85) uses the word in a similar sense :—

" Astolfo intanto per la cuticagna
Va dalla nuca fin sopra le ciglia,
Cercando in fretta se 'l crine fatale
Conoscer può ch' Orril tien immortale."

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Ond' egli a me :—" Perchè tu mi dischiomi,* 100
Nè ti diro ch' io sia, nè mostrerolti,
Se mille fiate in sul capo mi tomi."—†
Io avea già i capelli in mano avvolti,‡
E tratti glien' avea più d' una ciocca,
Latrando § lui con gli occhi in giù raccolti ; 105
Quando un altro gridò :—"Che hai tu, Bocca ?
Non ti basta sonar con le mascelle,
Se tu non latri ? qual diavol ti tocca ?"—
" Omai,"—diss' io,—" non vo' che tu favelle,
Malvagio traditor, chè alla tua onta 110
Io porterò di te vere novelle."—

Then I seized him by the scalp behind and said : " It shall needs be that thou name thyself, or that not a hair remain to thee on this (thy head)." Whereupon he to me: " Even though thou tear out all my hair, I will not tell thee who I am, nor show it thee (by turning up my face), even though thou fall foul a thousand times upon my head." I had already twisted his hair in my hand, and had

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* *dischiomi :* This is derived from *dis-comare,* " to tear out the hair." Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xv, st. 87) has the word, having evidently imitated Dante in the passage :—

" E tenendo quel capo per lo naso,
Dietro e dinanzi lo dischioma tutto."

† *mi tomi :* Benvenuto paraphrases the passage : "that is, even if thou jump upon my head with thy feet, and make of me a mock (*ludibrium*) with thy hands and feet." Benvenuto adds that it is not uncommon to see traitors who cannot be coerced into confession by any sort or kind of torture.

‡ *capelli in mano avvolti ;* Petrarch (Part IV, *Canz,* ii, st. 1) has imitated this line :—

" Vecchia, oziosa e lenta.
Dormirà sempre e non fia chi la svegli ?
Le man l' avess' io avvolte entro capegli ! "

§ *Latrando :* Cesari (*Bellezze della D.C.*) thinks that the utterances of Bocca are partly influenced by the pain of his hair being torn out, and the chattering of his jaws from the cold which makes them issue from his lips in spasmodic jerks somewhat like the barking of a dog.

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plucked away from him more than one tuft, while he howled (*lit.* barked) with his eyes kept firmly down; when another (shade) called out: "What ails thee, Bocca? Is it not enough for thee to clatter with thy jaws, but that thou must also bark? What devil is at thee?" "Now," said I, "I do not want thee to say a word, accursed traitor, for to thy shame I will bear true tidings of thee."

Bocca, on finding himself discovered, desists from further attempts at concealment of his identity, but testifies his vexation by revealing to Dante the names and the crimes of his more immediate neighbours, five of whom he mentions, and begins by promptly retaliating upon the shade who had named him. This, we learn, is Buoso da Duera.

—"Va, via,"—rispose,—"e ciò che tu vuoi, conta;
Ma non tacer, se tu di qua entr' eschi,
Di quei ch' ebbe or così la lingua pronta.
Ei piange qui l' argento de' Franceschi: * 115
'Io vidi,' potrai dir, 'quel da Duera †

**l'argento de' Franceschi:* There is a malignant irony in Bocca's words. He intentionally uses *argenti* as a French word at which he points his sarcasm. Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 307) remarks that there is not a single instance known in any good Italian author of the use of *argento* for *denaro* (money) and therefore he feels sure that Dante has intended to make Bocca use a smart repartee. The sinners generally in this Ring appear to be given to similar quips, e.g. *là dove i peccatori stanno freschi;* and *degna più d' esser fitta in gelatina.*

†*quel da Duera:* Buoso da Duera or Dovara was in command of the Ghibelline forces assembled in the district of Parma to repel the French troops marching through Lombardy to join Charles of Anjou's forces in their campaign against Manfred. Being bribed by French money, he allowed a detachment under Count de Montfort to pass over the Oglio with impunity, where an energetic resistance would have been most effectual. The traitor is said to have died a natural death, despised by all, and reduced to great misery.

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Là dove i peccatori stanno freschi.'*
Se fossi domandato, altri chi v' era,
Tu hai da lato quel di Beccheria,†
Di cui segò Fiorenza la gorgiera. 120
Gianni da Soldanier ‡ credo che sia
Più là con Ganellone § e Tribaldello,||

**stanno freschi:* Any one who has lived in Tuscany will be perfectly familiar with this term, which is popularly used to denote "being in a fix." "We must do so and so, or else we shall be in a nice fix (*Bisognerà far tal e tal cosa, se no staremo freschi*)." It is believed that the popular expression took its origin in this verse of Dante's.

†*quel di Beccheria:* This was Tesauro dei Beccheria of Pavia, afterwards Abbot of Vallombrosa, and General of that Order. G. Villani (vi, 65) relates that this person, being the Legate of Pope Alexander IV in Tuscany, was seized by the people of Florence and accused of betraying their interests to the Ghibellines exiled from the city. The Abbot, on being put to the torture, confessed his crime, and was beheaded in the Piazza Sant' Apollinare. The Pope, greatly incensed at the execution of his Legate, placed the city under an interdict. Some, however, denied the truth of the accusation against the Abbot, and asserted, that though a Ghibelline at heart, he was no traitor.

‡*Gianni da Soldanier:* In *Par.* xvi, 91-93, in the catalogue of the great names in Florence by Cacciaguida, that of Soldanieri is honourably mentioned:—

"E vidi così grandi come antichi,
Con quel della Sanella, quel dell' Arca,
E Soldanieri, ed Ardinghi, e Bostichi."

The family were Ghibellines, but after the misgovernment of Florence by the two *Frati Gaudenti* the people in 1266 rose in revolt, and Gianni, having abandoned the Ghibelline side, placed himself at the head of the popular movement, and assisted in proscribing the members of his former party.

§*Ganellone:* Both Pulci and Ariosto, as well as the *Charlemagne Romances*, make frequent mention of Ganelon or Guenes. It was through his treachery that the army of Charlemagne was annihilated on the fatal field of Roncesvalles. Blanc says it is nearly impossible to decide whether he was an historical or a fictitious personage.

||*Tribaldello* was an illegitimate scion of the family of the Zambrasi of Faenza. Having shammed insanity he was

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Ch' aprì Faenza quando si dormia."—

"Be off," he replied, "and tell what thou wilt; but be not silent, if thou gettest out of here, about him who but now had his tongue so ready. He is here bewailing *l'argent* of the French! 'I saw,' thou canst say, 'him of Duera in the place where the sinners get cooled.' Shouldst thou be asked who was there besides, thou hast at thy side him of Beccheria whose gorge Florence severed. I think Gianni de' Soldanieri is still further that way with Ganellone, and Tribaldello, who opened Faenza while people were asleep."

By "still further that way" Bocca probably means to try and prove that they are even worse traitors than himself, and consequently nearer to the centre of Hell.

Division IV.—The remainder of this Canto and nearly two-thirds of the next are given to the great episode of Count Ugolino. His story will be fully told in the next Canto, but we are first to hear the details of the grotesque though appalling situation in which Dante found him.

Benvenuto observes that Dante now gives a description of two specially black traitors, one of whom, Count Ugolino of Pisa, betrayed his party and his country, and was in his turn betrayed by the other

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allowed to range about the streets of that city unnoticed, and with perfect impunity. Taking advantage of this, in 1280, one night he opened one of the gates to the forces of Bologna and Ravenna, commanded by Jean de Apia, whom Pope Martin IV had created Count of Roumania to oppose the Ghibelline commander Guido da Montefeltro. See pp. 380-382 of this volume. It is said that Tribaldello perpetrated this treachery to avenge an insult against himself by the Lambertazzi, who had left Bologna and had taken refuge in Faenza.

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who was Ruggieri, Archbishop of Pisa. The latter having devised the terrible death by starvation which Ugolino and his sons underwent, Dante has placed him in such a position in the ice, that Count Ugolino, his victim, is represented as gnawing at the head which conceived such barbarity.

Noi eravam partiti già da ello,
Ch' io vidi due ghiacciati in una buca 125
Sì che l' un capo all' altro era cappello:
E come il pan per fame si manduca,*
Così il sopran li denti all' altro pose
Là 've il cervel s' aggiunge alla nuca.

We had already parted from him (Bocca) when I saw two frozen in one hole, so (close together) that the one head was a head-covering to the other (*i.e.* was exactly above it): and just in the way that bread is devoured from hunger, so the uppermost one fastened his teeth on the other at the place where the brain joins with the nape.

A ghastly incident in ancient Mythology affords Dante an appropriate comparison.

Non altrimenti Tidëo † si rose 130
Le tempie a Menalippo per disdegno,
Che quei faceva il teschio e l' altre cose.

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* *si manduca:* Compare Dante, *Canzone* xii, st. 3:—
"che ogni senso
Colli denti d' Amor già mi manduca:
Ciò che nel pensier bruca
La mia virtù," etc.

† *Tideo:* Tydeus, King of Chalydon, was one of the seven kings or chiefs that accompanied the expedition of Adrastus and Polynices against Thebes. In a single combat with Menalippus, Tydeus, though mortally wounded, inflicted a death-blow upon Menalippus, and then ordering his head to be cut off, he gnawed the skull and tore out the brains before he expired. The story is told in Statius, *Thebaid* viii, 740-763:—

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Not otherwise did Tydeus gnaw the temples of Menalippus through rage, than this one was doing to the skull and the other parts (*i.e.* the brain and flesh of the head).

Dante, struck with horror at the grim spectacle, expostulates with the assailant on his savage barbarity, but promises that if he can learn from him any extenuating circumstances, he will let them be known if he should live to return to the world.

—"O tu che mostri per sì bestial segno
Odio sopra colui che tu ti mangi, 134
Dimmi il perchè,"—diss' io,—"per tal convegno,
Che se tu a ragion di lui ti piangi,*
Sappiendo chi voi siete e la sua pecca,
Nel mondo suso ancor io te ne cangi,
Se quella con ch' io parlo non si secca."—

"Oh thou, who by so bestial a sign showest hatred against him whom thou art devouring, tell me the wherefore," said I, "on this condition, that if thou rightly hast cause of complaint against him, I, knowing who ye are, and (what is) his crime, may requite thee for it in the world above, if that with

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". . . Caput, o caput, o mihi si quis
Apportet, Menalippe, tuum! nam volveris arvis:
Fido equidem; nec me virtus supreme fefellit . . .
Imperat abscisum porgi, laevaque receptum.
Spectat atrox hostile caput, gliscitque tepentis
Lumina torva videns, et adhuc dubitantia figi . . .
Atque illum effracti perfusum tabe cerebri
Aspicit et vivo scelerantem sanguine fauces.
Nec comites auferre valent."

Petrarch also notices the incident in Part IV, *Sonnet* xix:—

"L' ira Tideo a tal rabbia sospinse,
Che morend' ei si rose Menalippo."

* *se tu a ragion di lui ti piangi:* "ego remunerem te *suso nel mondo* viventium, dando illi infamiam perpetuam, *sappiendo*, scilicet ego, *chi voi siete*, scilicet vos ambo, *e la sua pecca*, idest ejus peccatum contra te, si juste petis talem vindictam de eo." (Benvenuto).

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which I speak (*i.e.* my tongue) be not dried up (by death)."

The Canto ends here, the above being but the prelude to Count Ugolino's long narrative in the ensuing one. We shall see that he *has* just cause of complaint against his victim, and that he adds in the opening passage of the Canto: "How cruel my death was, thou shalt hear, and thou shalt know whether he has wronged me."

END OF CANTO XXXII.

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CANTO XXXIII.

THE NINTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—THE SECOND RING, *ANTENORA* (CONTINUED)—BETRAYERS OF THEIR COUNTRY—COUNT UGOLINO AND ARCHBISHOP RUGGIERI—THE THIRD RING, *TOLOMEA*—BETRAYERS OF FRIENDS AND GUESTS—FRATE ALBERIGO—BRANCA D' ORIA.

WE left Dante and Virgil standing horror-struck at the grim spectacle of two shades in the ice, one of whom is gnawing the head of the other. Nearly two-thirds of the present Canto are devoted to the terrible episode related to Dante by Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, of his betrayal by Archbishop Ruggieri of Pisa, followed by the imprisonment and death by starvation of himself, his two sons, and his two grandsons. This intensely dramatic story, says Landor—thirty lines unequalled by any other thirty in the whole dominions of poetry—has been translated by Chaucer in *The Monk's Tale,* as well as by Shelley.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 78, Ugolino reveals to Dante his identity, and recounts the story of his death.

In *Division* II, from ver. 79 to ver. 90, Dante utters an imprecation against Pisa, as being responsible for such horrors committed in her midst.

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In *Division* III, from ver. 91 to ver. 157, he relates the penalty of the sinners in *Tolomea*, who had been traitors to hospitality and friendship.

Division I.—In the concluding lines of the last Canto, Dante had accosted the shade of Count Ugolino, and after remonstrating with him on his inhuman occupation, had invited him to state if he had any cause of grievance against his victim that might in any way seem to palliate such brutish evidence of hatred. Ugolino, whose face is frozen into a downward position, has been unable to see who is speaking, but by the tone of Dante's voice, and by his using such idioms as *tu ti mangi*, *convegno* for *patto*, *tu ti piangi di lui*, *sappiendo pecca*, *te ne cangi*, he recognises a Florentine. (See Blanc, *Saggio*, p. 308). Thereupon he desists from his hideous meal, and prepares to speak in reply.

> La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
> Quel peccator, forbendola ai capelli
> Del capo ch' egli avea diretro guasto.*

From the fell repast that sinner uplifted his mouth, wiping it on the hair of the head which he mangled behind.

Benvenuto thinks the whole action is intended to describe one engaged in an inhuman act, who has been devouring his food with such voracity, that he has befouled his mouth with blood like a wild beast or a savage. Benvenuto doubts moreover whether

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* *capo . . . diretro guasto:* Pietro di Dante remarks on this: "Tamen figura potest elici; nam sicut rodit caput dicti Archiepiscopi, ut fingit, ita mors dicti Comitis rodit memoriam, quae in cerebro fuit dicti domini Archiepiscopi."

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Ugolino would find the hair of the Archbishop's head very serviceable as a napkin, when one remembers that his priestly tonsure would considerably denude the back of his head.

Count Ugolino begins by telling Dante that the hope of bringing infamy in the world upon the name of his hated companion is the sole inducement to him to unclose his lips.

Poi cominciò:—"Tu vuoi ch' io rinnovelli
Disperato dolor * che il cor mi preme, 5
Già pur pensando, pria ch' io ne favelli.
Ma se le mie parole esser den † seme
Che frutti infamia al traditor ch' io rodo,
Parlare e lagrimar ‡ vedrai insieme.
I' non so chi tu sie, nè per che modo 10
Venuto se' quaggiù, ma Fiorentino
Mi sembri veramente § quand' io t' odo.

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* *Tu vuoi ch' io rinnovelli disperato dolor:* Di Siena remarks that this is a pure miniature of the Virgilian manner. Compare Virg. *Æn.* ii, 3:—

"Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem."

Per contra: Compare the words of Francesca, *Inf.* v, 121-123:—

". . . Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore."

† *dèn:* From *devere* (obsolete verb), by elision of the *v*, was formed *deere*, and by syncope *dere*, from which comes *dè* (third person sing. of the present indicative), and by the addition of *no* we get the third pers. plural *deno*, and by reduplication of the *n*, denno. (Lord Vernon, *Inferno di Dante*, footnote).

‡ *Parlare e lagrimar:* Compare again the words of Francesca, *Inf.* v, 126:—

"Farò come colui che piange e dice."

§ *veramente:* Equivalent here to the Latin *verumtamen.* The *Gran Dizionario* (s.v. § 3) so interprets it: "Talora è come un' eccezione alle cose dette, un temperamento del troppo risoluto affermare; e in Dante più volte corrisponde a *Tamen.*" The present passage is quoted as a case in point.

Also *Par.* vii, 58-63:—

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> Then he began: "Thou wouldst have me renew that desperate anguish which presses down my heart even now before I speak thereof. But if my words are to be seed which may bear fruit of infamy to the traitor I am gnawing, thou shalt see me speak and weep at the same time. I know not who thou art, nor by what means thou art come down here, but all the same thou seemest to me a Florentine when I hear thee.

The Count next tells Dante his name and that of his victim, the Archbishop, explaining to him that in life their respective positions had been reversed, and that while Ugolino himself had reposed perfect trust, the Archbishop had betrayed him into the hands of his enemies and compassed his cruel death. It has been noticed that throughout this episode, not one word is said by Ugolino of his being himself a traitor.*

"Questo decreto, frate, sta sepulto
Agli occhi di ciascuno, il cui ingegno
Nella fiamma d' amor non è adulto.
Veramente, però ch' a questo segno
Molto si mira, e poco si discerne,
Dirò perchè tal modo fu più degno."

Also *Par.* i, 10-12:—

"Veramente quant' io del regno santo
Nella mia mente potei far tesoro,
Sarà ora materia del mio canto."

And *Purg.* vi, 43, 44:—

"Veramente a così alto sospetto
Non ti fermar."

All the above passages are quoted by the *Gran Dizionario* as expressly showing that in them Dante had used *veramente* in the sense of *nondimeno.*

* It is not clear as to what was the treachery of Ugolino and Ruggieri. The best proof that the Count had not been guilty of treachery when he took flight from the naval battle of Meloria, is that a few days after the battle he was elected Captain and Podestà of Pisa. He was no traitor in having ceded (in February, 1285) the Castles of Ripafratta and Viareggio to Lucca; as well as other strongholds to the Florentines; for it

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That he was so, and that Dante thought so, the fact of his being in the ice of Cocytus proves, but the halo of romance with which Dante's thrilling verses have invested him, has caused him to be regarded more as the betrayed than as the betrayer, and as such he will probably remain as long as poetry is read.

Tu dèi saper ch' io fui Conte Ugolino,*

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was a question of saving the very existence of Pisa, which, since her serious defeat at Meloria, was in such danger from the powerful Guelph league of Genoa, Lucca and Florence, as to be near the verge of ruin, when any expedient was justifiable; and in fact Ugolino did avert the grave peril with which his native city was menaced. One may almost infer from Dante's expression (ll. 85, 86) "if to Count Ugolino had been imputed treachery in the matter of the castles," that Dante believed the accusation was trumped up as a sort of justification of the terrible sentence pronounced against him. Dante's words are very hesitating, and almost imply that the accusation, in his opinion, was either unjust or at all events doubtful. And yet had Dante doubted as to Ugolino being a traitor at all, he would not have depicted him in Hell. Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi, part ii, p. 109 *et seq.*) thinks it far more likely that Dante may have seen in Ugolino another crime, namely that of having allied himself with the Ghibelline Archbishop Ruggieri, in order to rid himself of his own nephew Nino Visconti, the Justiciary of Gallura (see *Purg.* viii, 53), and thereby to obtain the sole and uncontested authority in Pisa. Ugolino's own expression *fidandomi di lui* (l. 17) shows that he made alliance with the Ghibellines, and that for the injury of his nephew. In this way he would have been guilty of double treachery (1) to his party, and (2) to his colleague in the government. The Archbishop is among the Traitors to their country, first, for having made alliance with Count Ugolino against Nino; secondly, for his constant hostility to the Guelphs; and lastly, for having betrayed Ugolino, and covered Pisa with infamy by the barbarity with which he caused Ugolino to be put to death, and not him alone, but with him his sons and his grandsons. See Villani, vii, caps. 121 and 128.

* *Conte Ugolino:* At Pisa the Ghibelline and Guelph parties were known under the names of Conti and Visconti. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Ugolino della Gherardesca,

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E questi l' Arcivescovo Ruggieri : *
Or ti dirò perch' io son tal vicino. 15

Count of Donoratico, was a leading member of the former body. He had given his sister as wife to Giovanni Visconti di Gallura, and for this and probably other instances of questionable loyalty was banished by the Ghibellines from the city. At the peace of 1267, Ugolino and Nino Visconti (son to Giovanni, who had died) were allowed to return. Ugolino succeeded in regaining some portion of the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and in October 1284 was nominated *Capitano* and *Podestà* for one year; and in February 1285, the term of office was extended to ten years. He separated the Florentines from the league against Pisa by expelling ten leading Ghibelline citizens, but was not so successful in negotiations with Genoa and Lucca. In 1287 he was obliged to associate Guido Visconti with himself, in order to gain the confidence of the Guelphs. The two colleagues disagreed, and Ugolino resigned his office at the end of the year. In despair he turned to the Ghibellines, and joined the Gualandi, Sismondi, Lanfranchi and others, who were led by the Archbishop Ruggiero degli Ubaldini. The connexion did not last long. In a quarrel Ugolino killed a nephew of the Archbishop, and in August 1288 he was besieged in the Palazzo Vecchio (at Pisa), and taken prisoner with his sons Gaddo and Uguccione, and his grandsons Anselmuccio and Nino (surnamed *Il Brigata*). Some historians mention a third grandson, Enrico. For four weeks they were kept in the Palazzo del Commune whence they were removed to the Tower of the Gualandi, *Alle Sette Vie*, afterwards known as the *Torre della Fame*. Here they remained till March, 1289, when the Archbishop ordered the doors to be locked, then nailed up with boards, and the keys to be thrown into the Arno. After eight days the Tower was opened, and the bodies of the starved victims were buried in the Convent of the Franciscans.

* *l' Arcivescovo Ruggieri :* This personage was one of the noble family of the Ubaldini della Pila, and was elected Archbishop of Pisa in 1278. He died in 1295. His grandfather was named Ugolino. His father Ubaldino is mentioned as doing penance for gluttony in Purgatory. See *Purg.* xxiv, 28, 29 :—

"Vidi per fame a vôto usar li denti
Ubaldin della Pila," etc.

His father's brother was the famous Cardinal degli Ubaldini, whom (*Inf.* x, 119, 120) Farinata degli Uberti couples with the Emperor Frederick II as the only two shades worthy of his

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Che per l' effetto de' suo' ma' pensieri,*
Fidandomi di lui, io fossi preso
E poscia morto, dir non è mestieri.
Però quel che non puoi aver inteso,
Ciò è come la morte mia fu cruda, 20
Udirai, e saprai se m' ha offeso.

Thou must know that I was Count Ugolino, and this one the Archbishop Ruggieri: now I will tell thee why I am such a neighbour (to him as thou seest). That by the working of his evil designs, I, putting my trust in him, was taken and afterwards put to death, there is no need to tell. But that which thou canst not have heard, namely, how cruel my death was, thou shalt hear, and thou shalt know whether he has wronged me (or not).

The Count gives no details of the arrest and imprisonment of himself, of his two sons, and two grandsons, but from what he has just said, we are

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notice among the multitude that are with him in the same fiery tomb:—

". . . Qui con più di mille giaccio:
Qua dentro è lo secondo Federico,
E il Cardinale, e degli altri mi taccio."

The following passage relating to Archbishop Ruggieri is taken from a letter of Professor Bonaini to Lord Vernon (*Inferno di Dante*, 1862, vol. ii, p. 128): "Di Ruggieri Arcivescovo molto fu scritto, e maggiori cose ancora voi leggerete, se il cielo mi sia propizio, nella mia Storia del Conte Ugolino della Gherardesca e de' suoi tempi fortunosi. Uomo terribile, implacabile nelle ire, di cui ignoro qual altro al pari di esso ci rappresenti il contrasto feroce delle passioni che agitavano le forti anime dei Signori potenti del Medio Evo. E pensate poi, che Ruggieri veniva di sangue Ghibellino, e del più caldo, e come perciò fosse di sua natura implacabile con chi teneva la parte contraria."

The alternative reading *E questi è l' Arcivescovo Ruggieri* is to be condemned. It would make Ugolino say: "I was Count Ugolino, and this *is* Archbishop Ruggieri." If there are no secular titles in Hell, neither are there ecclesiastical dignities.

* *ma' pensieri:* Here *ma'* for *mai* is an abbreviation of *mali* or *malvagi*. Compare *Inf.* xxviii, 135:—

"Che diedi al re giovane i mai conforti."

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left to infer that the episode was so generally known, that he takes it for granted that Dante, as a Florentine, is perfectly acquainted with it. He therefore passes over it, and begins his story at the moment when in March, 1289, the five helpless victims, who had been immured in their dungeon since July of the preceding year, first realise that they are to have no more food brought to them, but are to suffer the pangs of starvation. It will be well that the reader should be made acquainted with the *Dramatis Personæ*. They are:—

(1) Count Ugolino. (2) His fourth son Count Gaddo. (3) His fifth and youngest son Count Uguccione. (4) His grandson Nino, surnamed *Il Brigata*. (5) His grandson Anselmuccio. These two grandsons were the children of Count Ugolino's eldest son Guelfo II, by Elena, daughter of Enzo, King of Sardinia.

Ugolino begins his narrative by telling Dante how a dream gave him a presentiment of his fate.

> Breve pertugio dentro dalla muda*
> La qual per me ha il titol della fame,†

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* *muda:* "Luogo dove si muda (Lat. *pennarum mutatio*) vel locus ubi aves veteres pennas exuunt, novas emittunt." (*Voc. della Crusca*). "Muda è luogo chiuso, dove si tengono, gli uccelli a mudare. . . . Muda chiama l' autore quella torre, o forse perchè così era chiamata, perchè vi si tenessero l' aquile del comune a mudare, o per transunzione, che vi fu rinchiuso il Conte, e li figliuoli, come gli uccelli della muda." (Buti).

† *titol della fame:* "E dall' ora innanzi la detta carcere, dove morirono fu chiamata la torre della fame, e sarà sempre." (G. Villani, vii, cap. 128). The Torre della Fame stood in the Piazza degli Anziani at Pisa, nearly on the spot where the modern clock tower in the Piazza dei Cavalieri now stands. It is said to have been destroyed in 1655. See plate, p. 600.

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E in che conviene ancor ch' altri si chiuda,*
M' avea mostrato per lo suo forame 25
Più lune † già, quand' io feci il mal sonno
Che del futuro mi squarciò il velame.

**in che conviene ancor ch' altri si chiuda:* Di Siena states that in an ancient Codex in the Chigi Library an anecdote is related, which, if true, would make these words almost prophetic. It runs as follows: "A son [grandson?] of Count Ugolino was saved by his wet nurse from the common fate of the rest of his family. When on growing up he learned the terrible tale, he was seized with such desperate grief that he quitted Lucca, where he had been brought up, proceeded to Pisa, and announced that he came to surrender himself and undergo the same lot that had befallen his family. The Pisans, thinking he was insane, confined him in prison. A year afterwards his nurse presented herself, and demanded to serve him in his captivity. This request was granted, with the result that the line of Count Ugolino did not become extinct. Some time afterwards the Emperor Charles IV, when passing through Pisa, set the prisoners at liberty, and history tells no more about them."

†*Più lune:* Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, 357-362) remarks that this passage is a battlefield of critics, since the different readings, *più lune*, *più lume* and *più lieve*, imply very different periods for the duration of Ugolino's imprisonment. The reading *lieve* is found in a far larger number of MSS. than any other reading, but it seems absolutely meaningless. The MS. evidence is nearly evenly divided between *lune* and *lume*. Dr. Moore says that in favour of *lune*, he would urge that it gives much more point to the passage, adding, as it does, a distinct and terrible circumstance of aggravation, namely, that the imprisonment had lasted for several months; and that it did so last is in precise accordance with the Chroniclers. See the passages from Muratori quoted (in his Leipzig edition) by Scartazzini; and also those from the anonymous author of *Fragmenta Historiae Pisanae* (1191-1337). The latter speaks with remarkable precision of detail, and no less in perfect agreement with the features of Dante's narrative; *e.g.* that they were all dead within a week, and that Gaddo was the first to succumb. Dr. Moore sees a real pathos in the suggestion of Scartazzini, "La luna è l' orologio di Ugolino; da esse egli conta i mesi della sua prigionia." The old Commentators are unanimous in favour of *lume*, though for the most part they do not deal with the historical question involved in the difference

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Questi pareva a me maestro e donno,*
Cacciando il lupo e i lupicini al monte †
Per che i Pisan veder Lucca non ponno. 30
Con cagne magre studïose e conte,
Gualandi con Sismondi e con Lanfranchi ‡
S' avea messi dinanzi dalla fronte.
In picciol corso § mi pareano stanchi

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of reading. Students of Dante should read the whole of Dr. Moore's interesting discussion of these variants.

**maestro e donno:* Di Siena remarks that *donno* (*dominus*) implies much more than *maestro*. It may mean, "Lord, Sovereign Lord, King, tyrant." Virgil (*Æn.* vi, 621, 622) uses it in the latter signification, when speaking of Phlegyas:—

"Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit."

Compare *John* xiii, 13, 14 (*Vulgate*): "Vos vocatis me: Magister et Domine; et bene dicitis; sum etenim. Si ergo ego lavi pedes vestros dominus et Magister, et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes." It seemed a horrible thing to Dante that with such a divine precept before Ruggieri of what an Archbishop ought to be as a Shepherd of his flock, that he instead should place himself at the head of a faction, and incite them to vengeance and blood, and as Master of the chase [*capocaccia*], hunting down, like wild beasts, those of his countrymen who were opposed to him.

† *Cacciando . . . al monte:* Tommaséo believes that the allegorical meaning of the wolf being chased towards Monte San Giuliano, which lies half way between Pisa and Lucca, is that the Count might afterwards be reproached by the sight of the Pisan strongholds which he had ceded to Lucca. Landino gives as the reason, that Ugolino had already decided upon taking refuge at Lucca.

‡ *Gualandi con Sismondi e con Lanfranchi:* Buti states that these were three great and noble houses of Pisa, of much honour and influence in ancient times; but although they were still in existence in his days, yet had they fallen into great decadence. The *Comento di Anonimo* (said to be a translation from the Latin of Ser Graziolo de' Bambagioli) adds that these families, at the instigation of the Archbishop, accused and defamed the Count, and were the cause of the cruel death of him and his sons.

§ *In picciol corso:* "In breve tempo si straccarono. Il che dinota che non poteron condursi a Lucca. Onde le cagne

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Lo padre e i figli, e con l' acute scane 35
Mi parea lor veder fender li fianchi.

A narrow loop-hole within the Mew (*i.e.* Tower) which because of me has the title of Hunger, and in which others must hereafter be shut up, had already through its opening shown me several moons (*i.e.* months), when I had that evil dream, which rent aside for me the veil of the future. This one appeared to me Master and Sovereign Lord, chasing the wolf and his cubs towards that mountain (Monte San Giuliano), by reason of which the Pisans cannot see Lucca. With lean, eager and well-trained hounds, he (the Archbishop) had sent out in front of him the Gualandi, with the Sismondi and the Lanfranchi. After a short run the sire and the young ones seemed to me spent, and methought I saw their flanks torn open by the sharp fangs.

The explanation of the above lines is that the Archbishop had stirred up the chiefest of the great houses of the Pisans to take the initiative against Count Ugolino, while he himself kept in the background. The allegory of the wolf and his cubs being hunted by ravening hounds is variously interpreted. Some think the hounds represent the Ghibelline followers of the Archbishop in contrast to Ugolino and his party who were Guelphs, a word derived from *Gulfo* = *Wulf* = a wolf. The *Comento di Anonimo* on the other hand thinks the lean hounds, like the lean kine in Pharaoh's dream, signify the famine by

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lo [sic] giunson, perchè il popolo *lo* prese." (Landino—who appears a little loose as to his singular and plural). "Tosto gli sopravenne, . . . come era conceputo per lo Arcivescovo . . . l'Arcivescovo ordinò di tradire il Conte Ugolino, e subitamente a furore di popolo il fece assalire e combattere al palagio, etc." (G. Villani, vii, 121).

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The Torre della Fame at Pisa in 1507

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which the unhappy prisoners were to die. Buti suggests that the lean hounds are an allusion to the tumultuous onslaught on Ugolino by the lowest populace, who are usually lean and poor (*Questi sono lo popolo minuto che comunemente è magro e povero*). Benvenuto agrees with the *Comento di Anonimo* that the lean hounds signify famine, and that *in picciol corso* means that the Count and his sons succumbed to the pangs of starvation in very few days. He adds that we cannot possibly know whether Ugolino really did dream this dream, as he died without speaking to any one outside after he was shut up.

The Count now tells Dante of the awful confirmation of his dream that he had, when upon awaking just before the dawn—the hour when visions were supposed to forebode the truth—he heard his sons talking in their sleep, and evidently dreaming of starvation.

> Quando fui desto innanzi la dimane,
> Pianger senti' fra il sonno i miei figliuoli
> Ch' eran con meco, e domandar del pane.
> Ben se' crudel, se tu già non ti duoli, 40
> Pensando ciò ch' il mio cor s' annunziava:
> E se non piangi, di che pianger suoli?

When I awoke before the morrow's dawn, I heard my children who were with me (both sons and grandsons) moaning in their sleep, and asking for bread. Cruel art thou indeed, if already thou grievest not, at the thought of what my heart was foreboding: and if thou weepest not, at what art thou wont to weep?

An appalling picture is now drawn of the horror of the prisoners on hearing the nails being driven into

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the door of the Tower,* a sure sign, and one which a despotic tyrant, such as Ugolino had been, would well understand, that all further communication between themselves and the outside world was at an end. It would seem that they heard this heart-crushing sound just at the time of day when they were expecting to hear the gaoler unlock the gate, and come in with their morning meal. Some Commentators have attempted to prove that the sound they heard was that of the gate being locked. To their ears, however, there would be no distinction in the sound of locking a gate or unlocking it, and as they were expecting their morning meal, the turning of the key in the lock would be a sound that would have acted as a palliative to the monotony of their uneventful existence. Far otherwise would it be when instead of seeing their gaolers appear with their food, they heard them nailing up the gate! Every stroke of the hammer must have struck a knell in their hearts. Dante certainly did not mean that they heard the gate being locked. It would naturally always be locked, and we know from the old Chroniclers that it had been so locked, and the keys thrown into the Arno. The gaolers were now boarding it up as a sign to the hapless victims that they must abandon all hope.

Già eran desti,† e l' ora s' appressava

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* The door of the tower is seen in the illustration at p. 600, which is the reproduction of an old drawing, bought by my father, Lord Vernon, showing the Tower in a ruinous state in the reign of Cosimo I, about 1507.

† *Già eran desti:* Others read *già eram desti;* but this would give a meaningless and quite unnecessary reiteration of Ugo-

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Che il cibo ne soleva essere addotto,
E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava: 45
Ed io sentii chiavar l' uscio * di sotto
All' orribile torre; ond' io guardai
Nel viso a' miei figliuoi senza far motto.
Io non piangeva; sì dentro impietrai: †

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lino's own statement (l. 37) that he was awake before dawn (*Quando fui desto innanzi la dimane*), and heard his sons talking in their sleep. The reading *eran* makes the sense clear and consecutive: "I was awake before the dawn of day, and heard my sons in their sleep crying for bread." A pause ensued, during which he gave way to the horror of his presentiment of evil. Then, when he had aroused himself from these thoughts, he added: "By this time they too were awake."

* *Ed io sentii chiavar l' uscio:* Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 313) observes that what quite decides him as to the word *chiavare* here meaning *to nail* and not *to lock*, is that wherever in the *Divina Commedia* the word occurs, it always is used to express nailing. Compare *Purg.* viii, 136-138:—

"Che cotesta cortese opinione
Ti fia chiavata in mezza della testa
Con maggior chiovi che d' altrui sermone."

There *chiovi* is for *chiodi*. Compare also the allusion to the Crucifixion (*Par.* xix, 103-105):—

". . . A questo regno
Non salì mai chi non credette in CRISTO,
Nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno."

In *Par.* xxxii, 127-129, Christ is spoken of as having won His Bride, the Church, by His Crucifixion:—

"E quei che vide tutt' i tempi gravi,
Pria che morisse, della bella sposa
Che s' acquistò con la lancia e coi chiavi."

Benvenuto is very precise. He says: "*Chiavare*, intellige cum clavis ferreis, quia jam clavatum fuerat cum clavibus quas abjecerant in Arnum." I cannot agree with Mr. Tozer who thinks "the misinterpretation arose from the misinterpretation of the story by Villani." Villani knew quite well, I submit, what he was talking about; and no doubt, as Scartazzini suggests, the keys had been thrown into the Arno one day, and the door boarded and nailed up the next morning.

† *sì dentro impietrai:* Compare 1 *Sam.* xxv, 37: "But it came to pass in the morning, when the wine was gone out of Nabal, and his wife had told him these things, that his heart died within him, and he became as a stone."

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Piangevan elli; ed Anselmuccio* mio 50
Disse: 'Tu guardi sì, padre: che hai?'
Però non lagrimai, nè rispos' io
Tutto quel giorno, nè la notte appresso,
Infin che l' altro sol nel mondo uscío.

By this time they were awake, and the hour was approaching at which our food was wont to be brought to us, and each one because of his dream had misgivings: when I heard below the door of the horrible tower being nailed up; whereupon I looked into the faces of my sons without speaking a word. I was not weeping; I was so turned to stone within me: they were weeping; and my darling little Anselm said: 'Father! thou lookest like that! what ails thee?' I shed no tear, however, nor did I answer all that day, nor the night that followed, until the next sun came out upon the world.

The unhappy victims had now been twenty-four hours without food, or possibly forty-eight hours, counting from their last supply. The slow process of starvation had been gradually stealing over each, and emaciation had already shown itself upon their faces blanched by terror and agony.† The sight of

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* *Anselmuccio:* The name Anselmo has the diminutives, *Anselmino,* "little Anselm"; and *Anselmuccio* "darling little Anselm." Scartazzini says he was the youngest son of Ugolino's eldest son Guelfo II, and the youngest of the party.

† The following is an extract from Quain, *Dictionary of Medicine,* London, 1882, s.v. *Fasting:* "The countenance assumes a pale and cadaverous appearance, and a look of wildness is presented about the eyes. Emaciation becomes more and more marked, and with it there is a decline of the bodily strength. There is also failure of the mental power. Stupidity may advance to imbecility; and a state of maniacal delirium frequently supervenes. Life terminates either calmly, by gradually increasing torpidity, or it may be suddenly in a convulsive paroxysm. [Count Gaddo died in this way, ll. 67 68.] The usual duration of life under complete absence of food and drink may be said to be from eight to ten days."

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the young men's faces drives Ugolino into a frenzy of despair.

Come un poco di raggio si fu messo 55
Nel doloroso carcere, ed io scorsi
Per quattro visi il mio aspetto stesso;
Ambo le man per lo dolor mi morsi.
Ed ei, pensando ch' io 'l fessi per voglia
Di manicar, di subito levôrsi, 60
E disser: 'Padre, assai ci fia men doglia
Se tu mangi di noi: tu ne vestisti
Queste misere carni, e tu le spoglia.'

When a faint ray had penetrated into the dungeon of woe, and I could discern my own aspect by four faces (before me); I bit both my hands in my anguish. And they, thinking that I did it from desire to eat, suddenly raised themselves up, and said: 'Father, it will give us far less pain, if thou eat of us; thou didst clothe us with this suffering flesh, and do thou despoil us of it.'

They remain in speechless despair for another forty-eight hours. They were too well versed in the methods of mediæval ferocity, to entertain the faintest glimmering of hope.

Queta'mi allor per non farli più tristi:
Lo dì e l' altro stemmo tutti muti: 65
Ahi dura terra, perchè non t' apristi?

I calmed me then, so as not to make them more sad: that whole day and the next we all remained silent: Ah cruel Earth! why didst thou not open?

Benvenuto notices at this point, what is also stated in the chronicles of the time, namely, that not only were the unhappy prisoners denied food, but also all spiritual consolation, a terrible thing in

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those days; and that their cries for a confessor met with no response. We are not told this by Dante himself, but we must remember that he particularly mentions Ugolino's suggesting to him that he did not know *all* the circumstances attending his cruel death.

Ugolino now tells Dante how they died one after the other. The first to succumb was Count Gaddo, and he seems to have died quite suddenly in a convulsive paroxysm. The other son and the two grandsons probably died from gradually increasing torpidity. The old man alone survived. His sight was gone, but vital energy continued in him for eight days without any animal sustenance.

Posciachè fummo al quarto dì venuti,
Gaddo mi si gittò disteso a' piedi,
Dicendo: 'Padre mio, chè non m' aiuti?'
Quivi morì:* e come tu mi vedi, 70
Vid' io cascar li tre ad uno ad uno
Tra il quinto dì e il sesto: ond' io mi diedi
Già cieco a brancolar sovra ciascuno,
E due dì li chiamai poi che fur morti:
Poscia, più che il dolor, potè il digiuno."—† 75

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* *Quivi morì:* How like the description of the death of Sisera in the song of Deborah and Barak (*Judges* v, 27): "At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down: at her feet he bowed, he fell: where he bowed, there he fell down dead."

† *Poscia, più che il dolor, potè il digiuno:* Blanc (*Saggio* p. 316) says there is no verse in all the *Divina Commedia* which has given rise to such fierce controversy as this one. The meaning ought to be simple enough. The Count had seen the last of his children drop off between the fifth and sixth days. His own vital powers, though not extinct, are so much impaired, that he is only able to crawl along, and feel their dead bodies, his sight being gone. He is in no condition to have the physical power to commit the act of cannibal voracity that

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After that we had come to the fourth day, Gaddo flung himself down outstretched at my feet, saying: 'My Father, why dost thou not help me?' There he died, and even as thou seest me, so saw I the (remaining) three sink down one by one between the fifth and sixth days: then, already blind, I betook me to grope about over each of them, and for two days I called to them after they were dead: after which fasting effected more than sorrow."

The horrible tale is told, and with it all interest in his interpellators has ceased. The Count had only for a time recalled his humanity in the hopes of vengeance against his hated enemy, Apparently con-

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some of the modern Commentators have attempted to impute to him; he simply lingers on for two days in the extremity of weakness, and then he says: "the want of food was more effectual than the anguish of heart that had suffered me to live longer than my sons." One reason for this not uncommon error is the misrepresentation of *digiuno* as "hunger." *Digiuno* is not hunger, it is "abstinence from food," which impairs the strength, rather than the desire for food which impels a man to seize even upon that from which nature revolts. Blanc remarks that the so-called *tecnophagia* was unknown to any of the contemporary writers, for had the bodies of the victims been found to have been so mutilated, these writers would, beyond a doubt, have recorded it. Buti, a native resident of Pisa, who was born only three years after the death of Dante, would certainly have mentioned the circumstance if it had had any existence, for he gives a minute and circumstantial account of the removal of the bodies from the tower, and their burial in the cloisters of San Francesco. He says of l. 75: "Cioè, poscia il digiuno finì la vita mia, la quale conservava il dolore; e così rende ragione come potee tanto vivere, e dice, che ne fu cagione il dolore. E questo finge l' autore perchè dopo li otto dì ne furono cavati e portati inviluppati nelle stuoie [i.e. *wrapped in mattings*] al luogo de' Frati minori di San Francesco e sotterrati nel monimento, che è al lato alli scaloni a montare in chiesa alla porta del chiostro, coi ferri in gamba; li quali ferri vid' io, cavato [*sic*] del detto monimento." Observe that Buti says he saw the fetters, but he does not say that he saw what was carried away in the mattings.

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fident that his tragic recital will ere long re-echo in the world he has left, he resumes his bestial and malignant occupation, dead to all else passing around him.

> Quand' ebbe detto ciò, con gli occhi torti
> Riprese il teschio misero coi denti,
> Che furo all' osso,* come d' un can, forti.

> When he had said this, with eyes distorted, he again seized the miserable skull with his teeth, which were as strong as a dog's upon the bone.

The grim diary of the week may be detailed thus :—

First Day.—The prisoners hear the door being nailed up, and remain silent all that day and the following night.

Second Day.—Ugolino, on the first appearance of dawn, is so horror-struck at the emaciated faces of his offspring, that he gives way to a gesture of frenzy, which being misunderstood by them, they offer themselves to him for food ; whereupon he relapses into stony silence all that day.

Third Day.—Silence and despair.

Fourth Day.—Count Gaddo dies.

Fifth and Sixth Days.—The other three die.

Seventh and Eighth Days.—Count Ugolino, gradually sinking, crawls about, groping over the dead bodies, which he can only feel, but is unable to see. In vain he calls them to awake. His sufferings at length come to an end, and he breathes his last.

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* *Che furo all' osso*, etc. There is a variant reading here *che foran l' osso*, "which penetrate the bone." It is not a reading that meets with much favour, though Buti adopts it. See *Textual Criticism*, pp. 364, 365, where Dr. Moore observes that the evidence for *furo all' osso* is very strong. He has noted 159 MSS. with that reading, and only 45 with *foran l' osso.*

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Division II.—Ugolino had remarked to Dante that although the general circumstances of his betrayal by the Archbishop, his capture, and his death in prison, were so generally known in Tuscany that it would be waste of time for him to relate them, yet he felt sure that the full details of his cruel death had never been revealed. In the lines that now follow, accordingly, Dante leads his readers to suppose that it was as the Count had said, and that the horrible truth has now for the first time been made known to him. He calls down curses upon Pisa, the city and State in which such an atrocity could be perpetrated, and invokes the powers of Nature to work her speedy destruction.

Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti
  Del bel paese là, dove il sì * suona; 80
  Poi che i vicini a te punir son lenti,
Movasi la Caprara † e la Gorgona,
  E faccian siepe ad Arno in sulla foce,
  Sì ch' egli anneghi in te ogni persona.
Chè se il Conte Ugolino aveva voce 85
  D' aver tradita te delle castella,‡

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* *dove il sì suona :* In the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 8, ll. 50-57, Dante distinguishes between the affirmatives *oc*, *oil* and *sì*, describing the regions in which they are severally used : "Istorum vero proferentes *oc*, meridionalis Europae tenent partem occidentalem, a Januensium [*the Genoese*] finibus incipientes. Qui autem *sì* dicunt, a praedictis finibus orientalem tenent, videlicet usque ad promontorium illud Italiae, que sinus Adriatici maris incipit et Siciliam."

† *la Caprara* (now called *Capraja*) and *la Gorgona* are two small islands lying a little way from the mouth of the Arno, and visible from Leghorn.

‡ *aveva voce d' aver tradita te delle castella :* Dante seems to doubt whether the ceding of the castles was an act of treachery. Ugolino did cede to the Florentines the castles of Bientina, Ripafratta, and Viareggio; and to the Lucchese those of Santa

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Non dovei tu * i figliuoi porre a tal croce.
Innocenti facea l' eta novella,
Novella Tebe,† Uguccione e il Brigata,
E gli altri due che il canto suso appella. 90

Ah Pisa! thou dishonour of the races of the fair land there where the "*Sì*" is sounded (*i.e.* Italy); since thy neighbours are slow to punish thee, let (the islands of) Capraja and Gorgona move, and make a dam (*lit.* hedge) for the Arno at its mouth, so that it may drown every person in thee. For if Count Ugolino did have repute of having betrayed thee in thy fortresses, thou shouldest not have put his sons to such torment (*lit.* cross). Their tender age, thou modern Thebes, made Uguccione and Il Brigata guiltless, as well as the other two (Gaddo and Anselmuccio) that my song names above.

In the above ghastly narrative we may note one point of resemblance with that of Dante's interview with the shades of Francesca and Paolo (*Inf.* v).

Maria in Monte, Fucecchio, Castelfranco, Santa Croce, and Montecalvoli; but he did so as a matter of urgent public necessity.

* *Non dovei tu i figliuoi porre a tal croce:* "Di questa crudeltà furono i Pisani per lo universo mondo, ove si seppe, fortemente ripresi e biasimati non tanto per lo conte, che per li suoi difetti e tradimenti era per avventura degno di sì fatta morte, ma per li figliuoli e nepoti, ch' erano giovani garzoni e innocenti; e questo peccato commesso per gli Pisani non rimase impunito, siccome per li tempi innanzi faremo menzione." (G. Villani, vii, cap. 128).

† *Novella Tebe:* Benvenuto thinks that by this reproach Dante implies, "O generation of vipers!" for mythology represents the first inhabitants of Thebes, after its foundation by Cadmus, to have been born of serpents: "Ideo bene Plato fertur dixisse, quod regratiabatur naturae quia fecerat eum hominem non brutum; marem non foeminam; atheniensem non thebanum. Et nota quod autor bene assimilat istam civitatem italicam uni civitati graecae, quia civitas Pisarum habuit ortum a Pisa civitate Graeciae situata juxta flumen Alpheum."

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Throughout that interview the shade of Paolo utters not a word, and beyond the fact that he weeps, gives no sign of his presence. Here also throughout the recitation of the heart-rending details of the cruelty perpetrated by his orders, the shade of the Archbishop remains obstinately silent. Ugolino says: *Or ti dirò perch' io son tal vicino.* Francesca speaks more tenderly of Paolo's contiguity to her: *Costui . . . che, come vedi, ancor non m' abbandona.*

Division III.—The Poets are now supposed to pass on into the Third Ring of the Ninth Circle, which is called *Tolomea,** in which are punished the betrayers of their guests and friends. The torment of these shades is more severe than those in the First

* *Tolomea:* Benvenuto thinks this Ring takes its name from Ptolemaeus, the son of Abubus, who murdered his father-in-law Simon, the High Priest, at a great banquet he was giving in his honour (see 1 *Maccabees,* xvi, 11-17): "Moreover, in the plain of Jericho was Ptolemeus, the son of Abubus, made captain, and he had abundance of silver and gold: For he was the high-priest's son-in-law. Wherefore, his heart being lifted up, he thought to get the country to himself, and thereupon consulted deceitfully against Simon and his sons to destroy them. Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them: at which time he came down himself to Jericho with his sons, Mattathias and Judas, in the hundred threescore and seventeenth year, in the eleventh month, called Sabat. Where the son of Abubus receiving them deceitfully into a little hold, called Docus, which he had built, made them a great banquet: howbeit he had hid men there. So when Simon and his sons had drunk largely, Ptolomee and his men rose up, and took their weapons, and came upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his two sons, and certain of his servants. In which doing he committed a great treachery, and recompensed evil for good." Some think the name *Tolomea* took its origin from Ptolemy, King of Egypt, who murdered Pompey.

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and Second Rings. They lie on their backs fixed in the ice, so that their faces are upturned, and their tears give them no relief, for being frozen as soon as they well forth, they form a mask of ice over the faces of the sinners, and aggravate their sufferings.

Noi passam' oltre, là 've la gelata
Ruvidamente un' altra gente fascia,
Non volta in giù, ma tutta riversata.
Lo pianto stesso lì pianger non lascia,
E il duol, che trova in sugli occhi rintoppo * 95
Si volve in entro † a far crescer l' ambascia :
Chè le lagrime prime fanno groppo,
E, sì come visiere di cristallo,
Riempion sotto il ciglio tutto il coppo.

We passed onward, there where the ice ruggedly enswathes another tribe, not bent downwards, but completely reversed (*i.e.* with upturned faces). There the very weeping suffers them not to weep, and the grief, which finds a barrier on their eyes, is turned inwards to aggravate their suffering: for their first tears form a cluster, and like a vizor of glass, fill up all the cavity underneath their eyebrows.

Dante now begins to feel the ice blast which freezes everything in the Ninth Circle. We shall learn later on that it is caused by the beating of Lucifer's mighty wings, but at present Virgil evades a direct answer to Dante's question.

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* *rintoppo* = "impediment." The first tears that flow are at once frozen outside the eyes. These frozen tears form the barrier which prevents any subsequent tears from issuing forth. They are therefore pent up inside.

† *Si volve in entro:* Compare Ovid, *Metam.* xiii, 539, 540:—
"Et pariter vocem, lacrymasque introrsus obortas
Devorat ipse dolor."

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Ed avvegna che, sì come d' un callo, 100
Per la freddura ciascun sentimento
Cessato avesse del mio viso stallo,*
Già mi parea sentire alquanto vento;
Perch' io:—"Maestro mio, questo chi move?
Non è quaggiù ogni vapore spento?"—† 105
Ond' egli a me:—"Avaccio sarai dove
Di ciò ti farà l' occhio la risposta,
Veggendo la cagion che il fiato piove."—

And although by reason of the cold, as in a callus, all sensation had ceased to have abode in my face, yet still it seemed to me that I felt some wind; whereupon I: "My Master, who is stirring up this? Is not every vapour quenched down here?" Whereat he to me: "Very soon shalt thou be where thine eye, seeing the cause that rains down the blast, shall make answer to thee about this."

On this passage Benvenuto observes that Dante has very ingeniously pictured the wind. In the same way that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Most High God, Who breathes into the heart of men the

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* *Cessato avesse . . . stallo:* The meaning is: "Had abandoned its lodgment in my face," *i.e.* had deserted it. For *stallo*, see Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, p. 78, note 3: "From *estal*, derived from the barbarous Latin *stallum*, we get *stallo*, a place where any one abides." Compare *Dittamondo*, lib. vi, cap. viii, terz. 32:—

"Questa schiatta caina senza fallo
Moltiplicava come la mala erba,
Se non è coltivata in buono stallo."

We find *estal*, to denote station, position, in the *Roman de Rou*:—

"Engleis a estal se teneient,
E li Normant toz tens veneient."

† *vapore spento:* Dante cannot understand how wind can be generated in the depths of Hell, so far removed from the action of the Sun's rays, which cause vapours to exhale from the earth, and from which vapours alone, according to the physical science of Dante's time, winds are generated.

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fire of Love and Charity—for which reason the Holy Spirit comes to be likened to the South Wind—so from the chief of the devils, namely Lucifer, proceeds the cold blast of hatred, which freezes the hearts of the wicked; and moreover extinguishes all heat of love, and all warmth of friendship, in them who have so cruelly violated the sacred law of hospitality.

We noticed with regret in the last Canto the violence which Dante displayed towards Bocca degli Abati. We are now to witness an incident to which it is even more difficult to be reconciled. Dante pledges his word to a traitor, and then himself traitorously breaks it, or at all events gives his promise with a mental reservation which is a perversion of the truth.* The shade in question, whose eyes are closed by the ice, imagines that Dante and Virgil are worse traitors than himself on their way to the lowest Ring of Hell, which is named *Giudecca*.

Ed un de' tristi † della fredda crosta
Gridò a noi:—"O anime crudeli 110
Tanto, che data v' è l' ultima posta,
Levatemi dal viso i duri veli,
Sì ch' io sfoghi il dolor che il cor m' impregna,
Un poco, pria che il pianto si raggeli."—

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* May not Dante have had in his mind such a passage as occurs in *Psalm* xvii (*Vulgate*, xviii in A.V.), 26, 27? "Cum sancto santus eris, et cum viro innocente innocens eris; Et cum electo electus eris; et cum perverso perverteris."

† *un de' tristi:* The adjective has the double-sense of "sad" and "wicked." Perhaps "one of the miserable wretches," expresses the meaning as well as any other. Compare *Inf.* iii, 34-36:—

". . . Questo misero modo
Tengon l' anime triste di coloro
Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo."

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Perch' io a lui :—"Se vuoi ch' io ti sovvegna, 115
Dimmi chi sei, e s' io non ti disbrigo,
Al fondo della ghiaccia ir mi convegna."—

And one of the miserable wretches of the frozen crust cried out to us: "O souls so cruel, that the last place is assigned to you, remove from my face the solid veils (of frozen tears), so that I may give vent to the grief which overloads my heart, for a brief space, ere the weeping freezes up again." Whereupon I to him: "If thou wouldst have me relieve thee, tell me who thou art, and if I do not disencumber thee, may I be bound to go to the bottom of the ice."

Dante knows that he *is* going to the bottom of the ice. The shade does not; and believes that Dante is calling down on himself the heaviest of curses should he fail to redeem his promise. He tells Dante who he was, and makes no secret of the wickedness of his past life, nor of the justice of his punishment.

Rispose adunque :—"Io son Frate Alberigo,*

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* *Frate Alberigo:* This personage, according to Benvenuto, belonged to the noble and powerful family of the Manfredi of Faenza, who often held the principal sway in that city. He was one of the *Frati Gaudenti* who have been mentioned before (*Inf.* xxiii, 104 *et seq.*). In the same house at Faenza there were living at that time three brothers, this Alberigo, Alberghetto and Manfredo. The latter, who was an ambitious youth, in the year 1286, from an insatiable desire of governing, plotted against his brother Alberigo, and after a fierce contest of words, gave him a violent blow in the face. Alberigo, who was more calm and collected, for some time pretended to bear the insult patiently, so much so that Manfredo, thinking he had forgotten it, professed a desire for reconciliation with him, saying that he ought to forgive an act of youthful impetuosity. Peace having been proclaimed, Alberigo invited Manfredo and one of his sons to a great banquet. At the end of the feast Alberigo called out *Veniant fructus;* whereupon there suddenly rushed in a band of armed servants who had been concealed

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Io son quel delle frutta del mal orto *
Che qui riprendo dattero per figo."— † 120

Thereupon he replied: "I am Frate Alberigo, I am he of the fruits of the evil garden, who here receive back a date for a fig."

It was remarked by Sir James Lacaita, in a lecture given by him on Dante at Edinburgh about 1864, that in no passage in the *Inferno* does Dante inflict such malicious injury upon two enemies, as in the explanation he professes to receive from Fra Alberigo in the lines that follow. The conversation

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behind the hangings, and these fell upon Manfredo and his son and slew them before the eyes of Alberigo, who rejoiced exceedingly thereat. Benvenuto compares this conduct of Alberigo to that of Absalom, who, after seemingly condoning the outrage of his brother Amnon upon their sister Tamar, caused him to be treacherously assassinated at a banquet.

* *mal orto:* Most of the Commentators slur over this without explaining it. Rossetti thinks it means the evil garden of treachery, and *quel delle frutte* [sic] *del mal orto* to mean one of the Traitors punished in the Ninth Circle. Scartazzini's view is that Fra Alberigo was notorious for the fruits grown in the garden of evil, because these fruits were named as the signal for the treachery that was perpetrated. Benvenuto says that Dante "calls Faenza the evil garden, because it more than once produced such evil fruits among its nobility. For example, Dante has placed two noble traitors of Faenza in this ice, namely, Tribaldello, on the Ghibelline side, who betrayed both his country and his party; and Alberigo, on the Guelph side, who treacherously slew his own flesh and blood at a banquet. There are, however, others who say that this accursed supper took place in a certain garden." Tommaséo remarks that *frutte del mal orto* is a Tuscan proverb.

† *riprendo dattero per figo* is a popular expression in Tuscany, and means, to pay off with interest, with usury, and is equivalent to the familiar proverb "A Roland for an Oliver." A similar expression is *render pan per focaccia.* The fig is the cheapest of Tuscan fruits, whereas the date, which is imported, is more costly. Alberigo means: "I get full requital for my crime, in that the sufferings I am undergoing are greater than those which I inflicted."

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may be thus summed up. Dante says to Fra Alberigo: "You here? I thought you were alive!" "So I am," answers the Frate Gaudente, "but I know not what is going on in my body; for when a man has reached such a pitch of wickedness as mine, his soul is carried off to Hell there and then, while a devil animates his body, which still lives on in the world: and my neighbour here, Branca d' Oria, is probably in the same plight." As Sir James Lacaita pointed out, in that superstitious age, the mere suspicion that these two persons were possessed of devils was enough for them to be shunned by every one they sought to approach, and was in fact their moral destruction. A third person, a nephew and accomplice of Branca d' Oria is mentioned as sharing their fate.

—"O,"—diss' io lui:—"Or sei tu ancor morto?"—*
Ed egli a me:—"Come il mio corpo stea †

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* *sei tu ancor morto?* See *Readings on the Purgatorio*, vol. ii, p. 284, footnote on *Purg.* xxiii, 82. See also *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *ancòra*, § 17: "Per *così tosto*, Già già." I follow Biagioli and Cesari in this interpretation of *ancora*, but the more usual one, is: "Art thou too dead?" I think Biagioli's explanation agrees much better with the context that follows. The word is used in the same sense by Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ix, Nov. 4: "E veggendo l' Angiulieri in concio di cavalcar [*preparing to mount*], disse: che è questo, Angiulieri? vogliamcene noi andare ancora [*così tosto*]? deh aspettati un poco."

† *stea* for *stia*. This is from the obsolete verb *stere* for *stare*, in the same way that *dea* (l. 126) is from *dere* for *dare*. Compare *Par.* ii, 100, 101:—

". . . Fa' che dopo il dosso
Ti stea un lume che i tre specchi accenda."

See note on that passage in *Readings on the Paradiso*, vol. i, p. 71. See also Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, pp. 686-704, especially p. 697.

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Nel mondo su, nulla scïenza porto.*
Cotal vantaggio † ha questa Tolomea,
Che spesse volte l' anima ci cade 125
Innanzi ch' Atropòs mossa le dea.

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* *nulla scïenza porto:* In *Inf.* x, 100-105, Farinata degli Uberti tells Dante that although the souls in Hell have the gift of foresight, the present is a closed book to them. Fra Alberigo, accordingly, is represented as being in total ignorance of what his devil-possessed body is doing on earth.

† *Cotal vantaggio*, et seq.: Compare *Psalm* liv, 16 (*Vulgate*): "Veniat mors super illos, et *descendant in infernum viventes.*" Pietro di Dante thinks his father deduced the punishment in *Tolomea* for treachery to friends from the above source. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, pp. 81, 82) remarks that this suggestion seems to carry conviction with it when we regard the context in which the words occur. It is precisely against this form of treachery that the Psalmist utters this imprecation in *Psalm* liv, 13 *et seq.*: "Quoniam si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi sustinuissem utique. . . . Tu vero homo unanimis, dux meus, et notus meus; Qui simul mecum dulces capiebas cibos, in domo dei ambulavimus cum consensu. Veniat mors super illos, et descendant in infernum viventes." *Tolomea* has the privilege that does not exist in the other Circles of Hell, namely, of receiving a soul before death has separated it from the body. The following account (quoted in a paper read before the Oxford Dante Society by the Rev. Charles Plummer of Corpus Christi College) of the vision of a Monk of Wenlock, who saw Ceolred, King of the Mercians (A.D. 709-716) in Hell, before his death, is to be found in a letter by St. Boniface printed in Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, Berlin, 1866, pp. 59, 60: "Et similiter testatus est de Ceolredo rege Mercionum, quem illo tamen tempore, quo haec visa sunt, in corpore fuisse non dubium est. Quem, ut dixit, videbat angelico quodam umbraculo contra impetum daemoniorum, quasi libri alicujus magni extensione et superpositione, defensum. Ipsi autem daemones anhelando rogabant angelos: ut, ablata defensione illa, ipsi permitterentur crudelitatis eorum voluntatem in eo exercere. Et imputabant ei horribilem ac nefandam multitudinem flagitiorum; et minantes dicebant, illum sub durissimis inferorum claustris claudendum et ibi, peccatis promerentibus, aeternis tormentis cruciandum esse. Tunc angeli solito tristiores facti dicebant: *Pro dolor: quod homo peccator iste semet ipsum plus defendere non permittit; et ob ipsius propria merita nullum ei adjutorium possumus praebere.* Et auferebant superpositi tutaminis defensionem. Tunc daemones gaudentes et exultantes,

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E perchè tu più volentier mi rade
Le invetrïate lagrime dal volto,
Sappi che tosto che l' anima trade,
Come fec' io, il corpo suo l' è tolto 130
Da un demonio, che poscia il governa *
Mentre che il tempo suo tutto sia vôlto.

"Oh," said I to him, "art thou then dead already?" And he to me: "In what manner my body is existing in the world above, I have no knowledge. Such a privilege has this *Tolomea*, that oftentimes the soul falls down here before that Atropos has given it its impulsion. And that thou mayest the more willingly remove the glassy (*i.e.* frozen) tears from my face, know that as soon as any soul betrays as I did, its body is (forthwith) taken from it by a fiend, who thereafter rules over it until its allotted time has run the full course.

Fra Alberigo, after reiterating his statement about the soul of a traitor to hospitality falling down into the Pit, tells Dante that he thinks there is a shade near him that has been similarly dealt with.

Ella ruina in sì fatta cisterna; †

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de universis mundi partibus congregati majori multitudine, quam omnium animantium in saeculo fieri aestimaret, diversis eum tormentis inaestimabiliter fatigantes lacerabant." Jaffé dates this letter A.D. 717-718, *i.e.* within ten years of the supposed occurrence. Compare also *Luke* xxii, 3: "Then entered Satan into Judas Iscariot."

* *il governa:* According to the *Voc. della Crusca, governare* in this particular passage means "to have in one's charge, to dominate without having the slightest regard to the well-being of the person ruled over."

† *Ella ruina in sì fatta cisterna:* Compare *Psalm* liv, 24:—
"Tu vero, Deus, deduces eos in puteum interitus."
We may recall *Inf.* ix, 16, where Dante speaks of the whole of Hell as *la trista conca.* See new note in this second edition on that line, with the plate of a Tuscan woman washing clothes in a *conca*, a utensil of general domestic use in Tuscany much resembling the form of Dante's Hell.

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E forse pare ancor lo corpo suso
Dell' ombra che di qua retro mi verna. 135
Tu il dèi saper, se tu vien pur mo giuso:
Egli è Ser Branca d' Oria,* e son più anni
Poscia passati ch' ei fu sì racchiuso."—

It (the soul) falls headlong into the Pit (*lit.* cistern) thus formed. And perchance the body of the shade that is wintering here behind me is still to be seen on earth above. Thou must know him, if thou art but now come down: He is Ser Branca d' Oria, and many years have elapsed since he was thus shut up."

Once more Dante can hardly credit his ears at so astonishing a revelation. To be told that a man, with whose presence he is familiarly acquainted, whom he has constantly seen living the life of other men round him, is not really alive, is too much for his belief, and he sternly taxes Fra Alberigo with attempting to deceive him. The latter replies that the soul of Branca fell down into *Tolomea* actually before that of his father-in-law Michel *Z*anche, whom Branca

* *Ser Branca d' Oria* was a Genoese who in 1275 treacherously slew Michel *Z*anche, his father-in-law, in order to obtain for himself the Judicature of Logodoro in Sardinia, which Michel *Z*anche held (see *Inf.* xxii, 88):—

"Usa con esso donno Michel *Z*anche
Di Logodoro."

In 1308 Branca d' Oria held lordship over Genoa, having as his colleague Opicino Spinola, and they banished the Fieschi from the State. Branca d' Oria had at first professed himself a follower of Henry VII, when that Emperor entered Genoa in 1311, but he afterwards made secret alliance with the Guelphs. Tradition says that when Dante came to Genoa Branca d' Oria caused him to be discourteously received. It has been suggested by some Commentators that Frate Alberigo says "*Ser* Branca d' Oria" ironically, because Fra Alberigo was a Romagnole, and the Romagnoles had the credit of never paying honour to any one in words, whereas the Genoese always took care to be called *Messer*.

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had treacherously murdered, had reached the boiling pitch of the Barrators.

—"Io credo,"—diss' io lui,—"che tu m' inganni;
Chè Branca d' Oria non morì unquanche, 140
E mangia e bee * e dorme e veste panni."—
—"Nel fosso su,"—diss' ei,—"di Malebranche,
Là dove bolle la tenace pece,
Non era giunto ancora Michel Zanche, †
Che questi lasciò un diavolo ‡ in sua vece 145
Nel corpo suo, ed un suo prossimano §
Che il tradimento insieme con lui fece.

"I do believe," said I to him, "that thou art deceiving me; for Branca d' Oria never died at all, and eats and drinks and sleeps and puts on clothes." "In the fosse above," said he, "of the Malebranche (*i.e.* in the Fifth *Bolgia*), there where the tenacious pitch is boiling, Michel Zanche had not yet arrived when this one left in his own stead a fiend in his body on earth, and (a fiend was also left in the body) of a near kinsman of his, who committed the act of treachery together with him.

Benvenuto remarks that the Genoese are naturally inclined to great cupidity, and thereby impelled to

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* *mangia e bee*, et seq.: Brunone Bianchi remarks that in this line Dante cites all the indications of an animal life, but none of those befitting man's true vocation. Compare parallel passage from Fra Jacopone da Todi:—

"Magno e dormo e vesto panni,"

in Nannucci's *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. i, p. 385.

† *Non era giunto ancora Michel Zanche:* "idest, nondum ceciderat in quintam bulgiam superiorem, ubi sunt daemones Malebranchae cruciantes baratarios in pice . . . ita quod Michael antequam veniret ad malas brancas Daemoniorum in pice, inciderat in malas Brancae generis sui." (Benvenuto).

‡ *un diavolo:* Some read *il diavolo*, but the other reading is much to be preferred.

§ *prossimano* means *prossimo* or *congiunto*. It is supposed that this person was Branca d' Oria's nephew.

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commit every sort of crime, but he cannot deny that they are reputed to be the bravest men in the world. He tells an anecdote about another of the same family, Lampa d' Oria, who, when commanding the Genoese fleet in a naval action against the Venetians, saw his son fall mortally wounded, and fearing lest his men might be discouraged at the sight, ordered his son to be cast into the sea; and after telling his followers that never could his son have had so fair a burial-place on shore, he so stimulated them that they won the victory.

Fra Alberigo now entreats Dante to redeem his promise, and clear his eyes of the frozen tears; but Dante does not take the slightest notice of his request.

Ma distendi oramai* in qua la mano,
Aprimi gli occhi:"—ed io non gliele apersi,
E cortesia fu in lui esser villano.† 150

**oramai* means a good deal more than simply *ora*, Lat. *jam*. The *Voc. della Crusca* (Manuzzi) says it denotes present time, with reference to the past, and sometimes to the future. Fra Alberigo evidently uses the word by way of saying to Dante: "Now that I have fulfilled my part of the bargain, do you fulfil yours." Scartazzini takes it in that sense, saying: "Ora che ho fatto quanto chiedesti e più ancora," etc.

†*cortesia fu in lui esser villano:* It has been remarked that had Dante opened Fra Alberigo's eyes, the latter would have had the additional pain of seeing that he had told all his infamy to one who would relate it to the world above: and as his body was not yet dead, his grief and shame would be immensely increased. I cannot take so charitable a view of Dante's proceedings in this case. The word *villano*, the literal meaning of which is a "churl, a boor," almost seems to preclude such a supposition. Dante committed an act of great discourtesy in not complying with Alberigo's request, and still more by turning away in silent contempt; and in the invective that follows against the Genoese, his allusion to Alberigo as the

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But now reach hither thine hand, open mine eyes for me:" and I did not open them for him, and it was courtesy to be churlish to him.

Benvenuto says Dante wishes to show that no mercy or compassion must be exhibited by a stranger to so cruel a man, who had no pity upon his own flesh and blood. With such traitors no faith may be kept.

Dante now attacks the Genoese. Benvenuto begs his readers not to be astonished that in the same Canto Dante should utter two such invectives, the first against the State of Pisa, the second against that of Genoa, because in ancient times these two great maritime powers formed part of the same province of Liguria, the bravery and endurance of whose sailors for a long while resisted the arms of Rome.

Ahi Genovesi,* uomini diversi †

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most guilty spirit of Romagna forbids one to believe that his action was meant in kindness. Besides, though we frequently see Dante showing compassion for his erring friends in Hell, we fail to find in him any pity for the sufferings of his enemies. It was not in the spirit of the times. Contrast his behaviour here with the affectionate deference he shows to Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, Jacopo Rusticucci and Guido Guerra, of whom Virgil had admonished him:—

". . . a costor si vuole esser cortese,"

and to whom Dante felt such

"buona voglia,
Che di loro abbracciar mi facea ghiotto." (See *Inf.* xvi).

Dante loved his friends, and hated his enemies. An instance may be seen in the complacency with which he views the sufferings of Filippo Argenti, who (*Inf.* viii, 36) has just pleadingly uttered the words, "Thou seest I am one that weeps."

* *Ahi Genovesi:* In his *Cities of Italy*, vol. i, p. 35, the late Mr. Augustus Hare writes that the Italian proverb about Genoa, *Mare senza pesce* [N.B. Mr. Hare says there are 180 different kinds], *monti senza legno, uomini senza fede, donne senza vergogna*, has no truth, and is probably of hostile Pisan origin. Certainly the Genoese would not be likely to say it about themselves.

† *diversi:* "Alieni ab omnibus aliis in moribus, praecipue in

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D' ogni costume, e pien d' ogni magagna,*
Perchè non siete voi del mondo spersi?
Chè col peggiore spirto di Romagna
Trovai di voi un tal, che per sua opra 155
In anima in Cocito già si bagna,
Ed in corpo par vivo ancor di sopra.

Ah Genoese! men estranged from every good habit, and filled with every vice, why are ye not exterminated from the world? For with the most guilty spirit of the Romagna (Frate Alberigo) I found one of you (Ser Branca d' Oria), so bad that for his misdeeds he is already in soul plunged into Cocytus, and in body still seems alive on earth.

Benvenuto says that to give reiteration and confirmation to Dante's words he is able to state, what he has heard on the faith of worthy citizens of Genoa, that there was another more modern Branca of the same family, but a bastard, who, to get himself into the seat of government in Sardinia, contrived to slay his legitimate brother, who was at the time holding sway there.

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cupiditate quaerendi et parcitate servendi. Nulli enim italici vivunt miserius, licet in apparatu et ornatu exteriori sint splendidi." (Benvenuto).

* *magagna:* Dr. Moore kindly points out to me what a curious word this is. It occurs again in *Purg.* vi, 109, 110:—

"Vien, crudel, vieni, e vedi la pressura
De' tuoi gentili, e cura lor magagne [*wrongs*]."

And *Purg.* xv, 46, 47:—

"Di sua maggior magagna [*sin*] conosce il danno."

Dr. Moore says that it is no doubt connected with the late Latin *Mahamium*, which is written in various forms (v. Ducange), and the verb *mahamiare*, whence we get the Ital. *magagnare*, and Old French, *méhaigner*. Hence our old legal word *mayhem* = mutilation, and also probably *maim*. The derivation of the Latin word itself is said to be quite uncertain.

END OF CANTO XXXIII.

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CANTO XXXIV.

THE NINTH CIRCLE (CONCLUDED)—THE FOURTH RING (*GIUDECCA*)—TRAITORS TO BENEFACTORS—LUCIFER—JUDAS ISCARIOT—BRUTUS—CASSIUS—THE CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE—ASCENT TO THE SURFACE OF THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

THE close of the last Canto left the Poets in the Third Ring, *Tolomea.* Although Dante does not mention the fact, we are to assume that they have now passed into *Giudecca,* the Fourth and last Ring of the Ninth Circle, the Centre of the Universe of the Ptolemaic System, where the Arch-Fiend himself becomes visible to them.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

In *Division* I, from ver. 1 to ver. 36, the punishment of Betrayers of Benefactors is described, as well as the colossal proportions of Lucifer.

In *Division* II, from ver. 37 to ver. 67, Dante describes the three faces of Lucifer, and the three arch-traitors who are being crushed in his three mouths.

In *Division* III, from ver. 68 to ver. 139, Dante relates the strange manner in which he and Virgil finally quit Hell, and enter the Southern Hemisphere, to the surface of which they ascend by a long and toilsome subterranean path.

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Division I.—The Canto opens by Virgil announcing to Dante that they are now drawing near to Lucifer, and he makes use of the three first words of a Latin hymn, the translation of which, as adapted by Virgil is: "The banners of the King of Hell come forth." Benvenuto says that the banners in question are the six wings of Lucifer, and that Dante has made use of this figure, because the unfolding of the banner is a sign that the commander is at hand; the banner being usually carried close in front of him, even though a great host of men shall have marched on before.

—"*Vexilla Regis prodeunt* * *inferni*
Verso di noi: però dinanzi mira,"—
Disse il Maestro mio,—"se tu il discerni."—

"*Vexilla Regis prodeunt inferni* (the banners of the King of Hell come forth) towards us: therefore look in front of thee," said my Master, "if thou canst discern him."

It is a poetic licence for Dante to make Virgil say that the banners were advancing towards them, whereas in reality the Poets were advancing towards the banners. Bevenuto's explanation of the paradox is, that Lucifer's immense wings were coming into

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* *Vexilla Regis prodeunt:* From one of the grandest Passion Hymns of the Roman Church in praise of the cross, sung on Monday in Holy week at Vespers, and at the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The first verse is:—

"Vexilla regis prodeunt,
Fulget Crucis mysterium,
Quo carne carnis conditor
Suspensus es patibulo.

It was composed in the sixth century by Venantius Fortunatus of Ceneda, who, though an Italian born at Treviso, became Bishop of Poitiers in France.

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view, though still at a great distance off, but the larger a standard is, at the greater distance off does it become visible. And this, he adds, is demonstrated in the lines that follow, in which Dante likens those huge wings waving in the air, to the sails of a windmill just seen moving through the gloom.

Come quando una grossa nebbia spira,*
O quando l' emisperio nostro annotta, 5
Par di lungi un molin che il vento gira;
Veder mi parve un tal 'dificio allotta:†
Poi per lo vento mi ristrinsi retro
Al Duca mio; chè non era altra grotta.‡

As, when there breathes a thick fog, or when our hemisphere is darkening into night, appears a

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* *grossa nebbia spira:* Compare *Inf.* xxxi, 34-36:—

"Come, quando la nebbia si dissipa,
Lo sguardo a poco a poco raffigura
Ciò che cela il vapor che l' aere stipa."

† *allotta* is used several times by Dante for *allora;* in the same way as *otta* for *ora*, and *talotta* for *talora* were in use among the early Italian writers. These words may still be heard occasionally in Tuscany.

‡ *grotta* sometimes means, as here, "shelter"; but more usually "rock." The *Voc. della Crusca*, s.v. has: "Vale *Riparo fatto di terra posticcia intorno al campo per difendersi*," which signifies "rampart." In *Inf.* xxi, 110, it means "rocky causeway," the fiend Malacoda saying to the Poets: "Andatevene su per questa grotta." In *Purg.* i, 46-48, Cato says to them:—

"Son le leggi d' abisso così rotte?
O è mutato in ciel nuovo consiglio,
Che dannati venite alle mie grotte?"

In that passage *grotte* refers to the "terraces (*balzi*)" of Purgatory. Dr. Moore tells me that he believes *grotta* is derived from the late Latin *grupta* = κρυπτὴ. In earlier Latin *crypta* is found (whence of course "crypt") as in Juvenal, *Sat.* v, 106:—

"Et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae."

Dr. Moore supposes it meant "a trench," plus the embankment formed from it; and then either "trench" or "bank" separately, like the English word "dyke." For this sense see *Inf.* xxi, 110; *Purg.* iii, 90; and *Purg.* xiii, 45.

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windmill from afar which the wind is turning; such was the structure then methought I saw: whereupon, on account of the wind, I shrunk behind my Leader; for other shelter in that place was there none.

Dante, while sheltering himself behind Virgil, looks around, and observes that the sinners in *Giudecca* are undergoing a more severe penalty than their fellow-traitors in the three preceding Rings. Here they are totally submerged in the ice, and through its transparency Dante sees them lying in every kind of grotesque attitude.

Già era (e con paura il metto in metro) 10
Là dove l' ombre eran tutte coperte,*
E trasparean come festuca in vetro.
Altre sono a giacere,† altre stanno erte,
Quella col capo, e quella con le piante;
Altra, com' arco, il volto a' piedi inverte. 15

I was now come—and with fear I put it into verse — where the shades were wholly covered (in the ice), and shone transparently like a mote of straw in glass. Some are recumbent, others are perpendicular, this one with the head (uppermost), that one with the feet; another, like a bow, arches the face to the feet.

Benvenuto, alluding to those shades who are frozen feet uppermost, says that this position is like

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* *dove l' ombre eran tutte coperte:* In *Giudecca*, the shades being wholly beneath the ice, Dante has of course no opportunity of conversing with any of them.

† *Altre sono a giacere:* Di Siena is full of admiration for the marvellous distinctness with which Dante has represented in three lines four different positions of the shades in *Giudecca*. All the more distinguished Commentators give different reasons for the variety of these postures. Some think they denote greater or less degrees of guilt; others specify the precise crime that corresponds to its punishment.

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that in which traitors in the world in his time were frequently buried alive with the head downwards (*propagginati.* See *Inf.* xix, 49 *et seq.*).

Dante and Virgil have gradually advanced much nearer to Lucifer. Virgil steps suddenly aside, and motions to Dante to take no further refuge behind him. Lucifer is then displayed to Dante in all his vast proportions. Dante says he felt more dead than alive at the sight.

Quando noi fummo fatti tanto avante,
Ch' al mio Maestro piacque di mostrarmi
La creatura ch' ebbe il bel sembiante,*
Dinanzi mi si tolse, e fe' restarmi,
—"Ecco Dite,"—† dicendo,—"ed ecco il loco, 20

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* *La creatura ch' ebbe il bel sembiante:* The beauty of Lucifer before his fall has always been emphasised. Compare *Purg.* xii, 25-27:—

"Vedea colui che fu nobil creato
Più ch' altra creatura, giù dal cielo
Folgoreggiando scender da un lato."

And *Par.* xix, 46-48:—

"E ciò fa certo che il primo superbo,
Che fu la somma d' ogni creatura,
Per non aspettar lume, cadde acerbo."

And *Isaiah* xiv, 12: "How art thou fallen from heaven O, Lucifer, son of the morning!"

† *Ecco Dite:* Both in this passage, in *Inf.* xi, 65, and *Inf.* xii, 39, Dante designates as Dis, Satan, or Lucifer, the chief of the devils. In this he has followed Virgil, who uses the name for Pluto. See *Æn.* vi, 127:—

"Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis."

See also *ibid.* vi, 269; vi, 397; vii, 568; xii, 199.

We have already noticed in Cantos viii, ix, x and xi, that the City of Dis, the special realm of Satan, begins at Circle vi. The Circles of Incontinence and Violence surround it as separate lines of fortifications. The city itself is the commencement of Nether Hell, within which are punished different kinds of Fraud, and in the very centre of the City we find, in the present passage, Dis himself, by whom is meant Satan, Beelzebub, or Lucifer.

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Ove convien che di fortezza t' armi."—
Com' io divenni allor gelato * e fioco,
Nol domandar, Lettor, ch' io non lo scrivo,
Però ch' ogni parlar sarebbe poco.
Io non morii, e non rimasi vivo: † 25
Pensa oramai per te, s' hai fior d' ingegno,‡
Qual io divenni, d' uno e d' altro privo.

When we had advanced so far that it pleased my Master to show me the Creature that once bore so fair a semblance, he moved away from before me, and made me stop, saying: "Behold Dis, and behold the place where thou must arm thyself with fortitude." How frozen and how faint I then became, ask it not, Reader, for I write it not, since all language would be insufficient. I did not die, and I did not remain alive: think now for thyself, if thou hast a spark of wit, what I became, deprived of both (death and life).

Benvenuto warns his students against taking this text quite in its literal sense, for the Devil is neither

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* *Com' io divenni allor gelato*, etc.: All through Hell, Dante exhibits great terror, and especially when brought into contact with devils, as for instance at the entrance gates of the city of Dis; and in the Fifth *Bolgia*, near the boiling pitch. How infinitely greater then must his fear have been now, when he finds himself in the centre of all evils, and beholds the King of all Devils.

† *Io non morii, e non rimasi vivo:* Compare Plautus, *Curculio*, Act V, sc. ii, ll. 48, 49, where Planesius says:—

"Ego pertimesco: tum ibi me, nescio quis, arripit,
Timidam atque pavidam, nec vivam, nec mortuam."

Or Euripides, *Supplices*, 976-980 [in some editions 965-969]:—

"καὶ νῦν ἅπαις, ἄτεκνος
γηράσκω δυστανοτάτως,
οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς φθιμένοις,
οὔτ' ἐν ζῶσιν ἀριθμουμένη,
χωρὶς δή τινα τῶνδ' ἴσχουσα μοῖραν."

‡ *fior d' ingegno:* As we noticed before in Canto XXV, 144, *fiore* is an ancient adverb signifying *alcun poco* = "any small modicum."

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hideous nor terrible, since he is an Angel; but Dante, by a fiction of his own, represents the pernicious effects that proceed from Satan, and to ordinary persons it is necessary to speak of him from this point of view. For it is a popular superstition that every one on his death-bed must of necessity behold the Devil, a superstition that is perfectly ridiculous, unless one understands it in the manner afore-mentioned; namely, that the Devil is present to men, in that he recalls to their memory all the sins and wickedness they have committed, with a view to make them despair of their salvation. So we see that the Devil is neither great nor little, repulsive nor beautiful, excepting in the way we have considered.

Dante now attempts to represent Lucifer's immense proportions, by showing that his arm as much exceeds the whole body of one of the Giants in size, as the said Giant surpasses the stature of Dante himself.

Lo imperador del doloroso regno
Da mezzo il petto uscia fuor della ghiaccia;
E più con un gigante * io mi convegno, 30

* *E più con un gigante*, et seq.: Dante does not furnish us with sufficient *data* for a computation of mathematical precision. Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 326) emphasizes this, adding: "We will confine ourselves to the exceedingly discrepant results of the different calculations. Manetti, who is followed by Galileo, assigns to Lucifer a stature of 2000 *braccia*, Giambullari and Vellutello 3000. These computations are all founded upon the most ambiguous pre-suppositions; but that of *Philalethes* is based upon the best authority. After taking the Pine of St. Peter (see *Inf.* xxxi, 59) as the only fundamental measure that is in any way reliable, he gives to the Giants a height of fifty-four feet of Paris, and to an ordinary man six feet, so that the arm of Lucifer should be equal to $\frac{54 \times 54}{6}$, which gives a re-

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Che i giganti non fan con le sue braccia :
Vedi oramai quant' esser dee quel tutto
Ch' a così fatta parte si confaccia.
S' ei fu sì bel com' egli è ora brutto,
E contra suo Fattore alzò le ciglia, 35
Ben dee da lui procedere ogni lutto.*

The Emperor of the realms of woe from mid-breast stood forth from the ice; and better with a Giant do I compare, than do the Giants with his arms: now consider how vast must be that whole (*i.e.* Lucifer's entire body), which can correspond to such a part (his arm). If he were once as beauteous as he now is hideous, and lifted up his brows

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sult of 486 feet of Paris. Now if the arm be taken generally as one-third of the full height of a man, we arrive at the conclusion that the height of Lucifer is 1458 feet, or 810 *braccia.*" Antonelli calculates it at 1230 metres, which is, he says, just about the elevation of the peaks of the Apennines. Frezzi (*Quadr.* iii, cap. 1) has imitated this passage:—

"Nel primo clima sta come signore
Colli Giganti, ed un delle sue braccia
Più che nulla di loro è assai maggiore."

* *ogni lutto:* "Quid pravius, quid malignius, quid adversario nostro nequius? qui posuit in coelo bellum, in paradiso fraudem, odium inter primos fratres, et in omni opere nostro zizania seminavit. Nam in comestione posuit gulam, in generatione luxuriam, in exercitatione ignaviam, in conversatione invidiam, in gubernatione avaritiam, in correctione iram, in praesulato sive dominatione superbiam. In corde posuit cogitationes malas, in ore posuit locutiones falsas, in membris operationes iniquas: in vigilando movet ad prava opera, in dormiendo ad somnia turpia. Laetos movet ad dissolutionem, tristes autem ad desperationem. Sed, ut brevius loquar, omnia mala mundi sunt pravitate commixta." (St. August. *In Script. com.* Ser. 4).

Dante's idea would seem to be, that if God had given Lucifer such supreme honour, it would follow, that from such monstrous ingratitude as his rebellion under such circumstances involved, every conceivable evil must naturally arise. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv, 114, 115, which is perhaps a reminiscence, or Milton's interpretation of the present passage:—

"Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair."

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against his Maker, well may all tribulation proceed from him.

It may be well to explain here what is supposed by Dante to be the position of Lucifer in the centre of Hell. From the head to the navel his body is in the Northern Hemisphere; and from the navel to the feet in the Southern; consequently his navel is understood to be the exact centre of the whole universe. Of the manner of his fall into that position we shall be told later on.

Division II.—We are now given a description of Lucifer's threefold nature, which Dante has undoubtedly represented in order to exhibit him as an antitype of the Holy Trinity. We see him with three faces on one head, and in his three mouths we witness the torments of the three greatest traitors Dante supposed the world ever to have known, namely, Judas Iscariot, Brutus and Cassius. Benvenuto remarks that it would not be possible to find a greater contrast than exists between the Most High God and the Prince of the Devils. In God is the Supreme Good, in Satan the supreme evil; in God is the deepest Love, in Satan the deepest hate; in God the highest Wisdom, in Satan the profoundest ignorance; in God the most radiant Light, in Satan the grossest darkness; God is the Source of Truth, Satan the father of lies; in God Eternal Life, in Satan eternal death; in God all Joy, in Satan never-ending woe; God is the Most Exalted in the Highest Heaven, Satan the lowest in the nethermost Hell; God is full of Loving-kindness and Mercy, Satan of cruelty

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and wrath. Dante, in the lines that follow, gives us three attributes of Lucifer in direct contrast with those of God. For as God is Three in One, in Whom is seated the Supreme Power, the chiefest Love, and the First Wisdom, so in Satan is the extremity of impotence, the extremity of hate, and the extremity of ignorance.

These qualities Dante brings before us as shown in the three faces of Lucifer.

> O quanto parve a me gran maraviglia,
> Quando vidi tre facce* alla sua testa!
> L' una dinanzi, e quella era vermiglia;

**tre facce*, et seq.: On ll. 37-45, Blanc (*Saggio*, pp. 327, 328) remarks that the early Commentators, who are ever given to seek for hidden allegorical meanings, have explained the three faces as representing, according to their respective judgments, different vices, including Pride, Envy, Wrath, Avarice, Accidie, Impotence, or Ignorance. Blanc feels himself quite unable to follow such arbitrary interpretations, and in various colours and positions of the faces he can only discern the three continents of the then known world, namely Europe, whose inhabitants are of red or flesh colour; Asia, with its yellow races; and Africa, with its black population; and he notes moreover that the position of Lucifer closely resembles that of the Old Man of Crete (*Inf.* xiv), *che tien volte le spalle invêr Damiata*, in such wise that he has Europe directly in front of him, Asia to his right, and Africa to his left. Lord Vernon (*Inferno di Dante*, 3 vols. fol.), referring to Buti's view that the three faces represent Anger, Avarice and Accidie, observes: "I cannot for my part, hold this view, for although those sins are no doubt grave ones, yet they are not the gravest, such as would befit Lucifer, and I think they represent the three then known continents of the Earth, over which Satan may have been supposed to exercise influence." The interpretation, a political one, by Rossetti, is that the front face, the red, represents Rome, the chief seat of the Guelphs; Florence, the seat of the *Neri*, would be the black face; and France, from its device of the white and golden lilies, would be the white and yellow face. Blanc characterises this as an insane theory, but I do not see why it should be ridiculed: for in Canto I, we noticed that

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L' altre eran due, che s' aggiungieno a questa 40
Sopr' esso il mezzo di ciascuna spalla,
E si giungieno al loco della cresta ; *
E la destra parea tra bianca e gialla ;
La sinistra a vedere era tal, quali
Vengon di là, onde il Nilo s' avvalla.† 45

Oh, how great a marvel it appeared to me when I beheld three faces on his head ! one in front, and that was red ; twain were the others which joined on to this above the very middle of each shoulder, and they (the three faces) came together at the place of the crest ; the right-hand (face) seemed between white and yellow ; and the left was such to behold as those which come from that region whence the Nile descends (*i.e.* it was as the face of an Ethiopian negro).

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one of the interpretations of the three Beasts that opposed Dante's attempt to ascend the Mountain was a political one, that saw in the spotted Leopard fickle, changeable Florence ; in the fierce Lion the Kingdom of France ever menacing Italy ; and in the greedy She Wolf the cupidity and Avarice of the Papal Curia. Some take the red face to mean Hatred ; the yellowish, Impotence ; and the black, Ignorance. There is no reason why the allusion should not be to all these symbols. In an important work entitled *Exiles of Eternity, An Exposition of Dante's Inferno* (December, 1903), by the Rev. John S. Carroll, M.A., I find on p. 469 : " The punishment of Lucifer is represented by Dante as the exact reverse of . . . his original state [as a Seraph] in every particular. There can be little doubt, in the first place, that the three faces represent a Trinity of Evil, which is the infernal antithesis of the Trinity of Good which God is. This is not to deny that they may have other meanings, for Dante delights to have many facets to his symbols."

* *al loco della cresta :* This according to Casini means the back of the head : " nella parte posteriore del capo, dove certi animali hanno la cresta."

† *là, onde il Nilo s' avvalla :* Longfellow says that Ethiopia is in the region about the Cataracts of the Nile. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv, 280-283 :—

" Nor where Abassin [*Abyssinian*] Kings their issue guard,
Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd
True Paradise under the Ethiop line
By Nilus' head, enclos'd with shining rock," etc.

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Dante next gives a circumstantial description of Lucifer's six pinions, emblems of the inspirations and instigations to sin which he wafts throughout the world.

Sotto ciascuna uscivan due grandi ali,*
Quanto si convenia a tanto uccello;
Vele di mar † non vid' io mai cotali.‡
Non avean penne, ma di vipistrello §
Era lor modo; e quelle svolazzava, 50
Sì che tre venti si movean da ello.

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* *Sotto ciascuna uscivan due grandi ali:* Lucifer is here represented as having six wings because he had been one of the Seraphim whom Dante (*Par.* ix, 77, 78) speaks of as:—

"quei fochi pii
Che di sei ali fannosi cuculla."

See also *Isaiah* vi, 2: "Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly."

† *Vele di mar:* Frezzi (*Il Quadriregio*), lib. ii, cap. 19) has imitated this:—

"Argo non ebbe mai sì grande vela,
Nè altra nave, come l' ali sue;
Nè mai tessuta fu sì grande tela."

And Milton, *Par. Lost*, ii, 927-929:—

"At last his sail-broad vans
He spread for flight, and in the surging smoke
Uplifted spurns the ground."

‡ *cotali:* Scartazzini says the word is here equivalent to "of such enormous size."

§ *Non avean penne, ma di vipistrello*, etc.: Contrast this description of the wings of the fallen Seraph with that of the bright Angels sent down from "the bosom of Mary (*il grembo di Maria*)," to guard the souls in the Happy Valley. See *Purg.* viii, 28-30:—

"Verdi, come fogliette pur mo nate,
Erano in veste, che da verdi penne
Percosse traean dietro e ventilate."

Tommaséo and others quote a passage from Marcellus Palingenius (*Zodiacus Vitae*, lib. ix), in which the description of an imaginary being called Typhurgo has some resemblance to the description of Lucifer by Dante:—

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Quindi Cocito tutto s' aggelava : *
Con sei occhi piangeva, e per tre menti †
Gocciava il pianto e sanguinosa bava.

Underneath each (face) came forth two mighty wings of size befitting so vast a bird ; sails of the sea of such enormous size I never saw. Feathers they had none, but their fashion was (as the wings) of a bat ; and these he was beating about, so that three winds were stirred by him. By all these Cocytus was being frozen : with six eyes he was weeping, and over three chins were trickling the tears and bloody foam.

In weeping from his six eyes Lucifer is supposed to be bewailing his eternal misery ; he emits foam after the fashion of a wild boar from Anger and

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" Ingentem vidi regem, ingentique sedentem
In solio, crines flammanti stemmate vinctum.
. . . utrinque patentes
Alae humeris magnae, quales vespertionum
Membranae contextae amplis . . .
Nudus erat, longis sed opertus corpora villis."

* *e quelle svolazzava : . . . Quindi Cocito tutto s' aggelava :* Blanc (*Saggio*, pp. 328, 329) remarks upon the appropriateness of Dante finding in the nethermost Hell the ice which is destructive of all life, whether animal or vegetable. He thinks Dante has certainly intended to present Satan with his three faces as a direct antitype of the Holy Trinity, and that he has further accentuated this contrast by making him freeze everything by the motion of his wings, thereby destroying all life and love ; whereas in the story of the Creation we read how the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, imparting, as it were, the first breath into the young life that was being newly born in the universe.

† *Con sei occhi piangeva, e per tre menti :* This reading Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 366) found in 156 MSS. Others read *Con sei . . . e con tre . . .* etc. But Dr. Moore, referring back to p. 315, says that this passage is one of several exhibiting a tendency of copyists to introduce uniformity of expression into clauses between which there is, or appears to be, an antithesis or some other relation of correspondence.

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Hatred; and we are now to hear how with his teeth and nails he is cruelly lacerating the three most unhappy shades in all Hell, whose blood it is that encrimsons the foam on his three chins.

Da ogni bocca dirompea coi denti 55
Un peccatore, a guisa di maciulla,*
Sì che tre ne facea così dolenti.
A quel dinanzi il mordere era nulla †
Verso ‡ il graffiar, che tal volta la schiena
Rimanea della pelle tutta brulla.§ 60

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* *maciulla:* According to Caverni (*Voci e modi della D.C.*, Firenze, 1877) *maciulla* is the name given in Tuscany to an instrument of wood, called in other parts of Italy *gramola*, for crushing the flax-stalks. "A Flax-Brake is two pieces of timber with teeth made in them to bruise the Flax Stalks." (Holmes's *Armory*, III, iii, 43.)

† *A quel dinanzi il mordere era nulla*, etc.: In a Vision like that of Dante some inconsistencies must be allowed for, when we remember what utterly impossible details we think we can see in a dream. Thus we might here remark that as (ll. 30, 31) we computed the entire height of Lucifer at about 1458 feet, and if we may suppose that about three-eighths were visible above the surface of the ice, then we shall have to acquiesce in the fact that Dante, looking up through an excessively dark atmosphere, could distinguish at a height above him of 546 feet, *i.e.* some eighty feet higher than the dome of St. Peter's at Rome, that the shade of Judas Iscariot was being more scratched than bitten!

‡ *Verso* in this passage signifies "in comparison of," as in *Purg.* iii, 50, 51:—

"La più romita via è una scala,
Verso di quella, agevole ed aperta."

And *Purg.* vi, 139-142:—

"Atene e Lacedemone. . .
Fecero al viver bene un picciol cenno
Verso di te."

§ *tal volta la schiena rimanea . . . brulla:* We are to imagine that the form of Judas Iscariot was from time to time re-invested with flesh, so that his torment should be never-ending. In like manner we saw that the wounds of the disseminators

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—"Quell' anima lassù che ha maggior pena,"—
Disse il Maestro,—"è Giuda Scariotto,
Che il capo ha dentro, e fuor le gambe mena.
Degli altri due ch' hanno il capo di sotto,
Quei che pende dal nero ceffo è Bruto: 65
Vedi come si storce, e non fa motto:
E l' altro è Cassio, che par sì membruto.*

At each mouth he was crunching a sinner with his teeth as with a flax-brake, so that he thereby kept three of them in agony. To the one in front (Judas Iscariot) the biting was naught as compared with the clawing, so that at times his back remained entirely denuded of skin. "That soul up there," said my Master, "who suffers the greatest torment, is Judas Iscariot, who has his head within, and kicks his legs outside. Of the other two who have the head downwards, he who hangs from the black muzzle is Brutus: see how

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of discord were healed up every time they passed round the *Bolgia;* and the thieves eaten up by serpents reappeared in their original shapes. This reminds one of the classical legend which represented Prometheus bound to the rock with his vitals being gnawed by an eagle, and that his liver was restored whole as fast as the eagle ate it. See Æschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus*, ll. 1021-1025:—

"Διὸς δέ τοι
πτηνὸς κύων δαφοινὸς αἰετὸς λάβρως
διαρταμήσει σώματος μέγα ῥάκος,
ἄκλητος ἕρπων δαιταλεὺς πανήμερος,
κελαινόβρωτον δ' ἧπαρ ἐκθοινήσεται."

In Apollonius Rhodius, ii, 1247; and iii, 853, cognate, though not identical, ideas are expressed.

* *Cassio, che par sì membruto:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, i, p. 266) says that it was suggested by Cardinal Mai that when Dante thus describes Cassius, he is perhaps confusing him with L. Cassius, the fellow-conspirator of Catiline. See Cicero, in *Cat.* iii, vii, § 16, "L. Cassii adipem." Dr. Moore knows no evidence of Dante's acquaintance with Cicero's oratorical works except that Cardinal Mai states in a note that the Catiline Orations of Cicero had a great predominance in the schools (*regnabant in scholis*) in the time of Dante. It does not appear on what authority this statement is made.

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he writhes, and utters not a word: and the other is Cassius, who seems so large of limb.

The three shades that have been named were in Dante's estimation the three blackest traitors the world had ever seen. Judas Iscariot would of course be so considered by general consent, but the reason of Dante placing the shades of Brutus and Cassius in close juxta-position to Judas has given rise to much controversy and difference of opinion. Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 329) thinks the following to be Dante's real justification. Without going into the exceedingly defective sources of information as to ancient history in those days, we may recognise it as a part of Dante's system declared in all his writings, and more especially in the *De Monarchia*, that God had ordained two great heads for the human race, the Pope for the spiritual and eternal welfare of mankind, and the Roman Emperor for their well-being in this world. The Roman people were, in Dante's opinion, destined to give effect to this idea. Therefore the Roman Emperor, both according to Dante, and in the minds of people in general in the Middle Ages, was the representative of Divine Majesty on earth, and whosoever laid sacrilegious hands upon him was guilty of the most heinous crime against the ordinances of God. And as in Dante's eyes Julius Cæsar appeared to be the first of such Emperors, therefore, although he could not fail to admire the greatness of Brutus and Cassius, he must have felt himself obliged to place them in the same category with Judas, as traitors against the Supreme Majesty of the world. Rossetti suggests, with much probability of truth,

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that as regards the head of Judas being thrust into the mouth of Lucifer, we may see there an allusion to the kiss with which Judas betrayed his Lord and Master.

Benvenuto draws attention to the order and disposition of Lucifer's palace chamber. For as an emperor, king, or sovereign prince takes his station in the centre of his dominions, so do we find Lucifer placed; and as about the sovereign stand those nobles and magnates who are on terms of greatest intimacy or friendship with him, so, close by Lucifer, are placed those traitors under the shadow of his wings; and as about the gates of the palace are placed the guards, so in a circle round the frozen lake are stationed the Giants, as powerful satellites deputed to the custody of so mighty a king, and through whose hands all those must pass who seek to enter his courts.

Division III.—Virgil now signifies to Dante that the portion of the great Vision which comprises Hell has been achieved, and the advancing hour does not permit them to tarry long in the realms of darkness. He seems to have given Dante some minute directions (*com' a lui piacque*) as to the strange method they are about to adopt in departing from the Ninth Circle. These we learn from Dante's description of how he obeyed them.

> Ma la notte risurge *; ed oramai
> È da partir, che tutto avem veduto."—

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* *la notte risurge:* This indication that another night is commencing shows that the Poets have employed twenty-four

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Com' a lui piacque, il collo gli avvinghiai; 70
Ed ei prese * di tempo e loco poste: †
E quando l' ali furo aperte assai,

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hours in passing through the nine Circles of Hell. We may remember (*Inf.* ii, 1) that as they approached the Portal of Hell:—

"Lo giorno se n' andava, e l' aer bruno
Toglieva gli animai che sono in terra
Dalle fatiche loro."

It is now nightfall of Easter Eve about 7.30 P.M. It may be noticed that Dante enters Hell at nightfall, Purgatory at day-break, and Paradise at noon. In *Conv.* iv, 23, ll. 145-147, Dante says of Noon: "la *Sesta* ora, cioè il *mezzodì*, è la più nobile di tutto il dì e la più virtuosa." It will be well also to call attention here to what will be repeated later on, that immediately after his passing the centre of the earth into the other hemisphere, he will find that what was 7.30 on Saturday evening has suddenly changed to 7.30 on Saturday morning, the time having gone back twelve hours.

While correcting this last Canto of my work, I receive this day (13th January 1904) from my friend Dr. Moore the Third Series of his *Studies in Dante*, a splendid monument of the author's great learning and research in Dante. At p. 52, he notices that the idea of "night-rising," as if it were a heavenly body, is found also in *Purg.* ii, 4, 5; and in *Purg.* xxv, 2, 3.

* *Ed ei prese*, etc.: We have seen that on several occasions Dante lays hold on Virgil, who lifts him up and carries him (*Inf.* xix; xxiii; xxxi). The movement of Lucifer's wings is slow. Virgil takes his stand in such a way, that while Lucifer raises and depresses them, he is able to move quickly forward, and make his descent along his thighs.

† *poste:* Among the many significations of *posta* given in the *Gran Dizionario*, see § 21: "Per *occasione, opportunità.*" Buti in his comment on the present passage, says that Virgil "*prese del tempo e luogo poste*, cioè à posto lo tempo quando si dovesse aggrappare, e luogo dove si dovesse appigliare." In the *Negromante* of Ariosto, Act ii, Sc. 2, the word occurs in the same sense:—

"(*Astrologo*) Ma tu non sai, c' ha una bellissima
Quantitade d' argenti, che lasciatigli
Furon, con l' altra eredità, da un vescovo
Suo zio, e l' altr' jer ch' un pezzo stetti in camera
Con lui, veder me li fe' tutti: vagliono
Settecento ducati, e credo passino.
(*Nibbio*) Non è già posta da lasciar, farebbono
Per noi."

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Appigliò sè alle vellute coste:*
Di vello in vello giù discese poscia
Tra il folto pelo e le gelate croste.† 75

But night is rising again; and now we have to depart, for we have seen all." According to his bidding (*lit.* pleasure), I clasped him round the neck; and he seized the right opportunities of time and place; and when the wings (of Lucifer) were opened wide enough, he caught fast hold of the shaggy sides: from shock to shock he then descended between the thick hair and the frozen crusts (of Cocytus).

The Poets now pass through the centre of the Earth, though their progress is attended with great difficulty.

Quando noi fummo là dove la coscia
Si volge appunto in sul grosso dell' anche
Lo Duca con fatica e con angoscia
Volse la testa ov' egli avea le zanche,
Ed aggrappossi al pel come uom che sale, 80
Sì che in inferno io credea tornar anche.
—"Attienti ben, chè per sì fatte scale,"—‡
Disse il Maestro, ansando com' uom lasso,
—"Conviensi dipartir da tanto male."—

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* *vellute coste:* Tommaséo remarks that the bristles of so gigantic a being must have been as hard as the rungs of a ladder, and so afforded a safe footing to Virgil.

† *gelate croste:* These are the rugged icicles that formed the irregular edge of the frozen lake, where it surrounded Lucifer's body.

‡ *scale:* In *Par.* xxvi, 109-111, Adam says to Dante:—

"Tu vuoi udir quant' è che Dio mi pose
Nell' eccelso giardino, ove costei
A così lunga scala ti dispose."

In a hymn of Adam de Saint Victor, *Inventio Crucis*, we find:—

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> When we were at the point where the thigh turns exactly upon the thickness of the haunch (*i.e.* at precise centre of Lucifer's body), my Leader with exertion and laboured breathing brought round his head to where he had had his legs, and clutched at the hair as one who climbs up, so that methought we were returning to Hell. "Hold on fast," said the Master, panting like one exhausted, "for by such stairs we must depart from so great evil."

This, according to Benvenuto, signifies that it is exceedingly hard for a man who has long abided in Hell, or in a state of sin, to withdraw from it, and turn his steps to Purgatory, or a state of penitence.

Blanc (*Saggio*, p. 331) observes that the Poets have got close up to Lucifer, who is shut in in such a manner that only his head and bust emerge above the upper surface of the ice, while his legs are imbedded in the rocks on the other side of the centre of the earth. It becomes therefore necessary for them to find a pathway that will lead them from the centre to the surface of the earth on the opposite side of the inhabited world, and there is no other way than by first descending to the centre by the ice and rocks that are not in contact with Lucifer's body, and from there to reascend. This they do, Dante clinging fast all the time to Virgil's neck. As regards Dante's description of their descent, it

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"Haec est scala peccatorum,
Per quam Christus, rex coelorum,
Ad se traxit omnia.

. . . . . .

Dat captivis libertatem,
Vitae confert novitatem,
Crux reduxit omnia."

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has all been plain enough, but when he relates how Virgil turned his whole body round, upside down, at the centre of the earth, and describes the immense difficulty with which he clambered up again, and when Virgil tells Dante (l. 111) that this difficulty was caused by gravitation increasing towards the centre of the earth, "to which all gravities from every side are drawn," there we find ourselves in presence of the error which Dante shared with all the contemporary scientists of his day. The real state of things is this. We who dwell on the surface of the earth feel the *maximum* of gravitation, because we are attracted by the whole terrestrial mass, and thus are not hurled violently into empty space. If we could imagine a shaft so deep as to pass right through the earth, and that we had the power by it to reach the earth's centre, and thence to re-ascend to the surface of the opposite side, at every step we took towards the centre we should be less sensible of gravitation, seeing that already one part of the terrestrial mass would be overhanging us, and this would attract us by lessening the attractive force of the other greater masses. When we reached the centre, we should find the gravitation at zero, seeing that we should feel attraction equally on all sides, nor should we find the slightest impediment in re-ascending to the surface in any direction we pleased. The gravitation, however, would increase at every step, because at every step we took towards the surface, the mass remaining underneath us would be increasing, and in the same proportion that above would be diminishing, and we should not feel the

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maximum force of gravitation until we reached the surface. Anyhow, although Dante, on reaching the centre of the earth, and seeing Virgil turn himself head downwards and recommence ascending, thought he was going down again into Hell, he fell into an error, but a very natural one. Most men, if they saw a shaft sunk straight through the diameter of the earth, might imagine that by it they would be able to reach the opposite surface by a continuous descent, because they would forget, what Virgil very opportunely remembered (xxxiv, 110) what was that point beyond which Dante had passed.

Hell has now been left, and the Poets emerge in the Southern Hemisphere through a cavity which is thought to be part of the great perforation that Lucifer made through the earth, when he fell from heaven (see ll. 121-126).

A new wonder awaits Dante as soon as he finds himself landed upon the rocks after his perilous climb. He sees towering above him the enormous legs of Lucifer, and, if we again remember at what height we computed his whole stature, we can well imagine Dante's awe. His astonishment at seeing the arch-fiend reversed is such, that he can hardly express it in words.

Poi uscì fuor per lo foro d' un sasso, 85
E pose me in sull' orlo a sedere:
Appresso porse a me l' accorto passo.*

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* *Appresso porse a me l' accorto passo:* "cioè, dopochè m' avea porto, somministrato il modo di eseguire quell' accorto e sagace passaggio, cioè d' uscir dall' Inferno." (Lord Vernon, *Inferno di Dante*, 3 vols. fol.) I may remark that at the time my Father wrote his Commentary on the *Inferno*, he was in

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Io levai gli occhi, e credetti vedere,
Lucifero com' io l' avea lasciato,
E vidili le gambe in su tenere. 90
E s' io divenni allora travagliato,*
La gente grossa il pensi, che non vede
Qual è quel punto ch' io avea passato.

Then he issued forth through the hole of a rock, and made me to sit down upon its brim, after he had shown me that wisely found passage. I raised my eyes, and thought to see Lucifer as I had left him, and (instead) I saw him holding his legs upwards. And if I then became perplexed, let those dull people judge, who do not see what that point is which I had passed (namely, the centre of the universe).

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daily communication with both Nannucci and with Fraticelli. The latter says that there is great difference of opinion as to the interpretation of this line, that early writers constantly used *poi* for *poichè; dopo* for *dopochè; però* for *perocchè; appresso* for *appressochè*, and he interprets the passage: "Poi uscì fuori per lo foro d' un sasso, e pose me a sedere in sull' orlo del sasso medesimo, posciachè mi porse, posciachè mi avea porto il modo di eseguire quell' accorto e sagace passaggio, cioè di uscir dall' Inferno. Può anco intendersi: Appresso mostrò, fece conoscere a me il passaggio che accortamente avevamo fatto." In my first edition I had translated it as most translators have done: "then towards me stretched his wary feet." Mr. Carpenter Garnier in his excellent translation of the *Inferno* first drew my closer attention to this disputed passage.

* *travagliato:* This word is almost exactly equivalent to the English verb "to exercise" in one of its meanings when it has the sense of "to harass, vex, annoy," etc. Tommaséo explains it "harassed with doubts"; Blanc, "tormented, afflicted." Di Siena remarks that nothing can so harass the mind as anything that contradicts one's reason. Dante thought he was going downwards, and that he should see Lucifer's feet below him; and when, instead of continuing to go down, they began to go up, he expected to see Lucifer's heads again. To see his legs towering above him naturally filled him with perplexity. Donkin (*Etym. Dict.* s.v. *travaglio*) derives it from the Romance *travar*, to hinder (*trabs*); the notion of annoyance, pain, labour being derived from that of hindrance.

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The Cosmography of Dante's time made our earth the centre of the universe; consequently, Lucifer being in the centre of the earth, the central point in his body, besides being the centre of gravity, would also be the centre of the whole universe.

It must be understood that Lucifer is embedded in a species of cylindrical cavity, in a small sphere which has its upper half of ice, while the lower half is formed of rocks; round the upper portion of his body stretches the ice of *Giudecca*, while a cincture of rocks begirds his lower limbs. This Virgil explains to Dante in l. 116: *Tu hai li piedi in su picciola spera Che l' altra faccia fa della Giudecca*, and in the same way that Virgil, from the edge of the icy surface, was able to get up to the body of the monster, so also now from that body the Poets pass on to the edge of the rocks where Virgil makes Dante sit down, and explains to him by what crafty contrivance they have made their exit from Hell.

But Dante's journey is not yet ended. He is, it is true, now in the depths of the Southern Hemisphere, but he and Virgil have yet to traverse those depths, and ascend to the surface of the antipodes of the place from which they set out when they commenced their descent into Hell. We shall find that it will take them about twenty-one hours to perform the journey. We are of course to understand that this distance of the semi-diameter of the earth, about 3215 miles, was only traversed in so short a time by the Poets after a symbolic manner.

It is at this point that Virgil, in stimulating Dante to fresh exertions, gives him a hint as to the altera-

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tion in the time that has taken place since they started to descend by Lucifer's body. It was then, as he told Dante, nightfall, and we settled that that would be about 7.30 on Saturday evening. Virgil now tells Dante that the hour is that of *mezza-terza*, *i.e.* about 7.30 in the morning. I prefer to follow Dr. Moore * and the late Sir Frederick Pollock in

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* Dr. Moore (*Time References*, pp. 55, 56) observes: "But now a curious point arises. What morning was it, the stars of which greeted Dante when he emerged on the surface from the bowels of the earth? Or, in other words, when he passed that central point,

'Al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi,'

did he *gain* or *lose* twelve hours? Did this sudden transition (ll. 104, 105) involve putting the clock *back*, or putting it forward? Was the *mezza terza* of l. 96, 7.30 A.M. on Easter *Eve* over again, or Easter *Day?* And by consequence, were the stars of the following dawn those of Easter *Sunday* or Easter *Monday?* Now modern astronomical theories will not help us here, and we must be guided by considerations of probability or propriety, as such considerations would be likely to present themselves to Dante. I cannot myself feel the smallest doubt as to the answer to be given to the above questions, though it is far from being the accepted one. The clock must, I feel certain, be put *back* and not *forward* at *Inf.* xxxiv, 96, so that, though the Easter Eve of the *Northern* Hemisphere was spent in traversing the *Inferno*, the *mezza terza*, immediately after passing the centre of the earth, was 7.30 A.M. on Easter Eve of the *Southern* Hemisphere, and this second Easter Eve was most appropriately spent in the gloomy passage through 'the lower parts of the earth.' The contrary supposition involves what I cannot but call the monstrous consequence that Dante, in spite of his most keen appreciation of the fitness of things, has represented himself as devoting the whole of Easter Sunday (of all days of the year!) to scrambling down the *vellute coste* of Lucifer, and groping along the *cammino ascoso*, the dismal and dark path from the earth's centre to its surface. So far as his great Vision is concerned, Easter Day would thus be a blank, and the Poet himself on that day wholly shut from the *chiaro mondo*."

The same view is taken by Giambullari (*Del Sito, Forma, et misure dello Inferno di Dante*, Firenze, 1544, p. 152):

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thinking that the change of time had been backwards, and that the hour is now 7.30 on the morning of Saturday, Easter Eve, which day in the other Hemisphere they had already spent in passing through the lower Circles of Hell. It is very remarkable moreover that now, the very instant after leaving Hell, Virgil begins again to speak of the Sun, which while they were in Hell had only been mentioned in lamentation of its absence. As we have before observed, the only indications of time in Dante's Hell are by allusion to rising or setting of the Moon.

—"Lévati su,"—disse il Maestro,—"in piede:
La via è lunga e il cammino è malvagio, 95
E già il sole a mezza terza * riede."

"Stettero dunque sotterra circa ore 47, che ventiquattro ne consumarono nel nostro Emisperio de la sera del Venerdì santo sino a Sabato sera seguente: La qual sera del Sabato diventò loro Giorno come prima passarono il Centro: Avvegna che laggiù, non potesse vederlo il Poeta, ma saperlo, o sentirlo da le parole di Virgilio. Tutto quello restante delle ore, spesero in salire su per la tomba sino in su l' Isola del Purgatorio: a la quale come nel Testo si vede, giunsero poco avanti l' Alba lo undecimo giorno di Aprile, Giorno Pasquale in quello Emisperio: benchè a noi fusse la notte, che immediatamente va dietro a lo stesso Giorno di Pasqua."

"Like the Redeemer of mankind, Dante has been dead and buried part of three days, and it is not yet daybreak on Easter Sunday, 'in the end of the Sabbath when it began to dawn towards the first day of the week.'" (*Dante*, by Edmund G. Gardner, p. 101.)

**mezza terza:* Dante's Vision took place at the time of the Vernal Equinox, when the Sun would rise at six o'clock, and the *mezza terza* would be an hour and a half later, namely, 7.30 A.M. The Church divided the day and the night each into four parts of three hours each, which were called in Italian, *Terza*, *Sesta*, *Nona* and *Vespro*. *Terza* was the first division after sunrise, and at the Equinox would be from 6 to

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Non era camminata * da palagio
Là 'v' eravam, ma natural burella †
Ch' avea mal suolo e di lume disagio.

"Rise up on thy feet," said the Master, "the way is long, and the road is difficult, and already the Sun is returning to mid-tierce (*i.e.* half way to the third hour)." It was no palace hall there where we were, but a natural dungeon that had a bad floor and a scarcity of light.

Dante obeys Virgil's summons, and gets up, but,

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9. Compare *Conv.* iv, 23, ll. 149-154: "L'Ufficio della prima parte del dì, cioè la *Terza*, si dice in fine di quella; e quello della terza parte e della quarta si dice nelli principii. E però si dice *mezza Terza*, prima che suoni per quella parte."

* *camminata* was the word generally used by great personages (chiefly, according to Buti, in Lombardy) for the halls of their palaces. Dante specially applies the word here, because in such palace halls there would be well-polished marble floors, and an abundance of light and air. In the place Dante is now describing he depicts the exact contrary, for the footway was exceedingly rough and uneven, and the gloom intense. The idea of Dante having meant, as only some few *English* Commentators have contended, a *camino da fuoco* (a chimney) is simply ridiculous. Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ii, Nov. 2: "Appresso questo la donna . . . avendo fatto fare un grandissimo fuoco in una sua camminata, in quella se ne venne," etc. We may take it for granted that the wealthy lady of Boccaccio's tale did not go up the chimney to make love! Francesco Alunno of Ferrara (*La Fabrica del Mondo*, § 927, 1588) says of this word, after quoting both these passages: "*Caminata*, idest camera grande. Latino *cenaculum*, vel *cenatio*. . . . In lingua Genovese *caminata* è la sala grande del palazzo." The *Gran Dizionario* says: "*Sala;* detta così perchè vi è spazio da comodamente andarvi, e passeggiarvi per entro." See also the following: "Facciasi ancor nel detto giardino un palagio con camminate e camere di soli arbori . . .; misurinsi e seguinsi tutti gli spazii della camminata e delle Camere." (*Volgarizzamento del Trattato dell' Agricoltura* di Piero di Crescenzi, Firenze, 1605; lib. viii, cap. 3, No. 4.)

† *burella:* "§ 1. Specie di prigione, e forse quella che oggi diciamo *Segrete* (Lat. *obscurus carcer*). § 2. Per luogo stretto e bujo." (*Gran Dizionario*).

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as he stands upon the brink of the awful depths which he has just quitted, he entreats Virgil to give him some explanation of phenomena so extraordinary.

—"Prima ch' io dell' abisso* mi divella, 100
Maestro mio,"—diss' io quando fui dritto,
—"A trarmi d' erro† un poco mi favella.
Ov' è la ghiaccia? e questi com' è fitto
Sì sottosopra? e come in sì poc' ora
Da sera a mane ha fatto il sol tragitto?"— 105

"Before I depart from this Abyss, my Master," said I, when I was standing upon my feet, "to draw me out of error speak to me a little. Where is the ice? and this one, how is he thus fixed upside down? and how in so short a time has the Sun made a transit from evening to morning?"

Dante has put these questions to Virgil by way of showing that he does not know that they have passed the central point of the earth. Virgil replies, telling him that he is no longer in the Hemisphere of which the culminating point is above Jerusalem, and which overhangs the vast continent of dry land in which Jesus Christ lived and died. The dry land is the

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* *abisso:* Di Siena remarks that although this name is often applied to all Hell in general, it is in this passage more especially applied, in the Biblical sense, to that part of Hell in which Lucifer is confined. Compare Cornelius a Lapide, *Comment. in Apoc.* cap. ix, 1: "Tamen abyssus significat infernum, tum quia infernus est quasi mare, cui damnati immerguntur, estque profundissimus instar putei, sive carceris profundissimi et tenebricosissimi; tum quia ipse est profundum Dei judicium, id est supplicium, quod Deus juste de damnatis sumit."

† *erro:* The dictionaries mostly agree that this substantive is a syncope of *errore.* Fanfani (*Vocabolario dell' uso toscano*) says *erro* is still a living word in constant use in many parts of Tuscany. Lippi uses it in the *Malmantile,* and Annibal Caro in his translation of the *Æneid.*

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Northern Hemisphere. Virgil says this by contrast to the Southern Hemisphere, which in the time of Dante was believed to be one unbroken stretch of water.

Ed egli a me :—" Tu immagini ancora
D' esser di là dal centro, ov' io mi presi
Al pel del vermo reo * che il mondo fora.
Di là fosti cotanto quant' io scesi:
Quando mi volsi, tu passasti il punto 110
Al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi: †
E se' or sotto l' emisperio giunto
Ch' è contrapposto a quel che la gran secca
Coperchia,‡ e sotto il cui colmo consunto

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* *vermo reo:* In *Inf.* vi, 22, Dante speaks of Cerberus as a great worm :—

" Quando ci scorse Cerbero, il gran vermo," etc.

† *il punto al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi:* Compare *Par.* xxix, 55-57, where in ascribing Lucifer's fall to his pride, Beatrice speaks of him as compressed to the centre of the earth by the convergence of all the weights in it :—

" Principio del cader fu il maledetto
Superbir di colui, che tu vedesti
Da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto."

Compare Aristotle, *De Coelo*, iv (308 *a*, 30) :—

" *βαρὺ δὲ* [*λέγομεν*] *τὸ ἁπλῶς κάτω καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέσον* [*φερόμενον*]."

‡ *contrapposto a quel che la gran secca coperchia:* Dante believed, or professed to believe, that the Southern Hemisphere was all water with the single exception of the Mountain of Purgatory. Therefore he calls our continent the great dry land. He imagined Jerusalem to be the central point of it, and situated beneath the *colmo*, or highest point, of the Hemisphere that over-arches it (*coperchia*). When therefore he reached the Southern Hemisphere, beneath the centre of the terrestrial globe, he is naturally also beneath Jerusalem. Some confusion exists as to the order of taking the words of the sentence. I follow the old Commentators in taking it thus: "Tu sei or giunto (*thou art now arrived*) sotto l' emisperio (*beneath the Southern Hemisphere*) che è contrapposto (*which is opposite*) a quel (*to that Hemisphere, the Northern*) che coperchia la gran secca (*which overhangs the great dry land*)," etc. Others invert

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Fu l' uom che nacque e visse senza pecca: 115
Tu hai li piedi in su picciola spera *
Che l' altra faccia fa della Giudecca.

And he to me: "Thou imaginest that thou art still on the other side of the centre (of the earth), where I laid hold on the hair of that guilty Worm, who perforates the globe. Thou wast on that side for so far as I descended: (but) when I turned me round, thou didst pass the point to which all gravities from every side are drawn: and now thou art arrived beneath the Hemisphere which is opposite to that which overhangs the great dry land, and below the zenith of which (Hemisphere, at Jerusalem) was slain the Man Who was born and died without sin: thou hast thy feet upon the little sphere which forms the other face (*i.e.* the Antipodes) of the *Giudecca.*

"The dry land is the Northern Hemisphere, the centre of which Dante regarded as Jerusalem. As the city which had crucified Christ, the sinless Man, it was morally appropriate that the Inferno should be set directly under it. When Dante passes into the other Hemisphere, he has dissociated himself

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the sense, and understand *a quel che la gran secca coperchia* to mean that Hemisphere which the great dry land covers. The first interpretation takes *coperchia* as meaning "overhangs," and the second "covers." The term *la gran secca* for distinguishing the land from the sea is taken from *Gen.* i, 10 (*Vulg.*): "Vocavit Deus aridam, Terram, congregationesque aquarum appellavit Maria."

* *spera:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) explains this as a circular disk-like surface. It would correspond to that of *Giudecca*, of which it would be the reverse. But I am more disposed to follow the view of the earlier Commentators (as shown in Botticelli's very realistic drawings), who thought that whereas the first three Rings had ice-surfaces sloping to the centre, *Giudecca* was an actual sphere of ice, in which Lucifer is represented embedded as to his waist and loins.

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from that crime against Christ; nevertheless he knows well that through it alone has his salvation become possible. Beneath the Cross stretches in a straight unbroken line the mystical stairway which leads to God. All the dark Circles of Hell, this dim and rugged passage in the other Hemisphere, every Terrace of Mount Purgatory, and every starry Heaven of Paradise: these form the steps of the great spiritual ladder which stretches straight from the Cross of Calvary to the snow-white Rose of the Redeemed; and on this stairway Dante shares the great experiences of his Lord—Death, Resurrection, and Ascension to glory." (J. S. Carroll, *Exiles of Eternity*, pp. 489, 490).*

Dante had asked Virgil three questions. (1) Where is the ice? (2) Why is Lucifer upside-down? (3) Why has it changed in so few minutes from the evening to the morning? Virgil has replied to the first question by telling him that the small sphere (or, according to later Commentators, the small disk-like surface) on which he is standing corresponds in size to the *Giudecca* below. In the nine lines that follow we shall find his answers to questions (2) and (3), which we will then discuss.

Qui è da man † quando di là è sera:
E questi che ne fe' scala col pelo,
Fitto è ancora, sì come prim' era. 120

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* Dr. Moore dissents from there being authority for crediting Dante with ever having held such a view.

† *Qui è da man quando di là è sera:* Compare *Par.* i, 43-45:—
"Fatto avea di là mane e di qua sera
Tal foce quasi; e tutto era là bianco
Quello emisperio, e l' altra parte nera," etc.

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Da questa parte cadde giù dal cielo:
E la terra che pria di qua si sporse
Per paura di lui fe' del mar velo,
E venne all' emisperio nostro; e forse
Per fuggir lui lasciò qui il loco voto 125
Quella che appar di qua, e su ricorse."—

Here it is morn, when there (in the Northern Hemisphere), it is eve: and he (Lucifer) who made for us a ladder of his hair, is still fixed as he was before. On this side (the Southern Hemisphere) he fell down from heaven; and the earth, which before was prominent on this side, for dread of him made of the sea a veil, and came to our Hemisphere; and perchance to escape from him that (land) which is seen on this side left this vacant space, and retreated upwards (to form the Mountain of Purgatory)."

Rossetti gives the following explanation of these lines: "Dante supposes that Lucifer fell head downwards from that Hemisphere to which he is now directing his steps: he supposes that the Antarctic side of the world used all to be an elevated and habitable continent, in which was the Terrestrial Paradise, while our Arctic Hemisphere was then entirely submerged in the waters; and he imagines that solely by the fall of the first colossal sinner, the entire situation of these great masses that formed the terraqueous globe became inverted; and he conceives this to have taken place in the following manner:—

"In the headlong velocity with which Lucifer was hurled down from the highest Heaven, the Empyrean, weighted by the load of his immense sin he struck the earth with such force, as to pierce

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through the bowels of it; nor was his downward course arrested, until the occult forces that were supposed to exist in the centre of the earth bound him there. The earth, recoiling in horror at the sight and at the contact of so abominable a monster, then went through two operations, the first to avoid the sight of him, and the second to avoid the contact of him.

"(1) To avoid the sight of him, it sought to cover itself with the waters on that side where he fell; and to hollow out a bed for the waters, it set in motion mountains, hills, islands, etc., which fled from thence and came to our Hemisphere; whereupon the oceans which had up to then been in our Hemisphere, rushed furiously into the Southern Hemisphere to fill up the void. And by this operation it came about that the Northern Hemisphere now consists of elevated and inhabited continents, and the other [according to the Cosmography of those times] is filled up by the great Ocean, and is without a single inhabitant.

"(2) To avoid touching him, the inner bowels of the earth, through which the fallen monster passed, seized with terror and disgust, all rushed upwards; and these masses, heaping themselves one upon another, on that side where was the Earthly Paradise, which alone had not moved, formed the Mountain of Purgatory. And thus it came to pass that the space in which the Poets are now supposed to be, remained quite empty, so that they have a passage by which to issue on the other side of the world."

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Dante has now no more to do with Hell. With this last description of the fall of Lucifer, and the consequent displacement of the continents and seas, his narrative of Hell has come to an end. He has only to tell his readers of the means of exit that were available for him and Virgil. This we learn was by a hollow way along the course of a stream, supposed to be the river Lethe-Eunoe.* Benvenuto thinks that this stream takes its rise in the summit of the Mountain of Purgatory, and runs down into the centre of Hell to the rivers of which it is in direct contrast; for these flow down from the Colossus of Ida in the Island of Crete (*Inf.* xiv, 94-138), and carry to Satan, the Author of Evil, all the unatoned sins of the world. Lethe, on the other hand, takes away from the purified souls in Purgatory all memory of their former sins, and these are borne along in its waters until they too converge upon the centre of the earth, and add to the load of sin which crushes down Lucifer into his abode of eternal woe.

Loco è laggiù da Belzebù remoto
Tanto, quanto la tomba si distende,
Che non per vista, ma per suono è noto

---

* *Lethe-Eunoe:* Compare *Purg.* xxviii, 130-132:—
"Quinci Letè, così dall' altro lato
Eunoè si chiama, e non adopra,
Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato."
That this subterranean stream *was* Lethe is suggested by the question of Cato, when he asks the Poets, as they emerge on the shores of Purgatory, who they are *who have come up against the stream of the concealed river.* (*Purg.* i, 40, 41):—
"Chi siete voi, che contra al cieco fiume
Fuggito avete la prigione eterna?"

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D' un ruscelletto che quivi discende 130
Per la buca * d' un sasso, ch' egli ha roso
Col corso ch' egli avvolge, e poco pende.

There is a place down there (in the depths of the earth) as far removed from Beelzebub (in one direction) as his grave (Hell) extends (in the other), which (place) is not known by sight (being quite dark), but by the sound of a rivulet which there flows down along the hollow of a rock which it has eaten out with its course that winds about and has a slight fall.

Dante is no longer speaking as in Hell, but from memory after his return to earth. (Hence he says *laggiù*). His meaning in the above lines is that the subterranean water-course extended to as great a distance from the centre of the earth where Lucifer is placed, as it was from him to the entrance into Hell. The cavity ran right through the earth. In the Northern Hemisphere it widened out enormously to form Hell, but in the Southern it was exceedingly narrow, and by its tortuous course and gentle declivity, we may suppose that Lethe made a spiral descent from the surface of the Southern Hemisphere to the centre of the earth.

The Poets commence their toilsome ascent: but no longer with the depression of mind that increased upon them at every downward step they took in

* *buca:* By this cavity we are to understand the perforation made by Lucifer as he fell headlong through the earth till he stopped in the centre of it. On the difference between *buca* and *buco*, see Tommaséo, *Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, No. 1760: "La *buca* è cavità; il *buco* apertura: la *buca* è nel solido; il *buco* può essere un vano. Si fa una *buca* in terra, un *buco* in un abito; una *buca* nell' arena. . . . Il *buco* è piccolo, e per lo più, tiene della figura rotonda; la *buca*, grande, e di qualunque figura."

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Hell, attended by ever-increasing sorrow and ever-increasing darkness; now their thoughts are all upwards, turned to beholding again the bright sun and to breathing the pure air, and this stimulates them to such a degree, that no fear of fatigue, no thought of rest, is again to delay their ascent until they emerge into the clear starlight of the Southern Hemisphere.

Lo Duca ed io per quel cammino ascoso *
Entrammo a ritornar nel chiaro mondo:
E senza cura aver d' alcun riposo 135
Salimmo suso, ei primo ed io secondo,
Tanto ch' io vidi delle cose belle †
Che porta il ciel, per un pertugio tondo:
E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.‡

My Guide and I entered upon that hidden way to return to the bright world; and without taking care to get any rest we mounted so far upwards,

---

* *cammino ascoso:* We find that Dante quitted Hell, as he had entered it, by a narrow and secret way. See *Inf.* ii, 142:—
"Entrai per lo cammino alto e silvestro."

† *delle cose belle:* Dante does not say "*le* cose belle," *the* beauteous things, but "*delle* cose belle," *some of* the beauteous things. Only a few stars would be visible through a round aperture. Dante dwelt fondly on the beauties of Nature before he had to leave them and descend into an unseen world. Compare *Inf.* i, 37-43:—
"Tempo era dal principio del mattino;
E il sol montava su con quelle stelle
Ch' eran con lui, quando l' amor divino
Mosse da prima quelle cose belle;
Sì che a bene sperar m' era cagione
Di quella fera alla gaietta pelle,
L' ora del tempo, e la dolce stagione."

‡ *stelle:* Dante makes each of the three divisions of the *Divina Commedia* end with the word *stelle.* Scartazzini thinks that his object in doing so is to make us understand that the ultimate end of his Poem is to elevate men's minds to Heaven.

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he first and I second, until through a round aperture I discerned some of the beauteous things which the heaven bears; and through it (the aperture) we came forth again to see the stars.

Benvenuto admires the ingenuity of Dante, who being unwilling to return to earth by the way that he came through Hell, has represented himself finding out a hollow winding passage by which he can get away to the upper air, and he does not take long in describing the journey, as in truth there was nothing to describe. It is with hurried steps that Dante hastens away from the darkness of sin to seek the brightness of the stars, by which Benvenuto understands virtues. He adds: "And may He, Who is the Light, the Life, the Way and the Truth to all Eternity, vouchsafe to us to pass from the darkness of sin into the Light of Virtue."

Benvenuto concludes his Commentary with the following lines of his own:—

"Jamque domos Stygias et tristia regna silentum,
Destituens, sublimis agor; jam noctis ab imo
Carcere felices rediens extollor ad auras.
Vidi ego diversis animarum tartara poenis
In circlos distincta novem, lacrymosaque passim
Flumina et horribilem ferratis pestibus urbem.
Sit tibi, summe Deus, nostrae spes una salutis
Gloria et aeternae maneant per saecula laudes."

END OF THE *INFERNO.*

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* In the text *altro* is misprinted *alto*.

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